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Abstract

Severe intercommunal violence has repeatedly rocked Plateau State in the first decade of the new millennium, killing thousands of people. Observers have attributed the “crisis” to political, economic and social forces which breed pockets of exclusion and resentment. One notable model explains the violence through a paradigm of privileged “indigenes” who seek to prevent “settlers” from the political rights which would give them the access to the resources managed by the state and the economic opportunities that this entails. While not taking issue with the diagnosed causes of conflict, the Researcher argues that there is a substantial body of evidence being ignored which points to conflict cleavage having opened up along the divide of Christian-Muslim religious identity in a way that the settler-identity model does not sufficiently explain. On the basis that perceptions are as important as facts when it comes to seeking a transformational peace process, he sets out to map world-views, identities and ethics of the warring factions.

The researcher, motivated to undertake this research by his direct experience of the 2008 crises and three years experience as an adviser to the EYN's rural development outreach in Adamawa and Borno States, posits that religion may indeed be part of the problem, and mosque and church must be partners to a solution. Forced to limit the scope of his research, he embarks on the initial stages of a practical theological investigation in order to review the conflict from a specifically religious perspective which might assist the Church in its efforts towards peace. Research is focussed on the perceptions of the pew faithful of two denominations in Plateau and Adamawa States and is based on an evaluation of interviews and focus groups which were held across a range of cohorts and settings in order to draw comparative conclusions. Respondents' backgrounds were both rural/urban, young/old,

Muslim/Christian, and hailed from various ethnic groups (Berom, Tarok, Kamwe, Fali and Hausa-Fulani). Evaluation methodology drew heavily on Grounded Theory and also included elements of Critical Discourse Analysis. The success of the methodology hinged on the ability of the Researcher to establish rapport and trust with respondents. The applied research methods were foremostly designed to build theory rather than statistically test any hypotheses.

The thesis detects evidence not only for the salience of religion as a factor in the way conflict unfolds, but of religion displacing ethnicity as the marker of identity in some locations and age groups. It also demonstrates how ethno-religious narratives stemming from former rural strife between nomadic and sedentary populations and urban conflicts resulting from the competition for indigene rights have been conflated and then further reinforced by the emerging threat of Boko Haram, resulting in a narrative of a unified Muslim programme for conquest, domination and forced conversion.

In tune with an undertaking couched in practical theology, this research also identifies a number challenges to the Church's witness and its ability to be a convincing force for reconciliation which arise from this. Eminently, there are signs that ethnocentric mores have been integrated into an emerging Christian identity, which engenders a monolatric perception of God and a penchant to reinforce boundaries rather than remove them. However, Christians also feel restricted by a Christian imperative to forego violence and beleaguered by an Islamic front which they perceive as having moral licence to perpetrate violence in pursuit of dominance. The researcher holds the conviction that it is the Nigerian Church who must embark on a theological process on her own to respond to some of these problems, and concludes with a number of propositions and recommendations to assist her on this voyage.

Lay Summary

There has been recurring civil unrest in Plateau State, Nigeria since the turn of the Century. Various observers have attributed the crisis to political, economic and social forces which breed pockets of exclusion and resentment. One notable model explains the violence through a paradigm of privileged “indigenes” who seek to prevent “settlers” from the political rights which would give them the access to the resources managed by the state and the economic opportunities that this entails. This however ignores a substantial body of evidence which points to conflict cleavage having opened up along the divide of Christian-Muslim religious identity in a way that the settler-identity model does not sufficiently explain.

On these premises, the research undertaken in this volume seeks to take a fresh look at the evolving conflict from a religious angle, and by applying the so-called pastoral cycle draws some conclusions as to how the local Church might contribute to transforming the conflict and building peace. A main thrust is the exploration of perceptions. To this end church- and mosque-goers in several locations in Plateau and Adamawa State were engaged in recorded interviews and focus group discussions, and the dialogues were subsequently evaluated by applying an array of methods used for qualitative data analysis.

The findings detect evidence not only for the prevalence of religion as a factor in the way conflict unfolds, but of religion displacing ethnicity as the marker of identity in some locations and age groups. They also show how Christians’ perceptions of earlier possibly non-religious conflicts have evolved, particularly in light of the growing menace of Boko Haram, to form an understanding of being under threat of a pan-Muslim programme of conquest, domination and forced conversion. Intriguingly, religious identity is nevertheless lived and experienced much in the way as ethnic identity formerly was. This poses a particular challenge to the Church’s

calling to be a force for reconciliation and peace. Many of its members feel beleaguered and hobbled by moral injunctions which do not permit them to respond in kind to an aggressive Islamic front perceived as having moral licence to use whatever force of violence it deems necessary in pursuit of dominance. The dissertation makes a number of proposals and recommendations which might serve as a foundation for the Nigerian Church to define an appropriate theological response to her predicament.

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Research was carried out by means of interviews and focus sessions in a total of six different languages across Plateau and Adamawa States. I was able to assemble teams of diligent and competent men and women who assisted me in convening interactions with respondents, carried out translation work and otherwise enlightened me on issues of culture and security. In Plateau State I thus extend my heartfelt thanks to Ms Sarah Niya, Rev Christopher Sohdan, Rev Yarling Yilchang, Mr Daniel Fajing, Ms Margaret Mado and Mr Samson Yunana Dung as well as Alh. Mohammed, Alh. Shehu, MI Abubakar and MI Isa. In Adamawa State I similarly express my appreciation of Rev Anthony Ndamsai, Mr Steven Doma, Rev Mark Zira, Mr Barnabas Joli and Mr Peter Kwaji. It is with great sadness and indeed anger that I have perceived how Boko Haram has ravished their ancestral homelands in the time since my field research, and driven out them, their families and countless of their

kinsfolk, who have been forced to seek refuge in other towns and cities across Nigeria and Cameroon.

I wish to express my gratitude the COCIN and EYN parishes and their members who welcomed me as a researcher and former missionary onto their premises and extended the trust and openness which enabled me to record their private and communal experiences. At least one of these parishes has since been destroyed and its members scattered or killed. Although outwith the core geographical focus of my study, many have since fled to the city of Jos. Destined to become participants in the next chapter of the conflict I have endeavoured to analyse, it is my prayer that they may be a force for the good. It is to them that I dedicate this thesis.

The valuable assistance granted to me and my family by members of the churches of Steinmaur-Neerach in Switzerland and Limekilns in Scotland, particularly during the early stages of my research, is also something which I cannot leave unacknowledged.

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Concerning all above-mentioned persons, it must be emphasised that they have contributed to my research in a spirit of charity and in order to further academic knowledge without any prejudice to expected outcomes. Any reader should note that none of them necessarily endorse the conclusions I reach in this thesis. For these I as author am alone accountable.

General Abbreviations

AIC	African Initiated Churches
ANPP	All Nigeria People's Party
ATR	African Traditional Religions
Boko Haram	Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad (Congregation of the People of Tradition for Proselytism and Jihad)
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nigeria
EYN	Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa A Nigeria (Church of the Brethren in Nigeria)
GT	Grounded Theory
HRW	Human Rights Watch
JNI	Jama'atu Nasril Islam
LGA	Local Government Area
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PTh	Practical Theology
SUM	Sudan United Mission
TCNN	Theological College of Northern Nigeria
TEKAN	Tarayar Ekklesiyonin Kristi a Nigeria (Fellowship of Churches of Christ in Nigeria)

Specific Cohort codes

Be	Berom
Fa	Fali-Kirya
Ka	Kamwe
Ta	Tarok
Ha	Hausa(-Fulani)
F	Focus group
J	Interview
R	Rural
U	Urban

Keywords

Adamawa, Berom, Boko Haram, COCIN, CDA, critical discourse analysis, EYN, Fali, Fulani, Grounded Theory, Hausa, Higi, identity, identity-based conflict, Jos, Kamwe, Mubi, Nigeria, Plateau, pastoral cycle, practical theology, Tarok, world-view

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Section A: Setting the Stage - Research Background and Theoretical Framework.....	13
Chapter A.1 From Tranquillity to Strife? - Setting out the problem in its historic context.....	15
Chapter A.2 Religion, violence and how the two inform the definition of “religious conflict”.....	47
Chapter A.3 The construction of identities and boundaries.....	65
Chapter A.4 Traditional African ethics in modernising societies.....	81
Section B: The Methodology.....	101
Chapter B.1 General concepts.....	103
Chapter B.2 The cohort populations.....	113
Chapter B.3 Sample design.....	123
Chapter B.4 Dialogue and contact session design.....	129
Chapter B.5 Analysis design.....	135
Chapter B.6 Speaking and saying, listening and hearing: The problem of truth in transcultural contexts.....	145
Section C: Field data description.....	157
Chapter C.1 Field Experience.....	159
Chapter C.2 Open Description of Core Data Set.....	171
Chapter C.3 Specific Description of Peripheral Data Set.....	233
Section D: Field data Interpretation.....	275
Chapter D.1 Evaluation of Core Data Set Query.....	277

Chapter D.2 Evaluation of Peripheral Data Set Query.....	329
Chapter D.3 Conclusions and discussion: content mapping, cross comparisons and formal insights.....	363
Section E: Towards a theologically practical approach for churches to confront and resolve conflict on Christian terms...	387
Chapter E.1 The religious dimension of the Conflict and Five propositions of theological concern to the Christian community.....	389
Chapter E.2 Theological Responses to the five propositions.....	397
Section F: Bibliography and Maps.....	409
Chapter F.1 Bibliography.....	411
Chapter F.2 Maps.....	429
Section G: Appendices.....	431
Chapter G.1 Examples of transcripts and transcript fiches (screenshots)	433
Chapter G.2 Cohort tables and participants' categorisations.....	437
Chapter G.3 Log of major events during fieldwork.....	439
Chapter G.4 Sample metrics and aberrations from original intentions.	441
Chapter G.5 Question catalogue and codes.....	449
Chapter G.6 Transcript metrics.....	459
Chapter G.7 K. Resource repository.....	477
Chapter G.8 Comprehensive word frequency analysis.....	711

Introduction

On a Thursday morning in May 2004 Godiya¹ was startled to see her Tarok neighbours from the adjacent villages approach, carrying their household belongings with them. Some families arriving did not have all their children with them, and many a husband was missing. Godiya wept. Later that day, fire rose from a nearby church. Their menfolk investigated and reported that danger was near. The families of her village spent the following night in the bush, braving the danger of snakes and sleeping under the open sky. It was when Godiya and her husband returned briefly the following day to fetch food from their house that the enemy attacked. Suddenly, there was smoke everywhere. Godiya hid the food under some rubbish. Pandemonium ensuing, people scurried like scattered ants, and she ran too. She saw a helpless woman on her knees who had gone into labour, and Godiya was reminded of what the Lord had said of the last days. Someone screamed, "There is fire on the roof". It was then that Godiya remembered Lot's wife. Without looking back, she fled with her husband and children to nearby Langtang. She lived to tell her tale, while many she had known did not.

4 ½ years later, on a morning at the end of November 2008, from the relative safety of a compound, I surveyed the black smoke rising over the city of Jos. The usual groan of traffic had ceased. Instead, the air was dominated by incensed conversations and excited shouts interspersed by gunshots. We worried about our friend Joy from across the city. Joy's family hailed from a predominantly Lutheran area in southern Adamawa in the East of the country and had settled in Jos when she was still a small girl. We knew that she and her family lived in the worst-affected part of the city, but we had failed to reach her on her mobile phone. It transpired later, that Joy with her mother and sisters had spent the night

¹ Real names are not known or withheld.

hiding on the hillside praying, while her brothers watched the house. Later that day her brother Solomon walked down to the nearby road, so he said, “to see what was happening”. They never knew what his intentions really were and do not know what happened next. What is certain is that he never came back. After the violence ceased, Joy's family searched for Solomon for months, sifting through federal jails hoping that he might have fallen foul of the security forces and been imprisoned, but to this day, Joy has no closure on the fate of her brother. Solomon's untold story rests with hundreds of others killed during those days.

This was an experience which moved me to embark on the endeavour of writing this PhD. Having initially visited Northern Nigeria as a water & sanitation consultant from 2004 to 2006 on a frequent basis, I lived with my family in the rural north of Adamawa State in the north-east of the country on secondment from Mission 21 (formerly Basel Mission) to the EYN (Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa A Nigeria, or Church of the Brethren in Nigeria) between 2007 and 2010. With frequent trips to Jos and to neighbouring Borno State I had first hand experience of the Plateau State crisis and the emergence of Boko Haram which impressed on me to research the underlying causes more fully. This set me on a journey leading to this thesis. As a European and thus originating from a continent which has arguably conducted the most bloody conflicts in the history of humanity, it can never have been my goal to explain to those born and bred in Nigeria what their failings are. Rather, I see my work as the contribution of an outsider who has sufficiently acquainted himself with the situation to offer the local Church a perspective of their predicament. She is invited to first test and then accept or reject the findings, before including them in or exempting them from her own further deliberations as appropriate.

The two accounts I mentioned above are just facets of the tragic narrative which in most people's minds began on the afternoon of 7th September 2001 and has fundamentally changed the way the people of Plateau State think of themselves. Once prizing itself as the “Home of Peace and Tourism”, Plateau State has now become a byword for ethnoreligious strife and social fragility. What happened that afternoon is often disputed, but the most recounted version of how things started² tells of a Christian woman who insisted on her right of way on the street past a mosque in the ward of Congo-Russia during Friday prayer. After a tempestuous argument between the woman and Muslim worshippers, the situation escalated into a confrontation between the Friday faithful and Christian youths, who ostentatiously appeared on the scene to protect the woman. Within a few hours, fighting had spread to other parts of the city. A hastily imposed curfew was ignored³, but the police were powerless to contain the violence. Only a belated military intervention quelled it about four days later. After a brief hiatus, fighting resumed⁴ with violence re-erupting for weeks.

Smaller incidents continued over the course of the following year across the Plateau, which comprises the high-lying regions to the south and east of Jos. In southern Plateau State, an escalation in the first half of 2004, which culminated in May in a mass-killing of the Muslim inhabitants of

² Anecdotally the story most recounted in the street of Jos before 2008 and quoted in Human Rights Watch, ‘Jos - A City Torn Apart: Testimony to Human Rights Watch.’, pp. 7 & 8. However, the story is not uncontroversial: Danfulani, ‘Briefing: September 2001 Events in Jos, Nigeria.’, pp.249f claims that it violence broke out at several mosques at once, including the Central Mosque, and subsequently attempts to dismantle the Congo-Russia account.

It must be observed that sourcing for reliable information sources in conflicts similar to those of Plateau State is extremely difficult if one is not to resort to anecdotal accounts or on newspaper reports. This has resulted in what must normally be regarded as an unbalanced reliance on few sources, especially Human Rights Watch (HRW). While HRW's research is reasonably reliable, it is written from a position of advocacy with a bias towards the question of human rights abuse.

³ *Ibid.* p.16ff

⁴ *Ibid.* p.9

Yelwa, left 700 dead and displaced at least 40,000 people⁵. Further major disturbances in Jos, the neighbouring town of Bukuru and the Greater-Jos area occurred in November 2008 and January 2010⁶, easily claiming a further 1,000 lives. During this period there was a cumulation of reports of clashes between pastoral Fulanis and settled communities across the Plateau. Bomb attacks at the Gada Biyu market just before Christmas 2010 sealed Plateau State's reputation as a trouble spot and heralded in a new phase in which Boko Haram, hitherto but a remote threat from Nigeria's north-east, was to become a defining force. This phase reached its climax between May and July 2012 when public life was severely disrupted by a series of suicide attacks on churches and markets.

In the weeks and months after Solomon's disappearance, when many in Jos were left searching their souls and scrutinising their faith, there appeared to be a shared sense of shame and horror that two religions which are allegedly so wedded to the ideals of peace could be involved in such a frenzy of bloodshed. It was only the influential publication of Philip Ostien in late 2009 which couched the conflicts in terms of competition for political and economic resources between settler and indigene communities that lifted the ill-feeling. Ostien confidently stated that “the causes of the problems are in fact quite well understood”⁷ (an assertion regurgitated by Krause in 2011 *ad verbatim*, albeit without any attribution⁸). Tragically, his reduction of the conflict to a settler-vs-indigene paradigm enabled the blame to be placed squarely on the doorstep of the usual suspects, Nigeria's political class. Quite suddenly,

⁵ Human Rights Watch, ‘The Cycle of Violence in Plateau and Kano States.’, p.44

⁶ Ostien., p.1, placed an estimate at 400 – 600 for November 2008; no hardened statistics for January 2010 are yet available, but casualties are expected to have been similar in extent. HRW (available at <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2010/01/19/nigeria-use-restraint-curb-jos-violence>, accessed 23/05/11) estimated the death toll at above 700 in 2008 and in a preliminary communiqué in January 2010 at above 200 for the first part of the 2010 crisis.

⁷ Ostien., p.2

⁸ Krause., p.10

members of civil society working for reconciliation and peace would knowingly explain “It's not really a religious conflict – it's about settlers and indigenes”.⁹ Religion was out of the dock.

This new-found attitude might be emboldened further by lead quotations such as the one supplied by Krause of one Jos resident declaring, “when you see your family slaughtered, much of the religious values become irrelevant. You cannot be peaceful anymore”.¹⁰ Yet such a predication tends to limit religion to a state of peaceful inaction, which can simply be disrobed like a garment and hung on a hook when it is time to roll one's sleeves back. If it were in fact so, religion would be so void of meaning that it would probably not be worth fighting over. Moreover, being able to exit from the stage of conflict on such simple terms, religion would certainly not have escaped unscathed; rather, it would be stripped of its significance and meaning. More plausibly, religion can be found in the very heart of the battle, at some level even commandeering individuals and groups in their actions, be these of hideous vice or redeeming valour. I thus maintain that religion is not only a cause of the Jos conflict, but that it must become part of the solution, if it is worth its salt.

Nigeria is a notoriously religious country. Religious organisations are powerful forces, and statements by Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI), Izala or the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) are seldom pronounced without consequences for the political sphere. Works such as that of Adamu and Para-Mallam demonstrate that religious values in Nigeria can have a very real impact on how society and policy are shaped.¹¹ Accordingly, religion cannot be dismissed easily. If it is not Christianity or Islam which are at work as they, according to a common demur, have

⁹ Outcome of personal discussions with representatives of TEKAN Peace Desk and CEPAN (Centre for Peace Advancement in Nigeria).

¹⁰ Krause., p.12

¹¹ Fatima L. Adamu and Oluwafunmilayo L. Para-Mallam, ‘The Role of Religion in Women’s Campaigns for Legal Reform in Nigeria’, *Development in Practice*, 22 (2012), 803–18.,

not yet been present long enough to permeate African social reflexes, then this still begs the question of whose world-views and values are purveyors of violence. On this basis, I posit that things are perhaps not quite as well understood as Ostien assumes.

Fortunately, the religious dimension of the conflict has become more fully acknowledged in the last few years¹², although there has been a reluctance to engage with it academically beyond its functional influence on conflict – and even then, usually only superficially. What information is available does indicate that religious cleavages, indeed as my own research has progressed, have reached a point at which they are the dominant faultline between communities in urban Jos. Accordingly, I argue that the indigene-settler dichotomy, while being useful in characterising the conflict's origins, fails to explain many patterns of how the conflict is now being carried out. The conflict has become irreversibly unmoored from its origins, and consequentially, even if the indigene-settler question could magically be resolved in isolation from the digression of identity formation, it would not make the conflict go away. I am not challenging the explanatory power of models of political, economic and social exclusion with the intention of replacing with them with a purely religious alternative; I do however claim that there is a serious need for them to be complemented by research into the essence of religious perceptions and their influence on the machinations of conflict. I will elaborate on this more fully in *Chapter A.1*.

Broadly speaking, one may contend that the religious perspective is formed at the crossroads of tradition, experience, and cognition of an alternate reality. This research is primarily focussed on the question of mapping the relationship of those perceptions to the purported alternate

¹² e.g. Adam Higazi, 'Violence Urbaine et Politique À Jos (Nigeria), de La Période Coloniale Aux Élections de 2007', *Politique africaine*, 106 (2007), pp. 69–91., Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa*.

reality and how this impinges on words and actions. My work is not primarily preoccupied with the veracity of expressed perceptions, but with the perceptions themselves. There is no intention to denigrate the importance of dealing with the past by recovering the factual truth. In this discipline; the work of such organisations as HRW (Human Rights Watch) lay a valuable foundation and it is also on their sources that I draw. However, I do claim that it is ultimately *perceptions* which have to be confronted and negotiated in any process of reconciliation, in the course of which proximity to the factual truth might be reached through collective conversation. An indispensable point of departure is to understand these perceptions as far as possible on their own terms. Accordingly, it is in *Chapter A.2* where I will attempt to anchor the semantics of religion and violence in more tangible terms and on this basis develop the proposal that the religious perception can be found at the confluence of individuals' and groups' experiences, traditions and the machinations of the other world. As far as is possible from an outside perspective, it is this meeting point which will be the ultimate locus of my research, as it is unfolded into world-views, identities and moral dicta. These terms I will be framing in more depth in *Chapters A.3* and *A.4*.

As in any study, certain limitations of focus have to be accepted. Similar to research in the fields of social and political sciences which often strive to attain results that are digestible as policy recommendations, my work, instead acting from the perspective of *religious* science, intends to offer something similar to the influential ecclesiastical forces in Nigeria, which shape social spaces and are powerful parties to public policy dialogue. Their policy statements come in the form of theology and ethics. An increasingly common vehicle for such a “policy design” exercise is the approach proffered by practical theology (PTh), in which the local church attempts to address a local situation as a community of Christ. The approach is governed by a cyclical process which moves through the

diagnosis of a problem towards solutions and action. Essentially, this is the framework I am adopting for my work, and to the greatest extent I follow the school of John Swinton and Harriet Mowat. Of this I will speak more fully in the methodology in *Section B (Chapters B.1 – B.6)*.

The most relevant data underpinning my findings are presented in *Section C (Chapters C.1 – C.3)*, as respondents' direct quotations. They point to a fuller repository of quotations in *Appendix G.7*.

The data are scrutinised and evaluated in the subsequent *Section D (Chapters D.1 and D.2)* which is concluded with a summative discussion of the findings (*Chapter D.3*). The ultimate objective at this point in my work is to identify epistemic world-views¹³ of groups and how they impinge on identities and morals.

A final short section (*Section E with Chapters E.1 and E.2*) is dedicated to the discussion of the research's findings in terms of its implications for the next stages of the PTh process, culminating in a brief list of issues for consideration. It is at this point that I am dismissed, and with my prayer the conclusions pass into the custodianship of the local church.

A key imperative of a PTh response is that, unlike *applied* theology, it is formulated by the Church and her members *in situ*. Hence, the process is inherently emic. As a non-Nigerian outsider, albeit with considerable exposure to the situation over a number of years, I am compelled to explain what function I might have in such a process. Essentially, in the same way as a moderator or mediator can often provide useful insights to a challenge faced by a group, the contribution I intend to make is to complement and interpret the *emic* perspective of those in a situation from the vantage point of an *etic* observer, i.e. one who is somewhat removed. Kottak, in context of anthropological enquiry, compares the emic and etic approaches as follows:

¹³ More on the expression can be found in Juergenmeyer and Sheikh., p.629.

The emic approach investigates how local people think, i.e. how they perceive and categorise the world, their rules for behaviour, what has meaning for them, and how they imagine and explain things. [...] The etic (scientist-oriented) approach shifts the focus from local observations, categories, explanations, and interpretations to those of the anthropologist. The etic approach realises that members of a culture often are too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially.¹⁴

In favourable circumstances, where the outside observer has familiarised himself sufficiently with the situational context, a fruitful dialogue between the emic and etic perspectives can take place. In the words of Gadamer, there is a merging of horizons. Ideally, this would form a breakthrough for a PTh process, possibly even allowing participants to name the elephant in the room and facilitating the basis for subsequent PTh action. Accordingly, while it is my academic peers who may pass judgement of the quality of my work, it is the local Church who will judge the usefulness of this contribution to the resolution of her predicament.

The primary “emic” perspective selected for this work was that of the pew faithful of Plateau State's churches who are by proxy represented by cohorts of rural Tarok and peri-urban Berom. I then attempted to broaden this perspective by adding a comparative dimension through interaction with peripheral cohorts composed of urban and rural Christians in Adamawa State and urban Muslims of Jos north. The original rationale was not only to peek across the religious divide, but to probe the perspectives of Christians in a climatically comparable zone where religious adherence runs laterally to ethnic boundaries, rather than predominantly following them as in Plateau State. This logic was rather compromised by the interreligious violence which hit Adamawa in the wake of the presidential elections in April 2011 when my fieldwork preparations were already underway. It did nevertheless offer an unusual opportunity to gauge perspectives in a damaged but not yet ruptured relationship between religious groups.

¹⁴ Conrad Kottak, *Mirror for Humanity* (New York, USA: McGraw-Hill, 2006)., p.47

My undertaking might be placed in context of an emerging school of “sociotheology” which according to Juergenmeyer et al “represents an attempt to transcend the wall between facts and perceptions, between scientific reasoning and empathetic understanding.”¹⁵. One might counter that it is not *per se* a wholly new approach; however, it might be classed as a new conscience for the relevance of religion in Nigeria's identity-based conflicts. I hope it will also do justice to Godiya's experience, Solomon's actions and Joy's loss.

Originally, I intended to ignore Boko Haram, as an entirely separate and remote phenomenon from the one I was focussing on in Plateau State, which it arguably was at the outstart of my fieldwork. However, that all changed as the group's actions permeated the conflict narrative in Jos at the end of 2011. Perhaps uniquely, I have serendipitously been able to document Boko Haram's influence on the perceptions of one cohort of respondents whom I interviewed both before and during the threat of terrorist attacks.

At the time of writing, the greatest ordeal amongst those interviewed was not experienced by the people of Plateau State, but by those of Adamawa who have seen their towns and village sacked by Boko Haram in the later half of 2014 and destroyed in subsequent fighting with government troops. Many thousands have been killed and considerably more dispersed across Nigeria, their communities possibly destroyed forever. Given the strict anonymity granted to respondents in the course of this study, it is difficult to determine what has become of individual respondents. It is however safe to assume that they have experienced untold horrors, be that death, torture, a life as an IDP or an existence

¹⁵ Mark Juergenmeyer and Mona Kanwal Sheikh, ‘A Sociotheological Approach to Understanding Religious Violence’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 620–43., p.640

under the unremitting terror of Boko Haram. As unwilling actors in yet another unfolding tragedy, it is not too much to ask that their stories be told, their voices heard and experiences addressed in a future theological process, which might to some extent be assisted by this thesis' findings.

***Section A: Setting the Stage - Research
Background and Theoretical
Framework***

Chapter A.1 From Tranquillity to Strife? - Setting out the problem in its historic context

A.1.1 Indigenous religion, precolonial developments and colonial migration policies

Indigenous religions still enjoy a substantial following across Nigeria and even in Christian and Muslim communities continue to exert a strong influence. Often unmentioned, they lurk just below the surface of the collective conscience, and it is particularly in rural areas that their open expression is far from dead. Various observers have detected the continuing importance of traditional concepts and world-views¹⁶, which according to Nigerian Cardinal Francis Arinze, are “the religious and cultural context from which most Christians in Africa come, and in which many of them still live to a great extent”¹⁷. Indeed, it would be surprising if all relevance of traditional religions were to have withered in the space of the one or two generations in which the Plateau peoples have widely become adherents of Christianity or Islam.

Plateau State's autochthonous ethnicities can be classified broadly in two language groups, those of the Chadic languages (to which also Hausa belongs) spoken in the southern and eastern areas of the Plateau, encompassing such ethnicities as the Angas, Mupun, Fyer or Mwaghavul, and those of the Benue-Congo group spoken by the likes of the Berom, Anaguta, Izere or Tarok, who inhabit the north and the west. The language groups have no bearing on their present-day religious adherences, although Danfulani does detect differences in the theological structures of their traditional religions.¹⁸ In step with traditions across

¹⁶ e.g. Imo., p.17; Graham Dan, *Religion and Cultural Identity : The Case of Ubunda*, 1979., p.38f; Emmanuel Martey, *African Theology : Inculturation and Liberation* (Maryknoll NY, United States: Orbis Books, 1993)., p.72

¹⁷ Pontifical Council for Interreligious, ‘Pastoral Attention to African Traditional Religions (Letter of Cardinal Francis Arinze to the Presidents of the Episcopal Conferences and Madagascar, 25th March 1988)’, *Bulletin*, 68 (1988), pp. 102–6.

¹⁸ Danfulani, ‘The Spirit World of Some Chadic-Speakers on the Jos Plateau.’

Africa, both language groups believe in the concept of seen and unseen worlds, which are distinct only by degrees, as one is a continuation of the other.¹⁹ Chadic speakers traditionally upheld the concept of the earth in the shape of a disk suspended in space, giving rise to a three-tiered universe of sky, the abode of the Supreme-Being; the earth, where humans reside; and the land of the ancestors, located in the ground and by implication on the far side of the disk. Below the Supreme-Being there is class of deities who preside over a layer of free spirits of djinns and ghosts.²⁰ Only below these come the venerated ancestors, who are known also to mortal human beings and can thus mediate between the phenomenological “here and now” and the unseen world.²¹ The Congo-Benue ethnicities by contrast have various theological systems. Amongst them, ethnicities such as the Ifizere and Anaguta emphasise the role of ancestors at the cost of that of the deities and spirits. The Berom, on the other hand, stress the role of the Supreme-Being and mystical powers, while the role of the ancestors is less pronounced.²² Accordingly, various ethnicities, while agreeing on the basic elements of the unseen world, can evaluate their relative powers and importance very differently.

Islam started to reach Nigeria in the 11th Century by the northern trade routes through the Sahara to such cities as Kano and what is today Maiduguri.²³ Spreading only gradually, Islam remained the select religion of urban elites, while rural communities stayed untrammelled in their traditional ways. Some have attributed the lack of missionary zeal to the practice of abducting infidels – but not Muslims – for slavery. Traditional communities were maintained as a welcome pool of cheap labour and as a trading commodity.²⁴

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.16f

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.16

²¹ *Ibid.* p.43f

²² *Ibid.* p.17

²³ Falola., p.28; Steed., p.67

²⁴ Marjomaa. p.25; Smedley., p.29; Olaniyan., p.271

This changed at the beginning of the 19th century under the renewing force of the Sokoto Jihad led by the Fulani Usman Dan Fodio, whose campaign rapidly overran the Hausa States and established a vast empire reaching as far south as Ibadan and extending as far as east as to what is today known as Adamaoua in northern Cameroon²⁵. The new caliphate was ruled by the Sultan, or *Sardauna*, of Sokoto in a system of loosely allied Emirates, some of them as vassal statelets each ruled by an Emir, or *Lamido*. However, the Fulani cavalry proved ineffective in higher areas, such as Plateau and the Mandaras of northern Adamawa. Also, the southward expansion was thwarted as the savannah gave way to closed woodlands. These unconquered areas did however remain important grounds for slave raiding²⁶, which through the Atlantic slave trade had become a lucrative activity.

European trading posts in the southern reaches of contemporary Nigeria became a permanent presence in the first half of the 19th Century. Emerging commerce along inland waterways after 1850, notably by the Royal Niger Company²⁷, eventually gave way to rapid military expansion and subjugation of the entire north by the British Empire at the turn of the 20th Century, which had crushed the Sokoto Caliphate by 1903²⁸. Nicholson in his history of British colonial administration in Nigeria maintains that Mancunian and Liverpoolian textile giants lobbied for

²⁵ Rainer Osswald, *Das Sokoto-Kalifat Und Seine Ethnischen Grundlagen* (Beirut, Lebanon: Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1986)., p.72; Adam Higazi, 'Social Mobilisation And Collective Violence: Vigilantes And Militias In The Lowlands Of Plateau State, Central Nigeria', *Journal of African Studies*, 78 (2008), 107–35 <<http://www.eupjournals.com/doi/abs/10.3366/E0001972008000077>> [accessed 6 January 2011]., p.18

²⁶ Audrey Smedley, *Women Creating Patriliney : Gender and Environment in West Africa* (Lanham MD, USA: Altamira Press, 2003)., p.17; A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Adamawa, Past and Present* (London, UK: International African Institute / Oxford University Press, 1958)., p.144

²⁷ Risto Marjomaa, *War On The Savannah : The Military Collapse of The Sokoto Caliphate under The Invasion of the British Empire 1897 - 1903* (Helsinki, Finland: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia / Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ, 1998)., p.27

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp.52ff

British expansion into the densely populated areas of Western Africa in pursuit of new markets akin to India.²⁹

A first mining expedition made its way to the Plateau at the end of the 19th Century, and led to the establishment of a mining industry. Missionary activity was not far behind, with the Sudan United Mission (SUM) establishing its first station in 1907³⁰. Indeed, missionaries used the emerging mining infrastructure for communication and promotion of “legitimate trade”.³¹ In return, it was the missionary schools which trained indigenous civil servants who formed the backbone of the nascent colonial administration.³² With diverging goals, but some common interests, colonial authorities, commercial enterprises and missionaries remained uneasy bedfellows.

In response to the meagre resources available for the administration of the vast entity of Northern Nigeria, colonial authorities applied the doctrine of *indirect rule* to appoint traditional rulers, through so-called Native Administrations, to lead the people of their jurisdiction under the auspices of a British field officer³³. Not least as a *modus vivendi*, the British fell back on the incumbent Hausa-Fulani leaders who were almost exclusively Muslim. Some observers argue that this arrangement greatly favoured the spread of Islam throughout Nigeria during the British colonial period³⁴.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 25f

³⁰ Umar Habila Dadem Danfulani, ‘Briefing: September 2001 Events in Jos, Nigeria’, *African Affairs*, 101 (2002), pp. 243–56., pp.17f & 27; C.G. Ames, *Gazetters of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, Vol. IV : The Highland Chieftaincies (London, UK: Frank Cass, 1972), p.39

³¹ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll NY, United States: Orbis Books, 1991), p.305f; Falola., p.41

³² I. F. Nicolson, *Administration of Nigeria 1900 - 1960* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1969).

³³ See Kirk-Greene., p.84 and H.R. Palmer, *Gazetteer of Bornu Province* (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1929), p.41ff for statistics pertaining to the contemporary British governance of the Bornu Province

³⁴ e.g. E.P.T. Crampton and A.B. Gaiya Musa, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979), p.13

Colonial economic activities and administration policies conditioned migration. In consideration of local sentiment, ethnicities were kept separate by settling incomers in so-called *sabon gararawa* (new towns)³⁵, which have remained a feature of the old cities of the north. The Plateau was also affected. The tin mining industry had a huge intake of labour which comprised mainly Muslim Hausa, who were settled round a market called Guash³⁶, rapidly establishing a Muslim centre in a “pagan” area. Initially, conversions to Christianity appear to have been relatively rare, as Smedley's ethnographical study amongst the Berom in the 1960s attests.³⁷ Even discounting the potentially uncharitable attitude of an anthropologist towards the missionary community, it does tally with other observations that the main missionary push came only after Nigerian independence.³⁸ The better connected Hausa quickly took over the leadership of the nascent Native Administration in 1912, which was headed by a *Sarkin Jos* (Ruler/King of Jos), a position occupied by an uninterrupted succession of Hausa until 1947 under the Emir of Bauchi³⁹, and established a certain feeling of entitlement to indigeneship. This pattern of migration and colonial governance followed the administrative and economic imperatives of the day, and no doubt seemed a pragmatic and viable solution at the time. It did however almost certainly sow the seeds of many of the problems to come.

A.1.2 The post-independence political economy of religion and ethnicity

The issue of interregional tensions at a political level was easily visible long before the eve of independence. The British, who had taken rather

³⁵ Steed., p.; 80; Casimir Chinedu O. Nzeh, *From Clash to Dialogue of Religions - A Socio-Ethical Analysis of the Christian-Islamic Tension in Pluralistic Nigeria* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2002)., p.197

³⁶ Smedley., p.18

³⁷ *Ibid.* p.29

³⁸ Crampton and Gaiya Musa., pp.180ff

³⁹ Ostien., p.8; Okpalanozie., p.67

different approaches to colonising the southern and northern parts of the country, were often in disagreement as to how Nigeria as a single entity should be governed⁴⁰. The north had been brought under the Crown by rapid conquest and was subsequently administered by indirect rule through traditional leaders; the southern colonies had grown more slowly, initially starting life on the coast and gradually expanding land inwards along rivers and through the construction of railways⁴¹. Until the unification of the two in 1914, southern rule had been subject to a more pyramidal system of civil administration governed from a centre.⁴² Introduction of indirect rule led to a multitude of local leadership styles, jurisdictions and law practices, with the application of sharia widespread in the north. Another problem was the differences in educational standards. Whereas southern Nigeria had adopted European educational practices through gradual missionary penetration, giving rise to a class of relatively well-equipped colonial administrators, formal education in the north, as far as it existed, continued to be dominated by Qu'ranic understandings of schooling. The fact that missionaries were long barred from entering large parts of the north for fear of provoking traditional Muslim leaders⁴³ meant Western education spread only slowly. As a result, a considerable number of southerners were relocated north to run the colonial administration and were subsequently settled in the *sabon gararawa*, segregated from the local population and barred from owning land.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Higazi, 'Social Mobilisation And Collective Violence: Vigilantes And Militias In The Lowlands Of Plateau State, Central Nigeria.', pp. 34f

⁴¹ *Ibid.* pp.43-45 (Selbourne Committee); 55 & 71f

⁴² *Ibid.* ch.5

⁴³ In the words of the Administrator Lord Lugard, to prevent "utter disrespect for British and native ideas alike". - see Coleman. p.137

⁴⁴ Larry Diamond, *Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria* (Houndmills, UK: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1988)., p. 26 citing James S. Coleman, *Nigeria : Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley, CA, USA: University of California Press, 1958)., p..59

In 1959, on the eve of independence, the erstwhile government of the north introduced a policy of “northernisation”, the first Nigerian political assertion of territorial preference, which Clark & Linden expressed as “though the policy was motivated principally by economic and political interests, these were inseparable from their religious dimension.”⁴⁵ This established a single notion of indigeneship for northerners⁴⁶ and defined the southerners as strangers, isolating them in their *sabon gararawa*.

Indeed, northernisation was met with considerable resistance in areas which could not properly be regarded as part of the south, but whose populations did not feel they had much in common with the north. In the late 1950s this led to the establishment of the “United Middle Belt Congress” which actively sought to resist what it saw as dominance by the Hausa. The Middle Belt, while being notionally quite important in many areas including descriptive geography and investment planning, has never achieved any legal status and remains ill-defined in its geographical extent and political function.

The first six years of independence were a period of uneasy interregional, interethnic and interreligious coexistence and political turmoil featuring a controversial census in 1962, election rigging, coups and counter-coups. Eventually the young state was consumed by the 1967-1970 Biafra War which may have claimed up to one million lives. In its aftermath, the country moved in fits and starts towards rebalancing its political structure, which had hitherto been a constellation of three regions. A step was taken to divide this tripartite power structure into a larger number of smaller entities. The result was the creation of 12 new

⁴⁵ Peter B. Clarke and Ian Linden, ‘Birom Woman Evangelist, Vo Gyang of Forum (fl. 1927-9)’, in *Varieties of Christian Experience in Nigeria*, ed. by Elisabeth Isichei (Hong Kong, China: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1982), p.42 as quoted in Imo., pp.32f

⁴⁶ Adetunji Ojo Ogunyemi, ‘Nation-Building in Nigeria : Conflict between the Rights of the Indigene and the Citizen’, in *Nationalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Nigeria*, ed. by Aderemi Suleiman Ajala (Cologne, Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag Köln, 2012), pp. 109-37., p.120

states in 1976, with further splits in 1987, 1991 and 1996, bringing the number up to today's 36. Often, this process was espoused at the top through a system of clientélism and supported from below by the hope for gaining direct access to federal monies.

The constitutional reform of 1979 with the temporary return to civilian rule bore a similar concern for regional and ethnic balances. It was also the first to use the term “indigene”, albeit without any self-contained definition, which was applied in context of citizenship as belonging “to a community indigenous to Nigeria.”⁴⁷ “Ethnicity” was used in context of Nigeria's “federal character” which should be cemented by ensuring that there was “no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in the Government or in any of its agencies”.⁴⁸ This was then linked to the term *indigene* through §135(3): “Any appointment [...] shall be in conformity with section 14.(3) [...] provided that [...] the President shall appoint at least one minister from each State who shall be an indigene of such State.”⁴⁹ “Indigene” remained a loaded term, which the Federal Charter Commission (FCC) defined only in 1995 as follows:

An indigene of a Local Government Area means a person:
(i) either of whose parents or any of whose grandparents was or is an indigene of the Local Government Area concerned; or
(ii) who is accepted as an indigene by the Local Government.⁵⁰

In parallel to this tendency, the role of religion in politics became increasingly important, often as an instrument for personal ends.⁵¹ While the question of federal, and by extension, ethnic power distribution

⁴⁷ Nigerian constitution of 1979, §23(1)(a), Ogunyemi., p.121f

⁴⁸ Philip Ostien, ‘Jonah Jang and the Jasawa : Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos , Nigeria’, *Sharia in Africa*, 2009, 1–42 <www.sharia-in-africa.net/pages/publications.php>., p.5 with Nigerian constitution of 1979 §14(3)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p.5 with Nigerian Constitution of 1979 §135(3)

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.5

⁵¹ Falola., p.108

dominated the first decades of independence, religion had emerged as a major force of cleavage by the beginning of the 1980s.⁵²

It is likely that disaffection with the fortunes of the secular state drove ever more Nigerians into the arms of political religion. Rapidly spreading Christianity and Islam offered promising soteriologies and new identities to gather around in an ever less parochial and ever more urban world. Falola argues that it was during the rapid economic deterioration in the early 1980s when vulnerable groups became particularly prone to economic exclusion that religion became widely used as a political tool⁵³. Imo identifies the *almajirai*⁵⁴, as one such group to be involved in such radical movements, which were excluded from the prebendalist economy in the 1970s and disproportionately badly hit at the end of the oil boom. They were the minions of the radically Islamist Maitatsine, who rejected the secular state and western values and education and who fomented a bloody uprising in 1980, claiming thousands of lives in Kano, Kaduna and Maiduguri. Many observers cite the Maitatsine as the historic precursor to the contemporary Boko Haram.

A further impetus to making religion a driving force in Nigerian politics was the unconstitutional and unsolicited manoeuvre of Ibrahim Babangida, the self-styled “Evil Genius”⁵⁵, to register Nigeria as a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC)⁵⁶. This move

⁵² Jibrin Ibrahim, ‘Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 29 (1991), pp. 115–36., pp.127 & 130 emphasises the importance of religion during the 1977/78 constitutional reform process, while Matthew Hassan Kukah and Toyin Falola, *Religious Militancy and Self-Assertion* (Aldershot, UK: Atheneum Press Ltd., 1996)., p.168 claims it was under Shehu Shagari that religious violence became important “due to the pervasive role of religion in politics”.

⁵³ Toyin Falola, *The History of Nigeria* (Westport CT, USA: Greenwood Press, 1999)., p.168

⁵⁴ Cyril O. Imo, *Religion and The Unity of The Nigerian Nation* (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995)., p.24ff: a class of young men who were reared in Qu'ranic schools where teachers send them out as groups of children

⁵⁵ Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *The History of Nigeria* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008)., p.183

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.187; Imo., p.27; see also Best and Rakodi., p.33

was never backtracked. Another watershed development was the introduction of sharia in a number of northern states as a parallel legal system mandatory for all Muslims after Nigeria's return to civilian rule in 1999. This represents the outcome of a sharia debate which had simmered since the establishment of the secular state's constitution in the 1960s that afforded only very limited influence to local forms of adjudication until the formal comprehensive establishment of Islamic law with far-reaching jurisdiction.⁵⁷

In the years since the Maitatsine uprising, Nigeria has regularly seen outbursts of violence similar to that of Plateau in complexity which have been classified as sectarian⁵⁸. As these have occurred mostly in the north, there have been some controversial debates as to why this is the case and whether it may lie in the nature of Islam which makes a holistic claim to power and recognises no ultimate separation of political, social and religious systems.⁵⁹

A.1.3 Plateau-State: the road to disaster

Urbanisation quickly gathered pace in the 1970s and 1980s and led to the need for administrative reorganisation. The local government area (LGA) of Jos was subdivided into Jos North and Jos South under Babangida in 1991. Ostien suspects that Babangida may have been serving his clientèle by creating a Muslim-dominated LGA.⁶⁰ Indeed, a Muslim was appointed chairman for Jos North that same year. He in turn appointed a lot of ethnic Hausa as functionaries and issued indigene certificates both to Plateau ethnicities and to Hausa.⁶¹ This practice continued under the

⁵⁷ Rotimi T. Suberu, 'The Sharia Challenge: Revisiting the Travails of the Secular State', in *Encountering the Nigerian State*, ed. by Wale Adebawale and Ebenezer Obadare (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 217–37., pp.217-237 in his treatise on the post-independence sharia debate

⁵⁸ Imo., p.21

⁵⁹ e.g. Imo., p.25

⁶⁰ Ostien., p.8

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.11

internationally isolated dictator Gen. Sani Abacha, who placed a Muslim military governor over Plateau State. He in turn appointed an Alh. Aminu Mato as Jos North Chairman in 1994. However, this move did not go uncontested, and sparked a riot claiming four lives. The government backed down, which infuriated the Hausa, but this did not interrupt the continued issuing of indigene papers to Hausa.⁶²

The change came with the return to civilian rule in 1999 and the election of the controversial Christian Mushere Joshua Dariye as state governor (later impeached over charges of corruption), who quickly appointed a Christian as chairman of Jos North.⁶³ Increasingly, the Hausa were excluded from political participation.

The initial violence in September 2001 was triggered by the nomination of a Hausa Muslim to the National Poverty Eradication Programme which evoked strong political opposition from pressure groups representing autochthonous ethnicities⁶⁴. However, at least as perceived retrospectively, the tensions had already been rising for months: Human Rights Watch (HRW) records the circulation of leaflets propagating the introduction of sharia, Hausa protests at not getting access to indigene papers, and a subsequent open letter to the government on behalf of Christian groups titled "Enough is enough".⁶⁵ It is conceivable that the mosque incident which finally sparked wide-spread violence had been staged as just another act of sabre rattling. Certainly one congregation member interviewed by HRW claimed that the woman asserting her right of way had done the same thing in earlier weeks.⁶⁶

⁶² *Ibid.* pp. 11f, see also Human Rights Watch, 'Jos - A City Torn Apart : Testimony to Human Rights Watch', *Human Rights Watch*, 13 (2001), 27., p.5

⁶³ *Ibid.* p.14

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.13

⁶⁵ Human Rights Watch, 'Jos - A City Torn Apart : Testimony to Human Rights Watch.', p.6

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* pp.7f

Beyond this level of provocation and the rapid spread of violence there was however very little to substantiate popular claims that the violence had been orchestrated in advance. In September 2001, unlike in later conflicts, there were relatively few incidents of violence spreading outside the Jos area, although HRW does report the destruction of Dilimi, a Muslim village south of Jos on 9th September⁶⁷.

In the aftermath of the conflict the authorities were heavily criticised for their sluggish response, and later there were reports of unwarranted arrests and shooting of innocents.⁶⁸ Many Muslims and Christians moved to neighbourhoods where their own religion dominated, which subsequently entrenched ethnic and religious cleavages through spatial segregation.

Tensions remained high in Plateau State, with further violence erupting in 2002, 2003 and 2004. Notable were the violent outbreaks in and around the town of Yelwa in 2004, located in the southern part of the Plateau (see Map, Chapter F.2). In a first round of violence, 75 Christians were killed in February, with repercussions claiming as many as 700 Muslim lives in two days of bloody fighting, initiated by people resident outside the town at the beginning of May.⁶⁹ Notably, the Yelwa area is composed of various smaller ethnicities of mixed religious allegiances. Additionally, semi-nomadic Fulani uphold pasturing rights for their cattle during the dry season. Conflicts between sedentary and nomadic people across Nigeria have traditionally claimed lives particularly at the end of the harvest season. The late rains of 2003 may have heightened the tensions as crops stayed longer in fields than usual, making the likelihood of conflict with incoming Fulani greater. According to HRW,

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p.11

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* pp.18 & 20f

⁶⁹ Human Rights Watch, 'The Cycle of Violence in Plateau and Kano States.', pp.1&2

the February violence was precipitated by incidents of cattle-rustling and subsequent mob-justice.⁷⁰

After the first bout of killings in February tensions remained high with sporadic attacks taking place over the subsequent weeks and months, mostly Muslims on Christians. The “counter-attack” of May 2004 appears to have been well-rehearsed and probably included vigilantes of various ethnic backgrounds such as Tarok, Gamai, Montol, Angas, Kwalla, Berom, Sayawa and Jukun.⁷¹ Yelwa was devastated; of 32,000 inhabitants, only 1,000 remained. By June 40,000 to 60,000 people had been internally displaced, and it is reckoned that the subsequent riots in Kano in May that year were “a direct response to the May attack in Yelwa”⁷². HRW concluded in their 2004 report that

whereas in previous phases of the conflict, ethnic allegiance tended to be stronger than religious allegiance, in the last one to two years, the question of religion has become paramount, leading to situations where members of the same ethnic group – for example the Tarok or the Gamai – have clashed because they were from different faiths.⁷³

As far as one accepts that the Kano and Yelwa riots are linked beyond the desire to perpetrate violence on the slightest excuse, these examples attest that the dynamics of religious conflict in northern Nigeria have become unmoored from their origins, as multifarious as these may be. In the case of Plateau, the situation had reached a point where one would have to question whether the spiral of violence might not continue even if the reasons for the original contentions could magically be removed. This takes the issue clearly beyond an “unresolved settler-indigene conflict, and instead demonstrates a definite cleavage between Muslims and Christians. In any event, no lesser than the President of the Church of

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* pp.14f

⁷¹ *Ibid.* pp.20 – 22, see also Higazi, ‘Social Mobilisation And Collective Violence: Vigilantes And Militias In The Lowlands Of Plateau State, Central Nigeria.’ for the role of vigilantes in the conflict.

⁷² *Ibid.* pp.44f and p.8 resp.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p.9

Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) in Plateau State declared “The lives lost on 2nd May cannot be compared to [...] the February attack in Yelwa. I call it defence [...]. People can't just sit and be killed”.⁷⁴ Worryingly, this quote shows no attempt by a Christian leader to condemn violence, but rather illustrates his support for one side of a conflict in which the front line is demarcated primarily by religious identities.

A peace conference held in Jos in September 2004 with a wide representation of nearly 50 indigenous groups from across Plateau State plus the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI)⁷⁵ yielded only modest progress. The Hausa were granted “residence certificates” and otherwise told to “associate themselves with their places of origin”. As a result, the Hausa and JNI (underlining the religious dimension of advocacy and association in the conflict) refused to sign the conference paper.⁷⁶

The following four years saw the return to an uneasy peace. However, tensions started to rise markedly after the aborted state-wide LGA elections of 15th March 2008, when ballot papers were not delivered on time and polling stations could not open. The elections were repeated on 27th November 2008, and had been preceded by months of politicking by the two front-running parties, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), the former being backed by the Christian Berom Governor of Plateau State, Jonah Jang, and the latter by Muslim groups. Although the elections were “by-and-large fair at the ballot”⁷⁷, allegations of irregularities at the collation centre led to the eruption of violence which rapidly spread across Jos the following morning. Although the army rapidly intervened, hundreds had been

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p.35 / COCIN has its origins in the mission church of Reformed missions and is largest denomination in the area

⁷⁵ CAN: Christian Association of Nigeria and JNI: Jama'atu Nasril Islam are the major interest groups associations for Christian and Muslim interest groups in Nigeria.

⁷⁶ Ostien., p.16

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p.28

killed by the time most fighting had been quelled. By the end of the following day, hundreds had been left dead. Meanwhile, amidst the fighting on the 27th, the PDP was declared the winning party of all 17 of Plateau State's LGAs.⁷⁸

A.1.4 A widening of the conflict since 2010

The latest episode of conflict began only 14 months later in January 2010, and affected many areas round about Jos North, especially the more outlying areas in Jos South and other parts of Plateau, notably Bukuru and Vom. Higazi notes that in this phase of the conflict, although not widely reported, it was mainly rural areas which were affected in the form of recurring violence between Fulani and Berom.⁷⁹

The most widely accepted version⁸⁰ of how trouble started is that a Muslim man returned to one of the worst affected parts of the city (Nassarawa Ward) with some building materials and helpers to re-erect his burnt house which he had abandoned at the time of the 2008 clashes. This deed was violently contested by Christian residents, who allegedly were not Berom, but Alfarzere, who purportedly rallied support with cries of “Come out and fight for Jesus”.⁸¹ News of the violence spread quickly, and while the authorities were mostly able to quell the conflict in Jos North, violence escalated rapidly in Jos South.

Bukuru was devastated; the market and scores of Muslim houses were torched irrespectively of their inhabitants' ethnicity. It appears certain

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p.32f

⁷⁹ Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa.*, p.17ff

⁸⁰ Based on anecdotal conversations I have had with Christian and Muslim traders on the streets of Jos, however with varying interpretation of the events. HRW has since backed up the prevalence of this narrative: Human Rights Watch, *‘Leave Everything to God’ : Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States Nigeria.*, p.48

⁸¹ Adam Higazi, *The Jos Crisis : A Recurrent Nigerian Tragedy* (Abuja, Nigeria, 2011)., p.24f

that Christian youths from adjacent Gyel were mobilised in the early morning of 19th January, and after initially being prevented by the army from crossing the Express Way into Bukuru, nevertheless did, where they found a ready cohort of resident Christian youths to attack Muslim inhabitants indiscriminately, many of whom were slaughtered in their houses. There are rival accounts as to whether the Gyel youth were roused by a muezzin at 1.a.m., or whether the mosque call occurred in response to the youth's mobilisation.⁸²

Planned and coordinated attacks in other peri-urban LGAs followed, targeting Muslims of all hue, including Berom, but it was the former mining towns which were worst hit.⁸³ Simultaneously violence had spread to rural areas in a way not seen since 2002.⁸⁴ A 2012 Human Rights Watch report alleges that Berom attacked a considerable number of Fulani settlements. Highly publicised attacks on communities such as Kuru Karama saw the Muslim population nearly extinguished, leaving many of the buildings destroyed, fields devastated and wells filled with bodies.⁸⁵

Throughout these attacks, the authorities response was inadequate. Essentially, the blame was passed around. One discourse of events has it that due to the illness of President Umar Yar'Adua and constitutional gridlock on the question of whether his deputy Goodluck Jonathan could become acting president, there was no line of command which would have allowed a decisive intervention by the armed forces. The State Governor was allegedly not able to contact the army, and it subsequently took nearly a week to quell the violence and impose a viable curfew. Another discourse is more incriminating of the state authorities, claiming that the

⁸² Higazi, *The Jos Crisis : A Recurrent Nigerian Tragedy.*, p.27f

⁸³ *Ibid.* p.27, see also Ibrahim., p.58

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* pp.27/56

⁸⁵ Human Rights Watch, *'Leave Everything to God' : Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States Nigeria.*, p.59

police did not respond to calls for help from communities under attack.⁸⁶ Indeed, there are indications of coordinated attacks on Fulani by well-armed Berom, but these are hard to substantiate.⁸⁷

In the following weeks, a string of revenge attacks and a cycle of violence and counterviolence between the sedentary Berom and the nomadic Fulani ensued, reaching unprecedented heights with casualties being admitted to hospitals almost on a daily basis⁸⁸. Although at a slower rate, the bloody haemorrhage has continued ever since. Both HRW and Higazi note that in Fulani culture an attack on one is seen as an attack on all.⁸⁹ Higazi also maintains that the rural dimension of Plateau's latest violence has gone largely unreported⁹⁰ and concludes that it is multifaceted. He questions the models of desertification knock-on and land-use conflict, as these have not affected a change in migration patterns. He notes that violence does not occur within the usual periods of conflict between farmers and pastoralists. While this is no doubt an astute observation (albeit he does not discuss the possible pressure as a result of ever larger herd sizes and the fact that cattle migration is today often performed by motor transport) he fails to deliver an accurate diagnosis of what *is* driving the conflict. Hagazi does however afford religion an important, although not salient part in it.⁹¹

The urban areas have followed the same pattern of a protracted “slow-burn” conflict where inter-communal cleavages have become more pronounced. Various wards are now “no-go” areas for one or the other religious groups, and “silent killings” and abductions a frequent

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p.56ff

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.58

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.65f, but also as recorded by Menonite missionaries of Vom Hospital 30 km south of Jos

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p.36; Adam Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa*, 2013., p.62f

⁹⁰ Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa.*, p.52

⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.21

phenomenon.⁹² Both Krause and Higazi claim that sophisticated arms are now readily available to both sides.⁹³ Muslims opine that the Berom are being armed by the state government or procure arms from Igbo dealers, while Christians assert that Muslims are bringing arms in from “the North”. Higazi speculates that an influx of weapons after conflicts in Libya and Mali may be reaching the hands of insurgents like Boko Haram in substantial quantities.⁹⁴ While firearms are no doubt the weapons of choice for planned attacks, simpler weapons, such as machetes and stones still appear to be employed in more spontaneous episodes of violence. An outbreak of severe violence occurred on 29th August 2011, the eve of Eid-Al-Fitr, in Gada Biyu in the aftermath of an Izala attempt to repossess a mosque which had been burnt in 2010. Ensuing violence claimed dozens of lives and tensions ran high for days across the entire municipal areas.⁹⁵

A new feature of the conflict in the post-2010 period has been the regularity of terrorist attacks. The phenomenon of the suicide bomber had previously been virtually absent from Nigeria, and must be brought into connection with the spread of Salafist teachings, which are not consistent with traditions of Nigerian Islam. Although there were rumours of plans for bomb attacks as early as February 2010⁹⁶, it was not until the Christmas Eve bombings in Jos in 2010 and the 26th-August on the UN headquarters in Abuja eight months later⁹⁷ that the impact of Boko

⁹² Human Rights Watch, *‘Leave Everything to God’: Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States Nigeria.*, p.14; Jana Krause, *A Deadly Cycle : Ethno-Religious Conflict in Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria* (Geneva, Switzerland, 2011)., p.43 and much of my own research reinforces this.

⁹³ Krause., p.44; Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa.*, p.48

⁹⁴ Adam Higazi, ‘Les Origines et La Transformation de L’insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria’, *Politique africaine*, 130 (2013), pp. 137–64., p.44

⁹⁵ Based on eye-witness reports, see also Human Rights Watch, *‘Leave Everything to God’: Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States Nigeria* (Washington DC, United States, 2013)., p.71

⁹⁶ Based on accounts related to me at the time.

⁹⁷ Okereke., p.158

Haram was actually felt in central Nigeria. Suicide attacks on churches and public buildings were perpetrated across the entire north of Nigeria from December 2011 with Boko Haram taking responsibility for many of these attacks and suspected in practically all of the others. The perceived threat to Plateau-State inhabitants reached a climax between May and July 2012. Attacks on places of worship on Sundays were widely expected, leading to the installation of road-blocks around churches and to obsessive security searches on Sunday worshippers. Jointly, security forces and vigilantes imposed severe restrictions on vehicle movement, and the use of *achabas*, commercial motobikes, was forbidden outright. Many people abstained from attending church, and the fear of Boko Haram severely tainted intercommunal relationships. Although the situation has since relaxed somewhat, the social and economic costs of Boko Haram's threats remain exorbitant.

A.1.5 Boko Haram

In the last few years the movement popularly known as Boko Haram has transformed the narrative of intercommunal violence in much of northern Nigeria. The name, consisting of a compound of a native Hausa word followed by an Arabic loanword, might best be translated as “deceptive knowledge is sinful”⁹⁸, which is usually equated to Western education. The term was purportedly popularised by the media⁹⁹ in lieu of the lengthy

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.45 There is considerable debate on the origin of the word *boko*. Some suggest it is a corruption of the word *book*. Higazi equates it to „shame“, or „fraud“; Matthew Hassan Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books, 1993), p.80 however sees it as a corruption of the word *boka*, meaning sorcery or witchcraft.

⁹⁹ e.g. Umara and Mohammed., p.357; Its full name being “Jama'atu Ahalissunnah lidda'awatiwal Jihad”, see also Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria* (Washington DC, United States, 2012), p.32

names the organisation has given itself¹⁰⁰ and displays a Hausa penchant for adopting monikers.

It's founder, Mohammed Yakubu, was a youth leader in the Salafist-Wahabist movement Izala¹⁰¹, but followed a radical doctrine that demonised the Nigerian state as a Western construct which should be countered by violent means.¹⁰² This set him apart from the teachings of the popular cleric Jafar Adam, who also rejected the secular state in favour of a reemergent Sokoto Caliphate, but sought to transform the state from within by engaging in its institutions.¹⁰³ Yakubu's movement first gained prominence in 2003 and 2004 as the “Nigerian Taliban” through armed attacks in Yobe State and a hold-out against government troops in the Gwosa hills of the northern Mandara.¹⁰⁴ Although crushed, the sect gradually regrouped, this time establishing cells in a number of north-eastern cities. Stockpiling arms, it continued to propagate a violence struggle against the state. After a number of skirmishes, an incident with traffic police on 11th June 2009¹⁰⁵ led to a rapid escalation and concerted armed assaults on government institutions in Bauchi, Kano and predominantly Maiduguri, where mayhem reigned for several days as police stations, government employees and educated Muslims were targeted¹⁰⁶. The insurgency was finally brought under control by the army which allegedly killed hundreds of Boko Haram members and torched

¹⁰⁰ e.g. Ahlusunna wal' Jamma Hijra”, see Abimbola Adesoji, ‘Africa Spectrum The Boko Haram Uprising and Islamic’, *Africa Spectrum*, 45 (2010), 95–108., p.98

¹⁰¹ Ibrahim Umara and Garba Mohammed, ‘Strategic Implications of the Boko Haram Insurgencies in Borno State Politics’, in *Nationalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Nigeria*, ed. by Aderemi Suleiman Ajala (Cologne, Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag Köln, 2012), pp. 355–70., p.364; The full name of Izala is Jamā‘at ‘izālat al-bid‘a wa iqāmat al-sunna” or “the group for removing religious innovation and establishing Sunna”, establ. 1978, see Anonymous., p.121

¹⁰² Umara and Mohammed., p.364f

¹⁰³ Anonymous., p.132f

¹⁰⁴ Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria.*, p.33ff

¹⁰⁵ Slight various accounts co-exist, compare Anonymous., p.128;

¹⁰⁶ Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria.*, pp.39;44ff;52

their mosques. Yakubu was extra-judicially executed while in police custody. Boko Haram's attacks did not come as a surprise, although the extent had not been anticipated. Christians and churches were also widely targeted, although some writers maintain the opposite¹⁰⁷.

With its leader's death, many expected the organisation to wither. What appears to have happened is that Boko Haram instead assumed a cellular structure¹⁰⁸ and started to regroup, winning new recruits.¹⁰⁹ The movement burst back into the public eye in July 2010 with a coordinated attack on a jail in Bauchi, liberating numerous Boko Haram members. The subsequent bomb attacks in Jos and Maiduguri on Christmas Eve¹¹⁰, and the suicide attack on the UN headquarters in August 2011 left no doubt that the organisation was alive and well.¹¹¹ A growing number of attacks across northern Nigeria, but concentrated in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States, saw violence being waged against state institutions and Christian populations with increasing ferocity, leaving hundreds more dead and many people fleeing the north¹¹². After a series of suicide attacks on public institutions, schools and churches, Boko Haram's impact on public life in the Middle Belt states of Plateau and Kaduna reached a climax in June

¹⁰⁷ Adesoji., p.98 suggests that the public was caught by surprise, and Umara and Mohammed., p.370 that no Christians were targeted. This is contrary to the findings of Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria.*, and being in Maiduguri just three days before the outbreak of violence I can attest that an attack of some form was expected and that the church where I resided, EYN No.1, was razed. See also Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria.*, p.44

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p.40

¹⁰⁹ I witnessed one such recruiting event in Mararaba near Mubi in March 2010 where Boko Haram members attempted to radicalise the Muslim community. For the most, they were turned away, and after intervention by the Emir of Mubi and the local Headman of Hildi, left, however, not before causing considerable panic in the surrounding Christian population; see also *Ibid.* p.40

¹¹⁰ Anonymous., p.130; Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria.*, p.48

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p.55

¹¹² While many have returned to their own ethnic areas, indigenes of the north have been seeking refuge in the south in ever-increasing number, according to a personal sources in Lagos.

2012.¹¹³ Having lost control over large parts of northern and central Borno State, the Federal Government announced a state of emergency in the above-mentioned three states and a counter-insurgent military campaign in May 2013.¹¹⁴ Public life came to a standstill in many parts,¹¹⁵ and numerous observers condemned the heavy-handed tactics of government security forces as an effective recruiting sergeant for Boko Haram.¹¹⁶ Ironically, it appears that part of the causes are being prescribed as a cure. As of mid-2014, Boko Haram has aped the tactics of the Middle-Eastern ISIL and chosen not simply to raid territory but occupy it in pursuit of establishing a caliphate. Highly effective, Boko Haram has sacked many towns across Borno and northern Adamawa States, maiming, killing and displacing entire populations, and currently hold areas included in my research. Christians have been forced to flee or convert. There are signs that the group is attempting to extinguish Christianity by systematically torching churches.¹¹⁷

Most academic observers posit that the sect has flourished in environments of economic exclusion and widespread disenchantment with political patrimonialism and politicians' inability – or unwillingness – to use state resources effectively to foster real social progress.¹¹⁸ The ostentatious public appearances of Borno State's former governor, Ali Modu Sheriff, have allegedly generated particular chagrin in this regard,¹¹⁹ and there is widespread sentiment for more radical solutions than the allegedly ineffectual *sharia* courts introduced in 2000.¹²⁰ Another

¹¹³ see also *Ibid.*, p.44

¹¹⁴ Higazi, 'Les Origines et La Transformation de L'insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria.', p.44

¹¹⁵ Okereke., p.175

¹¹⁶ Roland Marchal, *NOREF Report : Boko Haram and the Resilience of Militant Islam in Northern Nigeria* (Oslo, Norway, 2012)., p.4

¹¹⁷ Anecdotal evidence I have collected from IDPs native to northern Adamawa State.

¹¹⁸ Higazi, 'Les Origines et La Transformation de L'insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria.', p.47

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.43

¹²⁰ C. Nna-Emeka Okereke, 'Anatomy of Conflicts in Northern Nigeria, State Fragility, State Formation, and Human Security in Nigeria', in *State Fragility, State Formation,*

popular opinion is that it is precisely members of this political class who are cynically fomenting violence by recruiting from a large pool of former *almajirai*, who graduate with little beyond Qu'ranic recitation skills,¹²¹ and by bank-rolling the likes of Boko Haram,¹²² although this is contested¹²³.

The Yan Tatsine of Kano are often cited as the spiritual fathers of Boko Haram,¹²⁴ which is plausible given doctrinal similarities and comparable socio-political origins of social and economic exclusion¹²⁵. However, Higazi argues that there is no organisational or ideological continuity between the two.¹²⁶ While some academics deny the religious dimension of Boko Haram and explain it purely in terms of the social and political economies of exclusion and deprivation¹²⁷, others place it in the context of Islamist reformist movements.¹²⁸ Several observers point to a network of connections with other jihadist groups in Western Africa,¹²⁹ and there are

and Human Security in Nigeria, ed. by Mojúbàlú Olufúnké Okome (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 147–87., p.154; Michael Joe Okpalanozie, *Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion in Nigeria*, Theologisc (Sankt Ottilien: EOS, 2012)., p.82; Shedrack Gaya Best and Carole Rakodi, *Violent Conflict and Its Aftermath in Jos and Kano, Nigeria : What Is the Role of Religion?*, Religions and Development Research Programme, 2011., p.39

¹²¹ Iro Aghedo and Oarhe Osumah, 'The Boko Haram Uprising : How Should Nigeria Respond?', *Third World Quarterly*, 33 (2012), 853–69., p.861; Okereke., p.173; Okpalanozie., p.81f; Marchal., p..4 (who's work appears to be based on Okereke despite no direct attribution)

¹²² Okereke., p.172; Adesoji., p.101f cites the example of Buji Foi

¹²³ Higazi, 'Les Origines et La Transformation de L'insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria.', p.50

¹²⁴ e.g. Aghedo and Osumah., p.857; Adesoji., p.96

¹²⁵ Aghedo and Osumah., p.856; although strongly rejected by Anonymous., p.119

¹²⁶ Higazi, 'Les Origines et La Transformation de L'insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria.', p.46; see also Anonymous., p.120

¹²⁷ Umara and Mohammed., p.370; , Okereke., pp.147ff; 158; C Jaja Nwanegbo and Jude Odigbo, 'Security and National Development in Nigeria : The Threat of Boko Haram Security and Development : Conceptual Explanations', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3 (2013), pp. 285–91., p. 289; Adesoji., p.97

¹²⁸ Higazi, 'Les Origines et La Transformation de L'insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria.', p.42; Marchal., p.3

¹²⁹ Aghedo and Osumah., p.858; Okereke., p.158; Gabrielle Blanquart, 'Boko Haram : Terrorist Organisation , Freedom Fighters or Religious Fanatics ? An Analysis of Boko Haram Within Nigeria , an Australian Perspective and the Need for Counter Terrorism Responses That Involves Prescribing Them as a Terrorist Organisation', in *Australian Counter Terrorism Conference / Security Research Institute Conference* (Perth,

the indisputable Izala origins and strong links to Saudi Arabia of Boko Haram's leaders.¹³⁰ In this respect it is notable that the device of suicide attacks has been virtually unknown¹³¹ in any of Nigeria's prior conflicts, and this suggests extraneous ideological influence. A recent article in the *Journal of Religion in Africa* outlines a protracted theological feud on Salafi-Wahhabist terms between Yusuf and Adam, whose disagreement lay more in the methods than the outcome of their efforts to re-establish an Islamic state. While Yusuf radically rejected Western knowledge, Adam embraced it as a means of overcoming Nigeria's institutional torpidity from within, thereby encouraging Muslims to join public administration. Many of Adam's verbal attacks on Yusuf built on his opponent's lack of theological training. He questioned Yusuf and his methods to the point of branding Boko Haram as non-Islamic, indeed, insinuating that Yusuf was working for the state.¹³²

In summary, Boko Haram appears to be thriving on economic exclusion and popular loathing of an ineffectual state and corrupt political class. The sect is one of several movements advocating a departure from Nigeria's rentseeking, clientalist political economy by means of obedience to the Islamic Sunna and reconstruction of the Sokoto Caliphate. In this they follow the prevalent Salafi-Wahabist current of thought in Northern Nigeria. What sets Boko Haram apart from other groups is its radical rejection of Western knowledge (although not its weapons), and an ability and willingness to pursue its ends with extreme violence, mainly against the state and Christians, but also against Western-educated Muslims. In

Australia: Edith Cowan University Research Online, 2012), pp. 30–36., p.32; Higazi, 'Les Origines et La Transformation de L'insurrection de Boko Haram Dans Le Nord Du Nigeria.', p.44

¹³⁰ Anonymous, 'The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-Radicalism in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 42 (2012), 118–44 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/15700666-12341224>>., p.120ff

¹³¹ Aghedo and Osumah., p.859

¹³² Anonymous., pp.122ff;137;139; A counterpoint: a NORED report states "Yusuf was not against Western progress, but wanted it shaped within an Islamic framework". However there is little evidence that this ever reflected his teaching; Marchal., p.3

this, ethnic identities play no role,¹³³ and the settler-indigene dichotomy is important only with respect to Boko Haram's goal of banishing Christians from Northern Nigeria. Boko Haram is in its foundations and world-view indisputably a religious organisation with a religious agenda. Accordingly, the analysis of any ensuing conflict cannot remove the question of religion from the equation.

A.1.6 The Problem Statement

What transpires from the brief overview presented in this chapter is that there are various forces at work in Plateau's identity-based conflict. At a meta-level, developments might be explained in context of the ever-increasing demands placed on finite resources confronting the region in the wake of incessant population growth. Okereke argues persuasively for two strains of underlying causes; the first, dwindling land and water resources which can result in conflicts between pastoral and sedentary groups, in turn provoking internal displacement and migration; the second what he calls “rented insecurity” in which an abundance of aimless youths who are conscripted by political figures to perpetrate politically-motivated violence.¹³⁴ The second cause might be linked to the first.

As discussed, in the more immediate context of Plateau State, a dominant academic current has sought to explain underlying origins of the conflicts as a pattern of “settler” and “indigene” dynamics, where autochthonous ethnicities (e.g. Berom, Angas, Anagusta, Tarok, etc.) feel menaced by the immigration of outsiders (most prominently Hausa).¹³⁵ While the former

¹³³ See also (Higazi, 2013a), p.49

¹³⁴ Okereke., pp.154/171f

¹³⁵ Besides Ostien., p.3 see also Human Rights Watch, ‘ *They Do Not Own This Place* ’: *Government Discrimination Against Non-Indigenes in Nigeria*, Human Rights Watch (Washington DC, United States, 2006), xviii., p.39f; Human Rights Watch, ‘The Cycle of Violence in Plateau and Kano States’, *Human Rights Watch*, 17 (2005)., pp.1-6; and Adesoji., p.97

regard their way of life as threatened, the latter see themselves as excluded from political and economic processes. Yet, despite having established settler rights as the conflict's origins, cleavage has in fact opened up along religious boundaries. Most autochthonous ethnicities on the Plateau have converted, at least outwardly, to Christianity, or continue to practice indigenous religions¹³⁶. Meanwhile, immigrant communities are predominantly Muslim, albeit by no means exclusively so. The settler-indigene perception might be broadly accurate in the diagnosis of the conflict, but the way in which conflict alliances have evolved points to a more complex process of identity formation: Smaller settler groups, who are also excluded from the political processes, yet who are Christian, clearly fall into the "Christian" camp once clashes get underway;¹³⁷ likewise, the small number of Muslim indigenes who have full indigene rights and even demonstrate a strong allegiance to their ethnic roots cannot escape identification with the Muslim cause. In Bukuru (south of Jos), many of them saw their houses destroyed during the 2010 riots¹³⁸. It thus appears that the proponents of the indigene-settler model who see it as the high road to defining both the cause and the cure of the conflict are guilty of confusing categories with identities. While their analysis of the conflict's origins are broadly defensible, lines are no longer drawn on these terms, and solutions which transcend an indigene-settler model and the ensuing competition for resources have to be found.

This criticism of course does not dispense with ethnicity as a candidate for the salient driver of the conflict. It is indeed notable that it is mainly

¹³⁶ Higazi, 'Social Mobilisation And Collective Violence: Vigilantes And Militias In The Lowlands Of Plateau State, Central Nigeria.', p.123-130 describes the complex relationship and coexistence between Christianity/Islam and indigenous religions in the Yelwa area in southern Plateau State.

¹³⁷ Human Rights Watch, 'Jos - A City Torn Apart : Testimony to Human Rights Watch.', p.23 on changing alliances

¹³⁸ Undocumented information from missionary inhabitants of Bukuru in February 2010

Hausa who assert a claim to indigene rights, while Igbo and Yoruba, for instance, do not.¹³⁹ This might be explained by an ethnocentric hegemony grounded in the conquests of the Sokoto Jihad and the claims on Jos as an initially Hausa settlement. Nevertheless, even such a model of Hausa exceptionalism would appear to be wedded intricately to Islam as a religious system knowing no clear boundaries between religion and politics. It thus appears likely that *religious* identity is conflated with *cultural* identity. From the perspective of Christian indigenes, “Hausaness” might be perceived as a facet of Islam and an unwillingness to assimilate.¹⁴⁰ By extension, Islam practised by a fellow tribesman, might even be regarded as treason.¹⁴¹ There are thus strong reasons to suspect that religion is in fact trumping ethnicity as the salient feature of group identity, rather than simply being a subaltern attribute of what it means to belong to a certain ethnicity. A new case study presented by Olaniyan on the Christian Sayawa of southern Bauchi State describes how external ethnicities were drawn into a conflict between indigene Sayawa and settled Hausa on the basis of their respective religions, stating at one point, “The riot did not start as a religious crisis, but ended up as one.”¹⁴²

Similarly, evidence has mounted in the course of the two last years that religion is a major force in the dynamics of the Plateau conflict: Actions

¹³⁹ Human Rights Watch, *‘Leave Everything to God’: Accountability for Inter-Communal Violence in Plateau and Kaduna States Nigeria.*, p.35; “Commission of Inquiry into the Unrest of 28th November 2008 in Jos North Local Government area of Plateau State,” Main Report, Volume 1, pp. 49-53.; Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa.*, p.22

¹⁴⁰ Human Rights Watch, ‘Jos - A City Torn Apart : Testimony to Human Rights Watch.’, p.23

¹⁴¹ Evidence to this effect is presented by Higazi, *Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Livelihoods , Land and Religious Reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa.*, p.40

¹⁴² Azeez Olusola Olaniyan, ‘Violence and Identity Politics : The Sayawa of Northeastern Nigeria as a Case Study’, in *Nationalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Nigeria*, ed. by Aderemi Suleiman Ajala (Cologne, Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag Köln, 2012), pp. 267–84., p.278

sparking violence have been increasingly religious in scope, such as Boko Haram's attacks or the campaigns of Izala and CAN. Accordingly, religion is now a central feature of the plot, and – with all its spiritual, moral and ritual baggage – is woven inextricably into the fabric of the situation. This view is supported by the fact that virtually all African societies do not see religion as an independent category which can be tidily separated from the rest of life's activities and experiences. Instead, religious belief permeates the realities in which people live to such a degree that it would, at least traditionally, not be recognised as a phenomenon in its own right.¹⁴³

It is thus surprising – and worrying – that the reports of respected organisations such as International Crisis Group and Action On Armed Violence still class religion as “a smokescreen” for disputes over “*such issues as citizenship, group and individual rights and communal distribution of public resources*”¹⁴⁴, or continue to see the cause and remedies of the conflict purely through the lens of the settler-indigene model, reducing the conflict to “*discriminatory access to resources, political power and opportunities; and the politicisation and manipulation of these fears by elites*”¹⁴⁵.

It does no justice to the many people involved in these conflicts to have their actions reduced to motives of human avarice. Some important quantitative research by the political scientist Alexandra Scacco of the 2001 crises shows (1) that perpetrators of violence have been

¹⁴³ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London, UK; Ibadan, NG; Nairobi, KN: Heinemann, 1969)., p.2. Indeed, the case has been made that religion is only a notional categorisation which is difficult to define phenomenologically, and should thus not be used: Timothy Fitzgerald, ‘Introduction’, in *Religion and the Secular: historical and colonial formations*, ed. by Timothy Fitzgerald (London, UK: Equinox Publications, 2007), pp. 1–24., questions the existence of religion, while James L. Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007). devotes a good part of a book to defining the term phenomenologically

¹⁴⁴ ICG, *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (I) : The Jos Crisis* (Brussels, Belgium, 2012)., p.16

¹⁴⁵ NWGAV/AOAV, *The Violent Raod : An Overview of Armed Violence in Nigeria* (Abuja, Nigeria, 2014)., p.38

predominantly engaged in community-based organisations, (2) that surprisingly little looting has taken place, and (3) that most violence has been directed at destroying property and harming people.¹⁴⁶ While not detracting from the abhorrence of atrocities committed, this finding does nevertheless suggest that violence was not perpetrated primarily by social mavericks in the hope of opportunistic material gain. Instead, it demonstrates that at some level, even the most violent participants' decisions were driven by some moral standard with little hope of material reward and, given the risks of their undertakings, a potential for considerable sacrifice. This suggests that the actions of riot participants were informed by some guiding ethical framework, although available research into the religious background of the Plateau State conflict has not progressed to a degree which would allow us to surmise what that might be.¹⁴⁷

I do not take exception to any of the proposed diagnoses *per se*; rather, I argue that the crucial element of religion has been neglected and should be more fully accounted for in any process of conflict transformation. Accordingly, while most research has been content to dwell exclusively on the outward manifestations of crisis, such as ethnicity, politics or economics, this study will, at least to some degree, attempt to enter into the inward perspectives of men and women caught up in the crises, and analyse how their religion, self-understanding and values colour their thinking and response to the dynamics of their situations. It is an attempt to put individuals and groups at the centre and investigate how

¹⁴⁶ Alexandra Scacco, 'Who Riots? Explaining Individual Participation In Ethnic Violence' (Columbia University, 2010)., pp.26 & 27

¹⁴⁷ Surprisingly little academic research has been performed in this area. One study, while investigating how culture colours the perceptions of religious leaders in the Jos area concerning conflict resolution, his application of a rigid questionnaire structure, a simple Likert scaling and a small number of respondents falls in the trap of neither being statistically significant nor offering real avenues of topical discovery – Isaac O Oyebamiji, 'The Influence of Cultural Coloration on Conflict Resolution by African Christian Leaders: A Study of Christian Leaders and Conflict Resolution in Jos, Nigeria' (Asbury Theological Seminary, 2010).

they build their world-views, construct their identities and respond morally to conflict. On these terms, it is no longer the pursuit of *factual* truth which drives this inquiry, but the understanding of perspectives or *held* truths. This is defensible in as far as social perspectives become social realities.

While most outward secular research has been undertaken to foster policy dialogue and design, this enquiry hopes to discern aspects which are useful as Plateau churches struggle to develop a theological response to the crisis. For this reason, the work is couched in practical theological terms, with the main subjects being the pew faithful in two locations of Plateau State, one rural and one urban with two different ethnicities. Their testimonies have been corroborated by control cohorts from loci which are either geographically (Adamawa) or religiously removed (“Jasawa” Muslims). It is not suggested that these respondents can speak for the whole of society, but forming the base of their churches, they are the primary agents of church action in an approach towards conflict solutions. May I add that this focus on the agency of the pew faithful in their function at the hinge between the Church and wider society has led me to conclude that any review of official church teachings is important to the investigation only to the extent that these emerge in the narratives and statements voiced by my research subjects. For this reason, a discussion of certified church dogma in the particular context has never been planned as part of my work.

However, before further laying out the details of the methodology, there is some more theoretical groundwork to be performed first. To this end, covering the elements of world-view, identity and ethics, the next three chapters will explore the relationship of religion and violence (Chapter A.2), the essence of identity (Chapter A.3) and the morals of

African traditional systems and their possible relevance in modern urban societies (Chapter A.4).

Chapter A.2 Religion, violence and how the two inform the definition of “religious conflict”

A.2.1 The problem

The fact that the English language has inherited at least three words which refer to people perpetrating violence and which were derived from the names of religious movements, namely “assassin”, “thug” and “zealot”¹⁴⁸, is a testimony to the encumbered relationship religion has with violence. Despite most mainstream religions' preoccupation with the quest for peace, history is littered with a staggering number of hideous examples of religion becoming inextricably entwined with, or indeed bequeathing violence, with “jihad” and “crusade” becoming bywords for mayhem wreaked in the name of God. The reaction of some, such as Richard Dawkins, has been to condemn religion universally as the high road to violence, and enthusiastically promote atheism as a relatively peaceful alternative¹⁴⁹. However, considering that the most deadly conflicts or suppressions in history were in fact perpetrated by overtly atheist regimes or those whose ideologies firmly housed components of social Darwinism, suggest that things are not quite that simple. Notably, many such philosophies, including Dawkins', while denouncing a deity, nevertheless offer soteriological and eschatological concepts and thereby actually assume much of the veneer otherwise associated with religion. Functionally, they might be regarded as an ersatz for religion, especially when their frequent faith-based assumptions are considered.

¹⁴⁸ Gabriel Palmer-Fernandez, ‘Religion and Violence : War, Tyrannicide, Terrorism’, in *The Just War and Jihad*, ed. by Joseph Hoffmann (New York, USA: Prometheus Books, 2006), pp. 231–53., p.245f; Daniel Philpott, ‘Religion and Violence from a Political Science Perspective’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juegenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael K. Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 397–409., p.403 ; David Rapaport, ‘Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions’, *American Political Science Review*, 78 (1984), 658–77 <<http://www.aclu.org/files/fbimappingfoia/20111110/ACLURM001595.pdf>>., p.658 (accessed 13/12/13)

¹⁴⁹ Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (New York, USA: Bantam Books, 2006).

The multifaceted complexity of the relationship between religion and violence undermines the validity of the “I-know-it-when-I-see-it” approach to which even some scholars adhere, such as Andrew Gluck who in an otherwise interesting essay flatly declares that he would “not attempt to define religion or violence, since most people know what is meant by those words”¹⁵⁰. Obviously, if I am going to discuss the relationship between religion and violent conflict in any meaningful way, I will be compelled to anchor my semantics in tangible working definitions.

A.2.2 Definition of religion

Much has been written on definitions of religion, and it would be preposterous of me to believe that in a thesis not dedicated to the topic I could retrace more than a few facets of the many related conversations criss-crossing the ages and scientific disciplines. Nevertheless, it is important to reflect on what religion entails in function and substance rather than uncritically plumping for one of the many available definitions or – worst of all – simply assuming that the term is self-explanatory. Aware of its imperfect nature, I thus posit that this is a necessary and important point of discussion.

The notion of religion as a distinct entity emerged only in the European Enlightenment, when the rise of scientific investigation attempted to separate the spiritual and transcendental from the secular and empirical.¹⁵¹ While such a categorisation was sufficient differentiation for the pursuit of natural science, the arrival of social sciences in the 19th Century eventually meant that scholars began to confront the influence of religion in the various fields of investigation, and describe the

¹⁵⁰ Andrew L. Gluck, ‘Introduction’, in *Religion, Fundamentalism and Violence - An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, ed. by Andrew L. Gluck (Langley, Chicago (IL), USA: Scranton University Press, 2010), pp. 1–31., p.8f

¹⁵¹ A similar idea is posited by Juergenmeyer and Sheikh., p.621

phenomenon with the vocabulary of their particular field. Moreover, with research being pursued increasingly beyond European shores, the Judeo-Christian template for a definition of religion had to be challenged and extended to other faith traditions. Mark Juergenmeyer recently observed that

[t]he search for a suitable definition of religion has exercised the scholarly imagination for centuries, luring psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, theologians, philosophers, ethnologists and others into debates over its meaning.¹⁵²

Indeed, a wide variation of definitions has been proffered which as often as not say more about the particular lens of their respective disciplines than capture the nature of the phenomenon *per se*. Poignantly, the hitherto intuitive notion of religion, “the belief in God or gods”, did not survive contact with faith systems which sidelined deities or dispensed with them altogether. Not surprisingly, anthropologists of the late 19th Century investigating extra-European patterns were at the forefront of the movement towards widening the meaning of religion. The most well rehearsed ones are arguably those of Frazer (“a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life”)¹⁵³, Tyler (“belief in spiritual beings”)¹⁵⁴, and of course Durkheim (“religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to *sacred things*, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden”)¹⁵⁵ to whom many modern-day anthropologists still refer. However, all of those, derived from an etic, descriptive approach, remain functionalist in nature and lack any emic perception of what these faith patterns substantively entail.

¹⁵² Juergenmeyer and Sheikh., p.2

¹⁵³ James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough (Abridged Version)*, ed. by Robert Frazer (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994)., p.28

¹⁵⁴ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 6th Editio (London, UK: John Murray, 1920) <http://archive.org/stream/primitiveculture01tylouoft/primitiveculture01tylouoft_djvu.txt>., p.424

¹⁵⁵ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 5th impres (London, UK: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1915)., p.47

The social and political function of religion gained much currency in the social sciences through the work of Karl Marx and Max Weber. Here, the interaction continued to be discussed in terms of the Western paradigm of increasing secularisation, forming a strain of inquiry separate from anthropology. This permitted a relatively narrow substantive understanding of religion and led to severely functionalist definitions, examples being the dubious and polemic “Religion is the sigh of the beset creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, the spirit of a spiritless condition. It is the opium of the people” (Marx) or the rather better “Religion is a co-operative quest for ultimate well-being” (Prozesky)¹⁵⁶. It is only relatively late that phenomenological definitions started to emerge, such as one proffered by Martin Riesebrodt: “A complex of practices that are based on the premise of the existence of superhuman powers, whether personal or impersonal, that are generally invisible.”¹⁵⁷ A salient weakness in Riesebrodt's definition is that it is founded entirely on the outward phenomenology of practice, and not the inward existential experience of the practitioners. Moreover, the problematic term “superhuman powers” is broad enough to include spirits, magic and nuclear energy. Most would agree that the quest to build an atomic power station is a technical and political undertaking rather than a religious statement (even though some polemicists would brand it a leap of faith). A similar definition presented by Avalos Hector, an unabashed proponent of the empirico-rationalist tradition, is “a mode of life and through that presupposes the existence and relationship with unverifiable forces and/or beings.”¹⁵⁸ A problem with this definition is of course that not all religions posit any

¹⁵⁶ As a discussion of definitions by Cox, *An Introduction to The Phenomenology of Religion*., p.6; , Karl Marx, ‘Zur Kritik Der Hegel’schen Rechts-Philopsie. Einleitung.’, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 1 (1844), pp. 71–85
<http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Zur_Kritik_der_Hegel'schen_Rechtsphilosophie>., p.72, p.153. However, Marx' definition is more a polemic characterisation than a definition – unless religion is indeed a poppy derivative.

¹⁵⁷ Martin Riesebrodt, *The Promise of Salvation : A Theory of Religion* (Chicago Il, USA: University of Chicago Press, 2010)., p 75

¹⁵⁸ Avalos., p.855

actual relationship with unverifiable forces, and removing the word “relationship” would mean that only the presupposition of unverifiable forces would suffice to manifest a religious attitude; love or fear could be enough to render a person religious.

It transpires at this point that as long as the definition of religion is limited to a descriptive or functionalist perspective, and is designed only to satisfy the particular uses of a particular field, there can be no common denominator allowing us to collate the insights of various disciplinary enquiries. With this concern in mind it remains sensible to ponder philosophical definitions of religion.

Tillich famously said “Religion is that which in the widest and deepest sense unconditionally concerns us”¹⁵⁹ (also often translated as “ultimate concern”). This usefully returns us to a substantive and emic contemplation of religion and reopens the quiddity of the term to the content and truths with which individuals or groups may wish to fill it. However, one problem of such a broad definition of religion is that its meaning risks vagueness, with no clear way to delimit it from the profane. For instance, a hypothetical state of mind, which was perennially preoccupied only with its next meal, would make the consumption of food a religious act, even if void of any spiritual experience. However, it is difficult to reinforce the definition with a functional divider between the profane and spiritual without excluding some faith traditions.

The task of bringing such a plurivalent set of characteristics and concerns under one roof has spawned some innovative, but ultimately fruitless thinking. Anthony Wallace talks of a building-block approach, in which he proposes “building” a religion out of a modular set of 17 religious

¹⁵⁹ “Religion ist im weitesten und im tiefsten Sinne das, was uns unbedingt angeht.” Paul Tillich, *Die Verlorene Dimension : Not Und Hoffnung Unserer Zeit* (Hamburg, Germany: Furche-Verlag, 1962)., p.23f

elements until they form a definition.¹⁶⁰ The obvious objection is that the huge possible number of combinations that such an approach offers would produce myriads of possible outcomes with descriptive use, but lacking any real explanatory power to define. Tongue-in-check, one might also comment that in an age where individuals feel entitled to mix and match religious traditions to their own taste, subjecting the very definition of religion itself to the same practice is an avenue to dissolving the very meaning of the term.

Indeed, some have drawn exactly this conclusion. Thinkers such as Timothy Fitzgerald or William Cavanaugh have entirely surrendered the quest for a definition and declare either that religion does not really exist as a tangible entity or that it should be absorbed totally into the explanatory systems of other disciplines.¹⁶¹ The problem here is that this kind of approach runs the risk of dismissing substantive, spiritual perceptions of individuals, which would functionally become lost to many scientific disciplines, possibly forever.

If this were the last word on the matter, this dissertation would end here, as the Plateau State conflict could not be religious, indeed by any stretch of the imagination, and the quest to characterise it in such terms would be meaningless. However, faced with exactly this challenge, other academics such as Hall, Pilgrim, R.R. Cavanaugh (not to be confused with the former)¹⁶², Hervieu-Léger and Cox, by combining both substantive-essentialist approaches with functionalist phenomenology, have been able to overcome many of these discussed problems by providing a fairly

¹⁶⁰ Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Religion : An Anthropological View* (New York, USA: Random House, 1966).

¹⁶¹ Fitzgerald., pp.8/14; William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence* (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 2009)., p.3

¹⁶² T.W Hall, R.B. Pilgrim and R.R. Cavanaugh, *Introduction, Religion : An Introduction* (San Francisco, CA, USA: Harper and Row, 1985)., p.9

tangible “working definition” of religion.¹⁶³ It is thus, with a caveat, that I will adopt Cox's definition of religion:

Religion refers to identifiable communities which base their acts of believing and resulting communal experiences of postulated, non-falsifiable alternate realities on a tradition that they legitimate by appealing to its authoritative transmission from generation to generation.¹⁶⁴

A fundamental element of Cox's definition is founded on Hervieu-Léger's invocation of an “authority of tradition”¹⁶⁵. Such a tradition need not be factual, but it must be held as a distinctive truth to which a circle of believers can appeal. As such, this can be applied to new religious movements as well as historic traditions. The appeal to tradition is a powerful way to differentiate between religious practice and unguided spirituality.

Another core element of his definition is the “non-falsifiable alternate realities” which postulates the ability to move in worlds of multidimensioned realities, i.e. between the ordinary and the non-ordinary.¹⁶⁶ Possibly here more than anywhere else this enables the differentiation of a religion from a faith statement. An atheist, unlike an agnostic, might make a faith statement as to the non-existence of God, but in absence of the alternate reality, she could not claim to have a religion. Meanwhile, the alternative term adopted by Hall, Pilgrim and Cavanagh “unrestricted value” in lieu of this would remove the spiritual contingency of religion and unsatisfyingly permit atheism to be classified as such.

¹⁶³ Cox, *An Introduction to The Phenomenology of Religion.*, p.17, Hervieu-Léger, ‘Religion as Memory : Reference to Tradition and The Constitution of A Heritage of Belief in Modern Societies’, in *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion : Contexts, Concepts and Contests*, ed. by Platvoet J.G. and A.L. Molendijk (Leiden, NL: Brill, 1999), pp. 73–92., p.88

¹⁶⁴ Cox, *An Introduction to The Phenomenology of Religion.*, p.17

¹⁶⁵ James L. Cox, *An Introduction to The Phenomenology of Religion* (London, UK: Continuum International Publishing Press, 2010)., p.19

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.16

Nevertheless, where the definition encounters problems is in the operational verb “refers to” and the resulting singularity with community. Religion, while often being a communal affair, is surely not exclusively so, and it is not the community itself but the practices, experiences and truths held by the individuals and communities which constitute the essence and direct the function of religion. Thus, for our purposes here, I intend to *broaden* the definition to include individuals, but also *narrow* it to refer to the beliefs and experiences *per se*, and release them from the specification that they are expressed communally. Accordingly, the emerging working definition to be adopted for my purposes is the following:

Religion refers to the beliefs and experiences of communities and individuals which are based on postulated, non-falsifiable alternate realities bequeathed by a tradition that is legitimated by an appealing to its authoritative transmission from generation to generation.

The close relationship between religion and world-view becomes apparent in societies where alternate realities are a salient part of group and individual experience.

A.2.3 Definition of violence

The range of ways in which we can think about violence is enormous.¹⁶⁷ The word itself is derived from the Latin *violentia*, meaning vehemence¹⁶⁸. Traditionally, violence is associated mostly with physical force leading to bodily injury or death. A typical definition which follows this fairly narrow understanding is “actions that inflict, threaten or cause injury.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts and Michael Jerryson, ‘Introduction’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1–12., p.3

¹⁶⁸ see Collins On-line Dictionary: Available at <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/violence?showCookiePolicy=true>, accessed, 13/12/13

¹⁶⁹ John R. Hall, ‘Religion and Violence from a Sociological Perspective’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 363–74., p.364 / Mary

However, the focus on bodily harm unnecessarily precludes forms of violence which are purely psychological. Fortunately, with the move towards a more holistic understanding of humans and power relationships, the term *violence* is now being employed increasingly to describe injury beyond the purely physical to frequently include the social and psychological dimensions of existence. This approach challenges even quite thoughtful definitions such as, “Violence is the act of modifying and/or inflicting pain on the human body in order to express or impose power differentials.”¹⁷⁰ It is in pursuit of a broader working definition that I would like to explore some of the *elements* frequently associated with violence.

A.2.3.1 Connotation of illegitimacy

Violence is usually regarded as inappropriate behaviour encompassing the use of force. Habitually, violence is underpinned by one or more parties attempting to assert a relationship of power over others. The element of legitimacy is however salient in how the act of the force is construed, and whether it is in fact considered as violence. An individual who intervenes to prevent a crime, or a police officer taking reasonable measures to make an arrest may exercise the same degree of force as someone who may be out to humiliate or rob an individual, but his action would not normally be equated with violence. Violence is therefore not simply an act associated with establishing a power differential or force, but one which is done so without a legitimate mandate. Therefore, the classification of a deed as violence or as a simple use of force is of

R. Jackman, ‘Licence to Kill : Violence and Legitimacy in Explorative Social Relations’, in *The Psychology of Legitimacy : Emerging Perspectives on Ideology*, ed. by John T. Jost and Brenda Major (New York, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 437–67., p.443

¹⁷⁰ Hector Avalos, ‘Religion and Scarcity : A New Theory for The Role of Religion in Violence’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 554–70., p.855

necessity an external legal or moral judgement, which means that the nature of the perpetrator's motive is not arbitrated for the judgement of the act's legitimacy. Hence, the goal behind establishing or asserting a power relationship should not figure in any definition of violence.

A.2.3.2 Infringement of boundaries

Violence is associated also with the perpetrator crossing some kind of *boundary*. How this boundary is constituted or where it lies is possibly even more contentious than the legitimacy of the act. There is obviously also a precursor to violence, commonly called a “threat of violence”, where the infringement has not yet taken place. Whether this is simply intimidation or in fact in itself already violence, is in the eye of the beholder. In practice, it must generally be left to external arbitration to navigate the diverging understandings of where the boundary in fact lies. Normally, it would be regarded as the point where force is exercised in such a way that it becomes harmful to the victim. However, the supposition of consensuality would complicate such a model since it does in the immediate sense remove the boundary and with it the assumption of violence. E.g., this could mean the difference between consensual sex and rape, or the difference between occupation and reinforcement in a potential war theatre, such as American bases in Cold War Europe vs. Guantánamó Bay. However, in consideration of the issues of dependency and the rule of law, the two parties are not (and nor should they be) entirely at liberty to negotiate the removal of boundaries. Following from this, criminal law presupposes the non-consent of underage adolescents in sexual relationships even if there was no indication of a boundary infringement during the particular act.

A.2.3.3 Harm to functional self-understanding

Besides physical force, also economic oppression and psychological coercion are now widely regarded as forms of violence. The common denominator of the various phenomena does however appear to be groups or individuals being diminished in their functional abilities or well-being, in other words being hindered from unfolding their true capacity. However, not every situation where people are not living life to its fullest can be attributed to violence. It could of course result from simply losing a contest, such as an unsuccessful firm in a hostile but otherwise fair business environment might. Hence, the condition of violence is contingent also on the concurrent fulfilment of the other two elements, illegitimacy and boundary infringement.

A.2.3.4 Working definition of “violence”

Ipso facto, it is time to combine the three elements to attempt a definition of violence which I can use as a baseline throughout the remainder of the enquiry:

Violence is an illegitimate and forceful infringement of boundaries resulting in lasting harm to the functional self-understanding of an individual, group or community.

In light of the discussion above, it must be recognised that the legitimacy of a deed inherently presents a “degree of liberty” in the definition, i.e. an aspect which must be normatively and even situationally defined. For instance, most people would agree that it is legitimate to prevent theft using some degree of force without it being tabbed as violent behaviour. Whether this might include serious injury to or killing of the thief is rather more doubtful. Some societies legitimate considerable uses of force, exemplified by the “stand your ground” laws passed in a number of American states. Meanwhile most European jurisdictions would hold that

the more extreme expressions of the behaviour such laws permit entail boundary infringements which are in fact illegitimate and might only in the most exceptional of cases be considered “permissible violence”.

But what if the thief claims that he is merely taking back what is rightfully his? Then the onus of infringement is suddenly laid on the erstwhile victim. At least *post fait*, this does not pose an insurmountable problem in strong jurisdictions with recognised authorities. Most such law systems will have customary laws on what behaviour is legitimate in a given situation. E.g. Swiss law would permit a proportionate degree of force to prevent immediate theft or robbery, but would habitually forbid the victim to reclaim her property by means of force at a later stage; this is to be left to the police. However, where the arbitrating authority is weak and cannot enforce its jurisdiction's rulings, the legitimacy of a deed is in the eye of the beholder, and the diverging evaluations of what is violence or merely forceful behaviour can no longer be reconciled. Resulting claims of defence and accusations of violent attack can quickly spiral out of control, particularly in intergroup contests.

A.2.4 Violence in religious conflict?

Moving on from these definitions, it is now expedient to discuss what a violent religious conflict is and what factors might drive it.

Let us for a moment remove ourselves from the perspective of the etic observer to that of the emic actor. From the insider's perspective, our definition of religion loses meaning as the *Alternate Reality* flows into the *Immediate* and may even become entirely fused with it. The resulting continuity between the two can no longer be kept separate from law, justice, politics and social life. Force which is pursued in defence of the emerging world-view is construed as self-defence or defence of the truth, and not as violence, because legitimacy is given to the infringement of

boundaries in a rightful quest to restore or maintain a righteous order beyond the Immediate.

There is a broad agreement that the Alternate Reality, that is the truths and experiences of the religious believer, which are not shared by other opposing individuals or groups, influences his resulting world-view, producing a certain pattern of actions and attitudes. It is almost self-explanatory that the Alternate Reality has the power to shape these for better or for worse. Contention arises more over the question as to what degree the concerns of the Immediate shape the Alternate Reality, and how this relates to violence. John Hall, for example, claims that religious meaning is “culturally specified and historically situated rather than ontologically given, or even sociologically determined solely by sacred text”. In other words, whatever protrudes from the Alternate Reality ultimately had its roots in the traditions, concerns, and challenges of the Immediate. He thus follows that there is no intrinsic difference in the propensity to violence between Christianity and Islam.¹⁷¹ Taken to its radical conclusion, this line of argument would mean that there would be hardly any differences between the religions in almost any other respect either, which is obviously not true. Gabriel Palmer-Fernandez affords religion a more autonomous view, stating that religion “has a constructive, though not necessarily causal, role in the generation of violence. It provides an interpretative framework through a system of narratives and symbols that make possible extreme violence.” In his seminal work based on mimetic rivalry, René Girard posits that the imitation of admired people within a primordial society leads to a heightened competition for resources, and thus conflict, which raises the propensity to violence. This can be checked by a culture of scapegoating, a social vehicle by which intra-group violence is averted through the concentration of violence against one specific individual. Girard reasons

¹⁷¹ John R. Hall., p.266

that the resulting texture of prohibitions and sacrifices is the foundation of religion and indeed culture.¹⁷² However, Girard also detects an anomaly in the Abrahamic traditions: a narrative which is constructed from the victims' view, and not the persecutors'.¹⁷³ In the words of Wolfgang Palaver: "The biblical religions are not rooted in the scapegoat mechanism, but expose it."¹⁷⁴ It is this heightened sense of victimhood and the identification with a victim figure whose tradition (Christianity, Islam) is under apparent threat, that may make it easier to vindicate violence as something morally expedient beyond the simple protection of one's identity. In this vein, Charles Taylor takes Girard's model to argue for the existence of a "modern cult of the victim".¹⁷⁵ Thus, even dismissing the assumption of divine and revelational elements of the Abrahamic tradition (something which Girard appears to accept), there do appear to be factors endogenic to religion which may temper or fan the way exogenic conflicts are carried out.

Returning to the question of the interaction between the Alternate Realities and the Immediate, Monica Duffy astutely observes that religious terrorism's "zealots and fanatics" do not follow the pattern of assessing tangible costs and benefits as a rational person might, but instead sacrifice tangible benefits for intangible ones.¹⁷⁶ From an etic perspective she is no doubt right, but what she does fail to say is that in an emic confluence of Alternate Realities and the Immediate, the rewards and values of a sacral world fuse with those of the profane to craft new

¹⁷² Palaver., p.534ff

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* p.537

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p.538

¹⁷⁵ Charles Taylor, 'Notes on the Sources of Violence : Perennial and Modern', in *Religious Sources for Social Transformation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. by James L. Ashland Heft (New York, USA: Fordham University Press, 2004), pp. 15–42., p.36; Wolfgang Palaver, 'Mimetic Theories of Religion and Violence', in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 533–53., p.543

¹⁷⁶ Monica Duffy Toft, 'Religion and Political Violence', in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 332–44., p.338

tangibles, which may escape the perspective of the outside observer. The vigour of violence ensuing from such “cached tangibles” might flow from a number of parameters, such as the fundamental principles and values expressed by the religious tradition, the epistemic salience of the Alternate Reality, or relationships of these to the security and way of life in the Immediate. While the fundamentals could broadly be seen as anchored in a religion's posited alternate realities and foundational texts, orthodoxy grows out of tradition and communal practice. A corollary of this distinction would be that religions without foundational texts tend to be less fundamentalist. This appears to hold true. Andrew Gluck in discussing work by Craig Nichols concludes that “orthodoxy generally involves some kinds of historic compromises that allow the religion to adapt to the world, while fundamentalism often challenges such adaptation as inauthentic.”¹⁷⁷ He goes on to state that orthodoxy and fundamentalism might be similar in belief, but different in attitude.

How the two play out may depend on the urgency of circumstances. Jurgenmeyer et al state that “conflicts in contemporary social life can appear so dramatic, intense and consequential as to have ultimate meaning.”¹⁷⁸ Perceived emergencies may indeed raise the immediacy of cosmic struggles depicted in sacred texts and carried out in an alternate reality, the essence of which flows into the Immediate and increases the scope for fundamentalist thinking and action. On this basis, killing and destruction can become a proportional approach to the cosmic dimension of the perpetrators' predicament, even though such deeds do not coincide with their own values.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Gluck., p.13 drawing on Craig Nichols, ‘Christian Orthodox, Fundamentalism and Violence’, in *Religion, Fundamentalism and Violence - An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, ed. by Andrew L. Gluck (Langley, Chicago (IL), USA: Scranton University Press, 2010), pp. 211–38., pp.211-238

¹⁷⁸ Juergenmeyer and Sheikh., p.634

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.636f present a number of examples of such behaviour

Consequently, we might state that religious conflict arises from a felt need to defend the integrity of one's self-understanding against an perceived illegitimate infringement of certain boundaries. I propose that this might play out at a number of levels, or "shells" which flow from our definition of religion. None of the three shells can be kept entirely separate from the others.

Inner Shell – Theological issues concerned with the ultimate truth, i.e. the world-view. A perceived attack on the cosmic balance, or the currency of certain basic truths, if compromised, may have severe consequences for the community or even the entire world. Often, this will result in conflicts over certain theological truths or dogmatic teachings, which are seen as key to certain ontological understandings. Few people would be moved to violence for such affairs alone, unless they coalesce with other more universally tangible concerns.

Middle Shell – Defence of the Sacred. The Sacred might broadly be understood as a symbol of the Ultimate, which is tangible to the self-understanding of an individual or community (e.g. an altar or a mosque). As such, a sacred object or space can be the gatehouse to an alternate reality or deity and is thus in joint ownership of a community of faith in the Immediate and cosmic forces beyond. The stakes are high in maintaining this sacred link – and defending it against violent threats.

Outer Shell – Defence of identity, or a way of life. The Sacred can become intermeshed with a community's self-understanding. Where sacred spaces and symbols become part of a community's identity (e.g. "we are the People of God" or the "Custodians of the Holy Shrines"), a perceived attack on the community can be construed as an attack on a deity. The community might establish such a bond through myths and traditions. Conversely, a community will call on the deity for succour in an appeal to a joint cause. Such a strong bond with the Sacred may lead

to a perception of sanctification and result in a form of exceptionalism, either in the group itself or by proxy of another group (e.g. the identification of the Jews as God's people in both their own view and those of evangelical Christians). The effort to curry the deity's favour may condition strict patterns of behaviour within the community.

Violent religious conflict can emerge when any of these three shells is contested, and accordingly, it is these that we will be watching as this study unfolds.

Chapter A.3 The construction of identities and boundaries

A.3.1 Introduction

Any study of identity-based conflict cannot forego a discussion of identities and how they might be expected to play out in a given situation. This is something I have already covered to a degree in Chapter A.1. What is now needed is a review of major concepts and how they may relate to world-views of individuals and groups, in order to have at our disposition the tools to formulate the methodological precepts of the field study outlined in Section B.

A particular issue is the fluidity of identities in general and how they may be de- and reconstructed in situations of conflict. It is uncommon to have a confrontation between three or more parties without any kind of alliances forming. Even in multi-polar conflicts, parties will quickly coagulate to form a front against another party or coalition of parties. Such alliances may either be ephemeral or stable. In some cases, a newly forged alliance will outlast a conflict and indeed become stronger, while others quickly disintegrate. Coalitions are generally based on common interests, which can, at some level, form the basis of a common identity. Goldstein and Rayner describe the mechanics of such relationships at a level of individuals:

In practice, interest and identity claims are closely intertwined. What I want is in some sense shaped by my sense of who I am. On the other hand, in clarifying my interests I may sometimes begin to redefine my sense of self. But there remains for me a fundamental distinction between my objectives that do not threaten my identity and those that do.¹⁸⁰

This points to a complicated relationship between interests and identity, which merits closer inspection in the study of any conflict, be this at an

¹⁸⁰ Jonah Goldstein and Jeremy Rayner, 'The Politics of Identity in Late Modern Society', *Theory and Society*, 23 (1994), pp. 367–84., pp.367f, cited in Jenkins., p.8

individual level, as any marriage councillor will attest, or at a collective level. In this chapter, I will first look at key terms and then explore some philosophies of how identities are formed and discuss the function of *boundary*.

A.3.2 Discussion of the terms identity, identification and categories

The word identity is derived from the Latin word *idem*, meaning *the same*. This sameness is rooted in the subject of identity seeking equivalence or correspondence to some other denominator. Thus, *identity* is not commensurate with *being*, or *existence*, and does not convey meaning without establishing a relationship with something other. The very etymology of the word expresses an associative or even comparative quality between two entities. Accordingly, identity cannot be established entirely on its own. Richard Jenkins in his broad exploration of social identity argues that identity is established through the essential criteria of *similarity* and *difference*, and denotes how individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relationals with other individuals and collectivities¹⁸¹.

The term *identification*, while being related to identity, is qualitatively different. Jenkins defines it as “the cognitive medium that humans use to sort out themselves and their fellows, individually and collectively”¹⁸². To differentiate from his previously-mentioned definition of *identity*, he talks of the “*systematic establishment and significance*” between individuals and between collectivities, rather than of how they are “*distinguished in their relationals*”¹⁸³. In this sense, identification could be regarded as the formative element of identity, which can be construed as having endogenic and exogenic aspects. Endogenically, a process of *identifying*

¹⁸¹ Jenkins., pp. 16 & 18

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p.13

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* p.18

with is intertwined with the exogenic moment of *being identified as*. Building on Gilbert Ryle's philosophy of the mind, Jenkins calls this the “internal-external dialectic between self-image and public image”¹⁸⁴. Such dialectic conjures up an image of process, and it is exactly in these terms that Jenkins sees the formation of identity¹⁸⁵, an idea to which I will return.

Brubaker and Cooper establish an important difference between what they call *relational identification* and *categorical identification*.¹⁸⁶ Relational identification emphasises how an individual may identify himself through a network of relationships, while categorical identification focuses on how he defines himself by establishing a commonality with certain trait attributes which are built on certain classifications, such as white, coloured, straight, gay, married, young, Western, and which they share with others without necessarily establishing an interactive relationship. The relevance of these two branches of identification is immediately highlighted in the machinations of identity politics, where identities are evolved on a proactive process of relational and categorical identifications.

This brings us naturally to the third and final expression, namely *categorisation*. Jenkins illustrates its meaning by contrasting it to *groups*:

Group membership is a relationship between members: even if they do not know each other personally, they can recognise each other as members. Membership of a category is not a relationship between members: it doesn't even necessitate a relationship between categoriser and categorised. Any interpersonal relationships between members of a category only involve them as individuals. Once relationships between members of a category involve mutual recognition of their categorisation, the first steps towards group identification have been taken.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.42

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.40f

¹⁸⁶ Brubaker and Cooper., p.15

¹⁸⁷ Jenkins., p.108

In this, a group is composed of a number of individuals who recognise something in common. It is this commonality which establishes membership of the group. Depending on the number and the salience of the commonalities, the group identity will be stronger or weaker; depending on how accurately these commonalities overlap (notwithstanding the role of boundaries to which I will turn later), the edges of the group are more or less sharply defined. It is the strength and congruence of commonalities which determine how universally valid a group may experience itself.

A.3.3 Essentialism, constructivism, the difference and similarity and boundaries

It is noteworthy that there have been two main schools in the theory of identity origins, namely these of essentialism and constructivism. Edward T. Hall undertakes to define them in his essay *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*. Essentialism, he says,

assumes that there is some intrinsic and essential content to any identity which is defined by either a common origin or a common structure of experience or both.¹⁸⁸

On the other hand, constructivism, or what he calls “anti-essentialist”,

emphasises the impossibility of such fully constituted, separate and distinct identities. It denies the existence of authentic and originary identities based in a universally shared origin or experience. Identities are always relational and incomplete, in process.¹⁸⁹

Thus, one possible interpretation of essentialist identity theory is that identity is formed through naturally-occurring commonalities, and that these will persist even in the absence of non-commonalities. Accordingly, individuals could part-establish a common identity on the basis of having

¹⁸⁸ Stuart Hall, ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’, in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by J. Rutherford (London, UK: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 222–37., p.24

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

black skin and curly hair, or being descendants of Abraham, and such commonalities would remain salient to their commonality despite never having met anyone of non-African descent or being party to the Israeli-Arab conflict. While a constructivist would recognise these as categorical commonalities, she would negate any constitutive relevance to the individuals' identities in the mentioned context. Instead, these are seen entirely in terms of established relationships, which suggests that identities do not constitute a stable essence, but are subject to constant change and renegotiation. Brubaker characterises this stance as seeing identities as “multiple”, “contingent”, “in flux” or “fragmented”¹⁹⁰. Jenkins makes a similar evaluation of the constructivist approach, and sees this as the basis of identity and as a never-completed process of 'being' or 'becoming'.¹⁹¹ Generally, Jenkins seems more relaxed in using the term “identity” broadly, while Brubaker perceives it as being overworked. He rightly asks the question as to whether a fractured or multifarious identity is indeed really an identity at all and argues that it would be better replaced by more specific terms for most purposes. However, Brubaker too characterises identity and identification as processual constructs¹⁹², thus largely dismissing the essentialist position.

On the basis of this brief discussion, I would criticise the settler-indigene classification adopted by so many observers as a misused and misunderstood dichotomy, not only because it has *de facto* been stipulated predominantly as a category and not an identity, but also because it has little or no relevance to how relationships are constructed. Returning to Brubaker's categorical and relational modes of identification, an understanding of groupness on the basis of categories (read settler-indigene) would be in line with taking an essentialist stance on the issue,

¹⁹⁰ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity”’, *Theory and Society*, 29 (2000), pp. 1–47. ,p.11

¹⁹¹ Jenkins., p.17

¹⁹² Brubaker and Cooper., p.17

however without any available indication that people form their relational identities around such a notion.

But what is the essence of the processual-constructivist approach? As already mentioned, Jenkins postulates two criteria of comparison, namely *similarity* and *difference*.¹⁹³ In other words, identity is never constructed on its own, but always in referential terms, i.e. by stating what it is, and equally what it is not. Thus, besides the element of commonality, there is also one of polarity, which allows the construction of identity in entirely negative, or apophatic terms. For instance, the British National Party struggles to define Britishness in terms of what it is, and rather resorts to attempting to polemically explain what it is not. Similarly, under appropriate circumstances, a Christian may feel that his identity is established by being a non-Muslim (difference) rather than as a follower of Jesus (similarity).

To take this a step further, Lawrence Grossberg maintains that a “subordinate term” or “marginalised other” is a “necessary and internal force of destabilisation existing within the identity of the dominant term”.¹⁹⁴ This he calls the *subaltern* and is philosophically couched in a Derridean understanding of language. Thus, the subaltern is a form of “textual insurrection” against the dominant expression, and connotes a dimension of difference even in expressions of similarity. Thus, to revisit our examples, citing the positively-expressed British trait “fair play” implies that the rest of the world plays foul; a follower of Jesus is not a follower of Mohammed; and a non-Muslim is felt to be not-bad. Grossberg cautions, “The logic of difference, in which the other is defined by its negativity, can only give rise to a politics of resentment”, and concludes, “Celebrations of difference do not give up a totalising speaking situation

¹⁹³ Jenkins., p.17

¹⁹⁴ Grossberg., p.90

of the modern; instead, it becomes the master of differing, offering a unified theory of difference.”¹⁹⁵

A.3.4 The function of boundaries and borders

This brings us almost seamlessly to the question of boundaries as a central moment of differentiation. “Boundary” entered the mainstream of anthropological thinking of identity in Fredrik Barth’s landmark collection of essays titled “Ethnic Groups and Boundaries”. In his introduction, he cogently raised four important points:

1. Ethnic definition should primarily be centred on ascription and identification by the actors themselves¹⁹⁶;
2. Ethnic identities are constructed and construed as culture-bearing units and organisational types in terms of a process¹⁹⁷;
3. Boundary construction and maintenance is the foremost recourse taken to sustaining a stable ethnic identity¹⁹⁸;
4. People will cross boundaries and join other ethnicities if they see this as advantageous¹⁹⁹.

His reasoning is that auto-ascription makes the traditional, categorical definition of ethnicity as biologically self-perpetuating and sharing cultural values and communication redundant. Instead, it depends on the maintenance of a boundary, which may parametrically change, but can be sustained as long as the insider-outsider dichotomy is upheld.²⁰⁰

Quintessentially he states

The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.97

¹⁹⁶ Fredrik Barth, ‘Ethnic Groups and Boundaries’, 1969., p.2

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pp.10ff

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp.17ff

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pp.22ff

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* pp.14f

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.15

This line of argumentation swings the philosophy of identities in a completely constructivist direction. Identity is contrived from a passionate preoccupation with boundary, as to eliminate a boundary would be to dissolve a discrete identity.

How and on what basis the boundary is drawn, is situational. A Kamwe tribesman might use his language as an ethnic marker, but he may also flaunt a Christian identity to differentiate against Muslims and traditionalists within his ethnic group, which at the same time will build a bridge across his ethnic boundary to Christians in other tribes. Which boundary marker is exercised will depend on the situation and what his particular goals are.

Anthony Cohen agonises over the difference between boundary and border in an attempt to demarcate different uses: "If border is fact, boundary is consciousness, and the difference between them is crucial."²⁰² His differentiation can be applied to national borders and socially-constructed boundaries. While making such a difference may be useful in principle, the semantics of his argument are not widely enforceable, as the term *boundary* is too well established and readily used in the factual sense, and is employed accordingly (e.g. boundary stone). As the literature of his field has also not accepted any such differentiation of the terms, we are stuck with multiple meanings of boundary, and will work with them accordingly.

Generally, Barth's ideas have survived the test of time remarkably well, although some criticism has been directed at them. Fairly, Donnan and Wilson have pointed out that Barth has emphasised internal identification at the cost of external constraint and has not given due consideration to the institutional influence of states and organisations.²⁰³

²⁰² Cohen. p. 29

²⁰³ Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 1999)., p.25

This criticism brings us directly back to Jenkin's dialectical process of identity formation to which I can now return.

A.3.5 Bottom-up and top-down contemplation of identification processes

At this point we have determined beyond reasonable doubt that individuals and groups are in a perpetually active process of shaping identities in states of continuous conference with their environments and social relationals. But why do they pursue identities? Is it simply an evolutionary survival trait, like a beating heart, or is it in fact founded on a cognitive process?

Côté and Levine in *Identity Formation, Agency and Culture*, propose three levels of identity: *ego*, *personal* and *social*²⁰⁴. Such a taxonomy sits uneasily with Jenkin's assertion that all identities are ultimately social²⁰⁵, yet does have considerable explanatory power. In taking this path, they have been able to draw on concepts from the disciplines of psychology and sociology²⁰⁶, which permits them to construct a more holistic picture of the cognitive individual in her social space. I will not further elaborate upon their work, but wish to borrow their concept for my own ends.

Ego identity. At the *ego* level, we find the traditional, Eriksonian concept of identity, which is formulated through the process of an identity crisis that can happen at most stages in life, but is almost programmatic in adolescence²⁰⁷. Such a crisis is in effect a search for meaning. Charles Taylor argues that frameworks of meaning are necessary for individuals to orientate themselves in life; if this framework is damaged or destroyed,

²⁰⁴ Côté and Levine., pp.119ff

²⁰⁵ Jenkins., pp.16f

²⁰⁶ James E. Côté and Charles G. Levine, *Identity Formation, Agency, and Culture : A Social Psychological Synthesis* (Mahwah, NJ, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2002)., p.9

²⁰⁷ Francis L. Jr. Gross, *Introducing Erik Erikson : An Invitation to His Thinking* (Lanham MD, USA: University Press of America Inc., 1987)., p.39

the individual will experience an identity crisis.²⁰⁸ Now, what is this framework? Taylor couches it in orientational terms, making it akin to a road map, which is designed to make sense of the world. Beyond this, the framework points to what is good and desirable:

To know who I am is a species of knowing where I stand. My identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what I endorse or oppose.²⁰⁹

To determine what is good or valuable is to make a moral statement. Indeed, Taylor is working within the Neo-Aristotelean school of virtue ethics which, as he puts it himself, moves beyond the question of the right thing to *do* to the question of the right thing to *be*²¹⁰. This establishes a strong link between identity, world-view and morality. Indeed, Taylor actually sees the ethical angle in spatial terms, by using the expression *moral space*:

To know who you are is to be oriented in moral space, a space in which questions arise about good and bad, what is worth doing and what not, what has meaning and importance for you and what is trivial and secondary.²¹¹

The spatial connection to morality is something he borrows from the field of psychology, proposing that cognitive and spatial orientations are mentally connected.

This is where the processual element of identity construction is brought to bear. George Herbert Mead developed the concept of an endogenic dialectical process between the “I” and the “me”, which represents an ongoing cognitive reflection of the environment. This is essentially a conversation with oneself, and does not represent a split-personality²¹²,

²⁰⁸ Charles Taylor, *Sources of The Self - The Making of The Modern Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1989)., pp.20 & 27

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p.27

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* p.3

²¹¹ *Ibid.* p.28

²¹² Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 3rd edn (London, UK: Routledge, 2008)., p.63

but rather the processual constitution of selfhood *per se* in a social space.

On this, Mead wrote:

The I both calls out the me and responds to it. Taken together they constitute a personality as it appears in social experience. The self is essentially a social process going on with these two distinguishable phases. If it did not have these two phases there would not be conscious responsibility, and there would be nothing novel in experience.²¹³

This process establishes an endogenic dialectic of identity. However, the cognitive element of the process opens it up for exogenic influence, giving rise to Jenkin's internal-external dialectic of identification. Returning to Taylor's terms, this represents a struggle to make sense of the world, i.e. to orientate oneself. Hermeneutically, the self is both interpreting the world in terms of its own internalised knowledge and values, and reassessing appropriated truths and values in the light of its experience. Should there be a breakdown in the process, an identity crisis ensues. Obviously, such a breakdown occurs when internalised truths and values diverge from experience, and a fundamental reassessment of the good needs to take place. This may lead to an extension of the individual's ethical foundations.

The main thrust of the argument this far is that identity is immediately relevant to how morals are embedded in the world of the individual, and to throw an identity into crisis is to macerate his moral framework as well. The work of James Marcia based around the "identity status interview" has categorised different types of identity crisis (identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement), which characterise individuals' strategies and commitments when faced with an identity crisis.²¹⁴ Identity moratorium and diffusion imply an ongoing crisis, with

²¹³ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*, ed. by Charles W. Morris (Chicago IL, USA: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p.178

²¹⁴ James E. Marcia, 'Ego-Identity Status : Relationship to Change in Self-Esteem, "General Maladjustment", and Authoritarianism', in *Social Encounters*, ed. by Michael Argyle (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 340–54., p.341

the latter being a non-commitment to reformulate a steady framework, or what Marcia would call “occupation and ideology”. Identity foreclosure signifies that no identity crisis has ever taken place, as values are inherited with little reflection from the individual's surrounding society. Identity achievement is awarded to individuals who have overcome an identity crisis and arrived at their own framework. Broadly speaking, identity foreclosure is the status which would be most preferred in a homogeneous and traditional society, whereas identity achievement would earn the individual more respect in a cosmopolitan, post-modern society. My critique at this point is that one must be clear that these statuses may say as much about the individual's environment as about the individual himself: The same individual adopting identity foreclosure as a strategy in a stable and safe world might successfully reach identity achievement in 21st Century Britain, yet be at sea in identity diffusion induced in the Sierra Leonean civil war.

Personal identity. Personal identity represents the interface between the ego and its society. Conceptually, it represents who the individual is and what he does in society. Although we have seen how the ego is influenced by its environment, this environment will actively interact with, and perceive, the ego by mediation of its personal identity – and it is the personal identity that society will seek to influence with little or no concern for the ego. Conversely, it is through the personal identity that the ego will make any imprint on society. Thus, while the ego is a construction of the *self* by the I and me at a purely individual level, albeit under environmental influence, a personal identity is a co-construction of the *person* by the ego and society. It is worth pausing to consider the impact of this realisation on social research. Researchers are always confronted only by personal identity, whereas the ego identity is in many cases the ultimate concern of investigation. The inferences from the level

of person to ego can thus be made only with considerable projection and caveat.

Social identity. Finally, I turn to the question of how individuals, through their personae, construct social identities. This concerns especially the questions of membership, groupness, boundary and belonging, which manifest themselves at two levels. At the lower level, a group has to constitute itself out of individual personae, whose personal identities are the avatars of their individual egos. At the higher level, the group has to define itself by the establishment and maintenance of boundaries. As Jenkins has pointed out, identities and interests are not always easy to differentiate.²¹⁵ Indeed, individuals will form coalitions around common interests, which can establish a sense of groupness. Individuals may be part of several groups of shared interests, but it is only with an increasing overlap of interests that groupness will increase in strength and meaning. The more salient the commonalities of interest the members experience, the stronger the sense of belonging, and the more exclusive the group is likely to become. Grossberg uses the term “singularity of belonging”:

It is only at the intersection of the various lines at the concrete place of belonging that we can identify the different processes of „individuation carried through groups and people“, new modes of individuation and even subjectivation with no identity. Such a community would be based only on the exteriority, the exposure, of the singularity of belonging.²¹⁶

Where the commonalities are similar, the group ethos becomes *sinnstiftend*, and increasingly influences the individual's notion of the good and what constitutes the good life. At the lower level, individuals construct their personal identities around group roles, which ultimately become their social identities. At the higher level, the ways of the group

²¹⁵ Jenkins., p.7

²¹⁶ Lawrence Grossberg, ‘Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is?’, in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd, 1996), pp. 89–107., p.104

are used to define boundaries and criteria for membership. Values are epitomised in symbols and rituals which are a cultural reification of the group²¹⁷. The coherent set of symbols and rituals can constitute a *cultural identity* which will become a strong boundary marker to outsiders. I propose the expression *coagulation* to describe this process, as personal values coalesce into social values. This may take generations to happen, but can equally occur within surprisingly short periods of time.

However, also a society can experience identity crises. Major shifts in its environment will either cause a society to redefine itself or dissolve. Such shifts might lead to a diversification of its individuals' life circumstances, meaning groups have a smaller number of salient commonalities which constitute belonging. For example, such erosion of groupness can be observed in farming communities which became the dormitory towns of urban centres.

Modernity has repeatedly bestowed a sense of identity diffusion on Western societies. Societies, being composed of individuals, can be slow to respond. Typically, re-coagulation lags, as older public symbols and rituals linger. As long as a group or society's members can project a meaning behind these symbols and rituals, a certain cultural unity can be maintained, although political reification becomes increasingly difficult. Indeed, when symbols' meanings are hollowed out, the symbols themselves might become the commonality, as members of society strive to maintain a collective framework of meaning, however artificial.

This far, we have considered identity formation from the bottom up, while recognising a simultaneous, discursive top-down movement. The emphasis has been on an “organic” construction of identities. However, identities can also be shaped through very conscious top-down efforts.

²¹⁷ Anthony P. Cohen, 'Boundaries and Boundary-Consciousness: Politicising Cultural Identity', in *The Frontiers of Europe*, ed. by Malcolm Anderson and Eberhard Bort (London, UK: Pinter, 1998), pp. 22–35., p.22

These are almost always interest-driven and reflect balances of power. The classic term for this is “identity politics”. Often, successful organic developments are exploited to create a general validity of commonalities by appropriating their symbols. More succinctly, astute uses of media has sealed the success of political campaigns in creating new awareness, identities, and ultimately, movements around particular traits, such as nationhood, race or sexual orientation. This last example, often branded as “social engineering” illustrates how an essentialist starting point can be used to galvanise new social identities.

Quintessentially, one must therefore recognise that although it is a *bottom-up*, “organic” force that is primarily at work, pre-existing power structures are also likely to be used for “dirigiste” *top-down* identity formation. Any social study should bear this in mind. Categorisation of the sort discussed above can thus find its way into the process of identity construction from the top down. Categories such as settler-indigene could begin to enter into individual and group identities through media broadcasting and orchestrated mobilisation programmes.

Chapter A.4 Traditional African ethics in modernising societies

A.4.1 Introduction

In Africa, cultural and social norms have not kept pace with the rapid change and growth of urban societies. As much academic research has illustrated, rural traditions and world-views still permeate thinking in city contexts and ethical frameworks in the continent's largely young Christian denominations. Since these issues are central to our research which unfolds in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts, it is clearly warranted to review the general nature of African ethics in the context of indigenous world-views and how their residual presence might inform new religious and social contexts. Accordingly, this chapter will first rehearse the relationship of the terms morality and ethics, before proceeding to analyse some of the moral tenants of African world-views in their tension between individual and community, while linking them to the previous chapters on religion and identities.

A.4.2 A distinction: Morality and Ethics

Starting from Girard's discussion of religion, one may attest that for any human society to exist and function, its members have to abide by various rules. In a modern state, these are sanctioned by laws and decrees. However, there are also many areas of life not directly subject to any law, which in instances of conflicts of interest are negotiated by what seems "reasonable" or "fair". One party may evaluate the other's position as "unreasonable" or "unfair", but these are terms which can be construed either to be a situational evaluation or a personal assessment by one of the parties. However, branding someone's position or deed as "immoral" makes a tangible appeal to a set of commonly recognised principles which

categorically permit a deed or attitude to be classed as *good* or *bad*. This body of principles, called morality, could be approximated to a customary law which predicates behaviour. Although not as binding as written law, it does often precede it by shaping written law at a legislative stage. In traditional societies where there is no practice of written law, it is this customary law of public morality which gains supremacy in all public discourses.

Yet what does morality rest on, and what avenues are available for modifying it? To answer this question, it is perhaps worthwhile considering the relationship between morality and ethics. Oosthuizen, in an introduction to ethics as a discipline in Africa, sees ethics as referring to “behaviour according to reflection” while morality designates “behaviour according to custom”.²¹⁸

For our further considerations I will accept this usage of the two terms.

A.4.3 African world-views and ontologies

A.4.3.1 The concept of values

Morality is derived from commonly-held values or precepts which frequently find their ethical anchoring in philosophy or religion. A value in the moral sense could be construed as “a belief of a person or a social group in which they have an emotional investment”²¹⁹. Such a belief might be imparted by socialisation, religious orientation or through ethical reflection. Certain values have normative status. Society will attempt to impose these on its members and seek to punish deviating behaviour in some way. This may happen through a judiciary system as far as these values are codified in criminal or civil laws. At a “softer” level, non-

²¹⁸ Oosthuizen.(introduction to ethics in Africa), p.53

²¹⁹ Wordnet as provided by Princeton University, available at <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/>, accessed 4th March 2011

adherence may be penalised by collective shunning of non-conforming individuals. Nevertheless, normative values are not always arrived at through consensus; they can also be imposed by powerful organisations or individuals such as churches, authorities or monarchs, even though a majority of individuals might not share them at a personal level.

However, like Tillich's symbols, values can wax and wane or be transformed. Once prevalent values may remain normative through their presence in laws and customs, but might hold little actual sway in the hearts and minds of a society's members, who might fail to uphold them. It is only through gradual adaptation of these laws and customs that society's way of life is kept in step with its world-view.

The Kenyan friar Constance Bansikiza echoes this for the African context when he declares

Each African community has a two-fold responsibility. First, to organise the moral demands that the people make upon themselves. These demands are made into a system of symbols that make community members intelligible and trustworthy. Secondly, to systematise ways of pardoning and forgiving by which the people release themselves in some degree. Briefly, moral values provide a core of integrative concepts for the development of personality and also for the maintenance of moral order of the community.²²⁰

Banzikisa's "system of symbols" transpires at all levels of human interaction, manifesting itself in deeds or attitudes. Godfrey Wilson devises a classification of normative behaviours and attitudes in African society which are structured as follows:

1. Manners – dependent on social approval or acceptance
2. Morality – dependent on world-view/religion
3. Common policy – dependent on expected patterns of rewards and punishments in reciprocal relationships

²²⁰ Constance Bansikiza, *Restoring Moral Formation in Africa* (Eldoret, Kenya: AMECEA Gaba Publications, 2001)., p.6

4. Law – dependent on authoritative investigation with subsequent compulsion²²¹

These categories have an ascending degree of inertia to change (although one might contest the order of 2. and 3.). Behaviour and attitudes are subject to change as shifts in values occur, and most immediately influence manners and morality. Eventually however, such value changes will ripple through the entire structure and alter the whole framework of attitudes and how conflicting behaviour is sanctioned. However, the tail that wags the dog appears to be shared world-views, which are the pivotal point for systemic change.

A derivative of this is morality formation as the result of socially negotiated values which are inspired by the elements of a shared world-view. P.H. Coetzee in *Particularity in Morality and its Relation to Community* instead talks of “shared understandings” which provide

1. an interpretative framework for the generation of social meaning;
2. a marker for the boundaries of social and moral identity; and
3. a conception of the social processes by which material and moral goods are produced and distributed.²²²

It is thus the vehicle of “social meaning” as opposed to that of customary law that Coetzee utilises to typify communitarian morality. In this, he identifies two threads of criticism:

1. Social practice: A community's moral life is lived in conformity to established practices
2. Practical reason: Models of the good life can be contested through culturally generated forms of criticism²²³

²²¹ Godfrey Wilson, ‘An African Morality’, in *Cultures and Societies of Africa*, ed. by Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg (New York, USA: Random House, 1960), pp. 345–64., p.346

²²² Peter H. Coetzee, ‘Particularity in Morality and Its Relation to Community’, in *The African Philosophy Reader*, ed. by P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux (London, UK; New York, USA: Routledge, 1998), pp. 275–91., p.277

²²³ *Ibid.* p.278

Putting this aside for now, in order to recover this thread later and to reflect on the relationship between community and individual and the notion of morality resulting from a joint communal experience of the world, I will first take a closer look at African traditional ontologies.

A.4.3.2 World-views and ontologies

The world of the traditional African community, as we saw in Subchapter A.1.1, is cohabited by the living of the seen world and the many denizens of the unseen spiritual realm of an alternate reality. Among others, the Nigerian Udo Etuk, has devised a four-tier model of these unseen beings: (1) God or the Supreme Being, (2) the divinities, (3) the spirits and (4) the ancestors²²⁴.

Although there is a clear conceptual distinction between the two realms, the frontier between the living and the spirits is in fact rather blurred²²⁵, certainly when compared with traditional European ontologies. By default, Alternate Realities coalesce with the Immediate. A first major corollary is that the ancestors, while inhabiting the spirit world, remain in continued communion with their kinsfolk of the living world. If morality is indeed constructed from a joint communal experience of the world, it will account immediately for the hypothetical experience of the ancestors too, thereby bringing the concerns of their world into the world of the living. This will tend to conserve prevailing attitudes and patterns of behaviour. The second corollary is that the influence and the claims which spirits and divinities have upon the world of the living will, in their

²²⁴ Udo Etuk, *Religion & Cultural Identity* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Hope Publications, 2002)., p.30

²²⁵ This lack of clear demarcation has been pointed out by Andrew E. Walls, 'Christian Scholarship and the Demographic Transformation of the Church', in *Theological Literacy for the 21st Century*, ed. by Rodney L. Petersen (Grand Rapids, MI, USA: Eerdmanns Publishing Company, 2002)., p.177 and Umar Habila Dadem Danfulani, 'The Spirit World of Some Chadic-Speakers on the Jos Plateau', in *The Triple Religious Heritage of Nigeria*, ed. by Christopher Steed and David Westerland (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), pp. 13–47., p.16

legions, make this felt in a myriad of ways. These are powers that must be dealt with. Thus, perpetual confrontation with spirits and the continual communion with ancestors contribute to a participatory relationship with the unseen world which gives it an immanence which never ceases to surprise Western observers.

The role of God, or the Supreme Being, in this cosmos is somewhat controversial, although there is a broad consensus that God is the ultimate source of existence. Both Mbiti and Magesa see Him/It as intrinsically good and benevolent²²⁶, which might be consistent with an inherently positive perception of the nature of creational procreation, but may equally be influenced by Christian prejudices. On the other side of the debate, He is seen to be of little moral consequence. Umar Danfulani has described the Supreme Being as a *deus remotus*²²⁷ and thus out of the reach of everyday concerns. Johan De Tavernier reaches the same conclusion with an opposite diagnosis by seeing him “too immanently implicated in the nature and happening of things to have any explanatory value”²²⁸. Whatever the actual concept, which may anyway vary within the wide scope of African traditions of thought, the Supreme Being is not one with whom people must wrestle on a daily basis.

As mentioned fleetingly above, a more immanent role is attributed to the hosts of wayward spirits and divinities who dwell in the multifarious nooks and crannies of the world and can be either complaisant or evil. So populated is the unseen entity of the world that these spiritual forces are essentially omnipresent in every diurnal and nocturnal situation, and so gain a ubiquitous explanatory function for the capricious courses that life takes. Conceptually, all fortunes and misfortunes are willed by some

²²⁶ Mbiti., p.30f; Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life.*, p.35

²²⁷ Danfulani, ‘The Spirit World of Some Chadic-Speakers on the Jos Plateau.’, pp.19 f

²²⁸ Johan De Tavernier, ‘Tolerance, Pluralism and Religious Truth’, in *Applied Ethics in a World Church*, ed. by Linda Hogan (Maryknoll NY, United States: Orbis Books, 2008), pp. 278–87., p.51

spiritual agent, and the traditional African perpetually finds himself in an unfolding cosmic drama played out largely in the unseen world²²⁹. This has implications for the process of causality. The question of *how* something came about is not as paramount as it is in modernist Western thinking²³⁰. While mechanistic causality is indeed appreciated as in “Musa fell out of the tree because the branch broke under his weight”, it is rather the *why* which gains the centre of attention. Thus, “*Why* did the branch break under his weight?”, or, “*Why* was Musa on the tree when the branch broke?” move to the centre of the enquiry, to which the answer is that it was willed by a human or spiritual agent potentially by means of magic. Who or what willed it and why might be discerned only through a process of divination. A consequence of this train of thought is that the individual must tread carefully in his universe and avoid aggravation, lest he bring misfortune upon himself or his family. In pursuit of peace he will need to remain in accord with the powers-in-being, and he will need allies if he is to survive. Where better to find these than in the land of the living? It is this ontological understanding that lays the foundation for seeking an ontological balance of harmony²³¹ and establishes the African strong sense of community value. This has several moral ramifications. Principally, it establishes the shared value of the individual's self-understanding as an inseparable part of his or her community as a life-maintaining strategy. This is reified in the moral principle that what serves the community in a life-affirming way is intrinsically good. Magesa calls this entire ethos “the moral traditions of abundant life”²³². The

²²⁹“For the African, religion is an ontological phenomenon. He lives in a religious universe, in a religious drama.” - *Ibid.* p.15

²³⁰See also Theo Sundermeier, *Nur Gemeinsam Können Wir Leben : Das Menschenbild Schwarzafrikanischer Religionen*, 2nd edn (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1988), p.64. Here Sundermeier calls the how-question “mechanistic and thing-oriented”, the why-question “personal and relationship-oriented”

²³¹“An ontological balance must be maintained between God and man, spirits and man, the departed and the living. When upset, people experience misfortunes and sufferings. Also a way of renewing contact.” - Mbiti., p.59

²³² Laurenti Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life* (New

Africanist Diedrich Westermann working in Northern Africa in the 1920s and 30s declared that to maintain life was the real goal of all African religious activity.²³³ This teleological approach is echoed by Magesa, who declares that “African religion is human-centred, even overtly utilitarian in the communal, if not the individual sense”²³⁴, and by Wiredu, who points out that Akan deities who do not deliver, fall into contempt²³⁵.

Westermann was the first to describe African morality as “anthropocentric”, but used it in a derogatory sense²³⁶. This has not stopped the term from being adopted by a cohort of African scholars. Mbiti, for example, uses it more positively when he places God on the periphery by assigning Him the auxiliary role of human creation and provenance²³⁷. God thus finds little mention beyond the various creation myths, while the true locus of where cosmic events unfold is within the horizon of the community in its tapestry of relationships extending through this world and into the spiritual realm. Wiredu, explaining the world-view from the position of an individual, emphasises the primacy of community and kin over any other relationships:

A human person is essentially the centre of a thick set of concentric circles of obligations and responsibilities matched by rights and privileges revolving round levels of relationships irradiating from the consanguinity of household kith and kin, through the “blood” ties of lineage and clan, to the wider circumference of human familyhood based on the common possession of the divine spark.²³⁸

Based on the central value of community and consanguinity, all morals are shaped on how they serve this entity in a life-affirming way.

York, USA: Orbis Books, 1997).

²³³ Diedrich Westermann, *African and Christianity* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1937)., p.80

²³⁴ Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life.*, p.69

²³⁵ Kwasi Wiredu, *Cultural Universals and Particulars* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996)., p.48

²³⁶ See Sundermeier., p.54

²³⁷ Mbiti., p.92

²³⁸ Kwasi Wiredu, ‘The Moral Foundations of An African Culture’, in *The African Philosophy Reader*, ed. by P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux (London, UK; New York, USA: Routledge, 1998), pp. 306–16., p.311

European languages can only circumscribe this concept for which Africans are better equipped and use terms such as *mmekorita* in Igbo²³⁹ or more famously *ubuntu* in Zulu²⁴⁰. Magesa describes the concept of *ubuntu* as the “quintessence of authentic humanity”²⁴¹, while Prinsloo more lucidly ascribes it characteristics such as empathy, participation, sharing, reciprocity harmony and cooperation²⁴². In doing so, he quotes Reuel Khoza, a South African business thinker discussing alternative management practices, as follows:

Ubuntu would seem to be broadening respect for the individual – respect for the dignity and the rights of each person in the social unit.²⁴³

Meanwhile, Lovemore Mbigi, a South African business thinker has identified four principles of *ubuntu* as being

- morality (trust and credibility);
- interdependence (sharing and caring);
- spirit of man (human dignity and mutual respect);
- totality (continuous improvement of everything).²⁴⁴

This world-view and the values of abundant life as expressed in *ubuntu* lay the ethical foundation for the African good life. To allude to Aristotle, the polis is the village and the agora becomes the community palaver.

Due to the closeness of community, any disruption to one relationship can impinge on others, making the quest for harmony a perpetual activity. Much is invested in the village palaver where men will debate latest developments. Women from different households will often cook together

²³⁹ Ambrose Chimene Agu, *The Eucharist and the Igbo Communal Spirit* (Würzburg, Germany: Echter Verlag GmbH, 2004), p.170

²⁴⁰ Etuk., p.140

²⁴¹ Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life.*, p.66

²⁴² Prinsloo., p.45

²⁴³ R. Khoza, “Ubuntu as African humanism”, Conference paper read at Ekhasya Promotion, Dieploof Extension, unpublished in Erasmus D. Prinsloo, ‘Ubuntu Culture and Participatory Management’, in *The African Philosophy Reader*, ed. by P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux (London, UK; New York, USA: Routledge, 1998), pp. 41–51., p.45

²⁴⁴ Lovemore Mbigi, ‘Unhu or Ubuntu : The Basis for Effective HR Management’, in *Peoples Dynamics*, 1992, pp. 20–26., as referenced in Prinsloo., pp.46f

and work out their own common positions from which to exert influence on their husbands. Even community leaders spend much time in consultation with community elders, since to act autonomously and not in lockstep with ones community could imperil ones position, and possibly even his community. Oosthuizen observes:

The traditional system of the African was never built on authoritarianism in the sense that some people were considered to be ethically competent and others not. The emphasis was rather on keeping the equilibrium, and maintaining harmony in the community.²⁴⁵

This system of togetherness is precipitated in a framework of solidarity where it is one for all and all for one, instilling a sense of belonging which becomes particularly obvious in intercommunal conflicts where infringements by individuals across communal boundaries will very quickly mutate into armed conflicts between whole villages rather than a justice process between those immediately involved in the initial dispute.²⁴⁶ This has clear implications for the justice system, where an ethic by loyalty, rather than an ethic by impartial rule takes place. Tord Larson points out that under such circumstances a community's interests and its sense of justice intrinsically begin to overlap, making the phrase “*we* are in the right” a tautology and “*they* are in the right” a logical contradiction.²⁴⁷ This pushes the entire ethical framework in a consequentialist direction; the guiding values of harmony may predicate rigid precepts for individual behaviour, but the overall edifice is under constant and dynamic evaluation in participatory interaction which can lead only to the conclusion that, as far as they strengthen the community, African traditional ethics are utilitarian in nature. Sundermeier points out that they are situational and are applicable only to the community in

²⁴⁵ Oosthuizen., p.69

²⁴⁶ This is exemplified in a study of conflicts of the Kamwe in North-Eastern Nigeria: Keith F. Otterbein, ‘Higi Armed Combat’, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 24 (1968), pp. 195–213.

²⁴⁷ Larsen., p.12f

which they are crafted, and uses the term “tribal ethics” (*Stammesethik*).²⁴⁸ As seen in the previous chapter, it is often identity which defines the moral space. This is an example of how ethics and identity become closely intertwined.

A.4.4 The relationship between guilt and shame, community and individual

One might state from a utilitarian philosophical position that, were it not for community, the individual would have no need for morals, since these constitute (as 19th century ethicist J.S. Mills might argue) a negotiated treaty amongst various members of a society which is intended to maximise the common good. P.H. Coetzee, in discussing African morality in its relationship to a community specifies the common good as follows:

The common good defines substantive conceptions about the good life – identified for application in specific social contexts. The good life for an individual is conceived of as coinciding with the good of the community, and a person's choice is highly or lowly ranked according to whether it contributes to or detracts from the common good.²⁴⁹

In this, an individual's choice of way of life is constrained by the community's pursuit of shared ends.²⁵⁰ Coetzee constructs the notion of a community's shared ends on society's “shared understandings” as the logical basis of a society's self-understanding.²⁵¹ However, if society is philosophically construed as a body of individuals, it is difficult to see how it could assume a self-understanding without attributing to it a form of meta-conscience akin to Emile Durkheim's *conscience collective*²⁵². Durkheim further construes totemic thinking as being a robust unifying force for identity²⁵³. In this, social members identify with a set of traits

²⁴⁸ Sundermeier., p.225

²⁴⁹ Coetzee., p.278

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.278

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.277

²⁵² Emile Durkheim, *De La Division Du Travail Social* (Paris, France: F. Alcan, 1911) <<http://dx.doi.org/33101> Dur>. – *conscience collective*

²⁵³ *Ibid.* – totem identity

and virtues which are applied jointly to common life circumstances. The philosophical and psychological debate has of course progressed far beyond Durkheim, but it suffices to say that in order to preserve this “group-think” and uphold anything approaching a collective conscience, a rigorous process of harmonisation must be maintained. Failing this, the life circumstances of group members would drift apart and the self-understanding dissolve.

However, harmonisation does presuppose that an individual still exists with her needs and concerns, which is accounted for at some level in all functioning communities. What the needs and concerns are, depends very much on the community's self-understanding, experience, values and world-view, and thus how it is felt that the individual should be related to the whole. Oosthuizen sees the pattern of relationships as being directed to the “self-maintenance of the community”, and not towards the satisfaction of the individuals²⁵⁴. This is achieved by a set of deontological precepts held in place by the prevailing world-view. However, Oosthuizen's proposal can work only up to a certain point. If the pain of serving community ends becomes too great and is simultaneously corrosive to the individual's needs, then the moral framework will be shifted towards a more personal utilitarian approach. If necessary, her world-view may even be “tweaked” to accommodate this process in order to deal with the problem of conscience.

Action conflicting with personalised moral attitudes or those of the community, will, in a moral individual, result in a feeling of guilt. What might be called a bad conscience is acknowledgement of sin²⁵⁵. It may be combined with a feeling of moral betrayal towards the community and the fear that the sin will become known. Should such occur, guilt would turn

²⁵⁴ Oosthuizen., p.6

²⁵⁵ *Sin* I would define as a violation of a moral law, but not necessarily one upheld by a divine entity.

to shame. Shame destroys personhood and dignity, and there is a high premium on protecting it. Magesa contrasts guilt and shame as, “Guilt says I’ve made a mistake, Shame says I am a mistake.”²⁵⁶ Guilt might be atoned by performing religious sacrifice or altering one’s values to vindicate unprincipled utilitarian action, but the problem of shame remains. Personhood-destroying shame is disruptive to a community’s order and harmony, while guilt and sin may endanger the ontological balance of the cosmos itself. For this reason, many African cultures pursue the goal of amending or avoiding shameful exposures or will take rapid steps to reintegrate shamed individuals into the community. Africans are notoriously quick to forgive their often very corrupt leaders. Nevertheless, communities are also keen to police hidden sin, and may do so by means of divination or social controls if omens are not good for the community.

Sundermeier argues that African societies are thus inherently “shame-driven cultures” on the basis that an evil deed gains validity only if it becomes known.²⁵⁷ This is not strictly fair. Rather, personal guilt is invoked out of a concern for the ontological good of one’s community, which is beyond simply fearing public ostracism. Being a responsible member of society and integrated in oneself according to the well-exercised values of harmony, one is generally duty-bound to serve good morals even in private.

A.4.5 How African morality is inherently religious

Even in Africa, the link of religion to ethics is not uncontested. Kwasi Wiredu, working from a purely philosophical point of view attests a “conceptual separation of morals from religion” for the case of his native Akan ethnicity. He couches this in the expression “Akan humanism”, by

²⁵⁶ Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life.*, p.170

²⁵⁷ Sundermeier., p.225

which he means anthropocentric utilitarianism. This is constructed on the postulation of “what is good in general is what promotes human interests”, which in the view of Wiredu disqualifies any non-human being, including God, from the teleological discourse. This, so Wiredu, then leaves God with the possibility of policing moral behaviour, which however does not create “the sense of moral obligation”. It thus appears sufficient to him to separate religion from morality²⁵⁸. This line of argument is contentious for several reasons. In the first instance, he negates any possibility of faith in God to discern human interests, and in the second, he reduces God to a bouncer with a big stick who is in servitude to what humans see fit and right. While writing from an atheistic perspective, Wiredu’s achievement has been to divorce God from the world rather than remove religion from morality.

To take Wiredu's understanding of anthropocentric utilitarianism at face value in what our understanding is of a traditional African society, we must now decide whether (1) is based on a transmitted and authoritatively transmitted tradition, and (2) is based on a system of beliefs and experiences of non-falsifiable alternate realities (see Subchapter A.2.2). Indeed, African morality passes these tests. As discussed above, traditional morality is acted out communally, permitting Sundermeier to use his term *Stammesethik* to describe a system of morality which stops at the boundaries of the community. In the second place, the concept of ancestorship, totemic cult and founder myths establish a clearly defined ethos, i.e. way of doing things, which is embedded in the transmitted virtues of a community and provides the community with a moral self-understanding. Finally, the existence of the unseen world is, at least in the eyes of the traditional communities in question, an undeniable truth. Trust in the time-honoured assumption of its reality and the fact that cosmic events such as the afflictions of life are

²⁵⁸ Wiredu, ‘The Moral Foundations of An African Culture.’, p.307

explained and understood through the lens of otherworldly machinations satisfy also the second condition for morality; hence even anthropocentric utilitarianism can be interwoven with religion. Most important, however, what is seen as good for humans is seen as such only through the ontological understanding of the cosmos with the non-falsifiable entity of the unseen world and its powers. Accordingly, there is no possible separation of traditional African morals from religion.

Yet, how resilient is this meshwork of morals and religion in light of the challenges to traditional world-views not only through the world religions of Christianity and Islam, but through modernity and life-style change?

A.4.6 Challenges of modernity and urbanisation

Modernity, science, technology and new religious systems have shaken the foundations of traditional African world-views. Rapid urbanisation in recent decades has challenged the very foundations of traditional concepts of community. Such developments have had a profound influence on the ethical structures of African societies.

Yet changes have been afoot in Western civilisation too. Post-Enlightenment thought has placed an ever greater emphasis on the individual as the locus of ethical construction. This development has been favoured by urbanisation and an ever more sophisticated division of labour, which have led to an increasing fragmentation of life walks, world-views and values. By the 1950s, it had become evident that society's traditional self-understanding had fundamentally changed, inviting a plethora of sociological enquiries into how moral construction had changed in society and how morals were being transmitted.

One seminal piece of this new branch of social studies was *The Lonely Crowd*, which David Riesman et al produced in various editions from 1950 onwards. In it Riesman discerned three types of individual

orientation in what he traced a pattern of historic progression towards modern society, namely tradition-directed, inner-directed and other-directed.²⁵⁹ The first form represents how the individual relates to a rule-based society whose claims are universal and as such lead to a very deontological ethical framework which is controlled at a community level, and as such becomes very rigid. A prominent example would be the Judaic tradition, which is based on a strong, centralising and unifying Creator-God whose claims are universal. The second form, inner-directed orientation, which dominated the Industrial Age, remains deontological in perspective, but the locus of moral reflection is shifted to the individual, who continues to share internalised norms with his community through a process of socialisation, i.e. by upbringing. Riesman described these traditional inner values as a *gyroscope* and as a moral guide for adaptation in a rapidly changing world. Finally, the third form, other-directed orientation, was a predictive concept which connoted a utilitarian outlook of few principles, guided by a value of interrelatedness with the central goal of gaining group approval. Riesman used the metaphor of a *radar* to describe this orientation, which no longer sought alignment with moral traditions. The underlying paradigm shift between the two is a progression from a producing society to a consumer society. Riesman argued for the ideal as a synthesis of inner- and other-directed orientation in “the autonomous individual” who out of a position of inner freedom chooses whether to conform to his social surroundings or not. The model has proven useful as a “meta-description” of American development of moral orientation throughout modernity, but how would it describe the African experience in an age of modernity and urbanisation?

African traditional morality is similar to Riesman's tradition-directed orientation, in that its members look to the community for moral

²⁵⁹ David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*, Reprint 19 (New York, USA: Double Day, Anchor Books, 1954).

guidance. It is however different in that it is less rigid. The oral community's morality is more participative, more utilitarian in outlook and thus more dynamic than the fairly static Judeo-Christian traditions. Mass conversion to Christianity has not destroyed the general ethos of communal harmony, and much of the traditional world-view concerning the unseen world remains intact. It has however meant that Christian leaders such as pastors have gained in influence and propagate a new value-system which, although in many aspects very compatible, sits uncomfortably with the old one. How far a conflation of value systems might take place will vary in the given situation. Magesa, however, speaks of two different faith-expressions, one official, the other popular, as people will interpret church teaching on their own terms using the dominant symbol systems of African traditional religions.²⁶⁰ R.J. Schreiter goes as far as to speak of faith systems being held in discrete suspension, as people visit both churches and diviners, seeing in this a source of “ambiguity and psychological suffering”²⁶¹. It is indeed so that people living outside a publicly-sanctioned belief system to which the community at the very least does lip service do undergo considerable strain, as morality is partially shifted from the public to the private sphere.

At this juncture one should consider also modernity and technology which represent an additional challenge to traditional truths and assumptions of causality. Oosthuizen establishes a relationship of technology to magic in that he declares it “the rationalised sister of irrational primitive magic”. While morality must decide what is “good” or “bad”, magic – and technology – can be judged only in terms of being “useful” or “harmful”²⁶². In this, both magic and technology are judged situatively. While modern

²⁶⁰ Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life.*, p.9

²⁶¹ R.J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (Maryknoll NY, United States: Orbis Books, 1985)., p.145, also quoted by Magesa, *African Religion : The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life.*, p.287

²⁶² G.C. Oosthuizen, ‘Ethics as a Discipline in Contemporary Africa’, in *Anthropological Essays*, ed. by Man, 1970, pp. 58–79., p.72

technology must normally be subjected to moral judgement rather than becoming a value for its own sake, it does nevertheless through its own scientific implications fundamentally put in question how the world works. Modernity and tradition consequentially make competing claims; old securities are ruptured and the community as the locus of harmony and route to life-affirming improvement is challenged and subsequently weakened.

In face of this onslaught on traditional African values, it might now be worth considering whether Riesman's inner- and other-directed models of orientation have any bearing. One might be tempted to interpret the evolving situation from an inner-directed perspective, but then we find that the very precepts of African moral traditions have already been called into question by modernity; the traditional emphasis on community-orientated values instilled in the individual means that any inner-directed orientation is very quickly eclipsed by other-directed orientation, as individuals struggle to reconstruct their communities. This is particularly acute in the case of urbanisation where communities are inherently dissolved in the process of resettling and cannot simply be reconstituted as villages in the urban environment. Such situations are extremely stressful for individuals and families who are community-oriented and find themselves in a very different environment and ontological understanding. Old certainties can simply no longer prevail. Oosthuizen cautions

When the existing religious and social order breaks up, the magical world-view with its individualistic approach predominates. When the religious harmony is affected, the magical becomes a real problem.²⁶³

Accordingly, without the bounds provided by morality, the question of how and why magic and technology should be applied is left to the

²⁶³ Oosthuizen., p.72

individual and removed from the control of the moral community, or so the fear.

Yet given the deep-rootedness of community-related values – probably the strongest component of African inner-directed orientation – even in cities there is a reconstitution of new communities. These often centre on religious communities, be these Christian or Muslim. These new communities may centre on traditional ethnicities or languages, bringing us to Sundermeiers “tribal churches” (“*Stammeskirchen*”)²⁶⁴. These may have been constituted either as mission churches where the denomination is particularly well rooted in certain tribal areas, or as AICs²⁶⁵. Members of the latter are on the whole ethnically more heterogeneous than the former and gravitate to the church in question because of its particular expression of spirituality. Sundermeier thus accredits the AICs as “a significant appearance in which Africans reveal their capability to address new situations creatively and yet remain themselves.”²⁶⁶

In this, despite the onslaught of modernity, the challenge of new faith systems and the paradigm shift of social relations due to urbanisation, African communalism has proven to be resilient and a lasting value which African world-views and religion, whatever the contemporary flavour. Although individual expression may still be on the rise particularly in urban environments, morality, utilitarian as it may be, continues to be a communal undertaking.

²⁶⁴ Sundermeier., p.268

²⁶⁵ There are various terms associated with AIC, such as African Independent/Instituted/Initiated. I adopt the term *initiated* as this best fits the functional categorisation I seek to describe.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.271

Section B: The Methodology

Chapter B.1 General concepts

B.1.1 General approach: anthropology and practical theology

The methodology of my study follows the conventional four-tier cycle of Practical Theology (PTh) – also known as the pastoral cycle – as presented by such writers as Ritchie and Lewis or Richard Osmer.²⁶⁷ For our purposes, the four stages can be presented as follow:

1. *What is going on?* (contextual or descriptive-empirical stage) – This question was largely covered by the literature review presented in the introduction, but answered only to a preliminary extent and as far as was necessary to formulate the problem statement. In terms of the objectives of my research, a more comprehensive response emerges only in the course of field experience.
2. *Why is it going on?* (explanatory or interpretative stage) – Answering this question represents the pivotal core of our research, and occupies the most space within this thesis, as multi-tooled, theory-building data analysis is applied to the body of acquired field data. Obviously, analysis focuses on responding to the problem statement, although other excursive insights do ensue as well.
3. *What ought to be going on?* (evaluative or normative stage) – Within the recognised framework of practical theology, this represents a question which cannot be answered independently by an outsider, but only through an *in situ* process, with members of the church(es) confronting the situation. Although some possible approaches are proposed on the basis of theological reflection on the data analysis' conclusions, it is up to

²⁶⁷ Richard R. Osmer, *Practical Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI, USA: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), p.4 / J. Ritchie and J. Lewis, 'Introduction', in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003), pp.27ff

the local church to test these in the course of further deliberation and debate. This is essentially the point where my work leaves off.

4. *How might we respond?* (generative or pragmatic stage) – The practical response to the problem can be made only by the local Church on her own terms. This lies clearly beyond the immediate reach of this research. After stage four is completed, the process can begin anew, and has thus been described as a hermeneutical circle²⁶⁸. Thus, PTh remains an ongoing and potentially incessant undertaking of the local Church. In line with what Swinton and Mowat observe²⁶⁹, the gold at the end of this rainbow is to identify where the Church has become estranged from her true calling, and to recover her prophetic voice in a way that the Kingdom of God might be actualised in the life and practice of the Christian community, as it interacts with broader society.

For our purposes, the four stages represent a rudimentary procedural framework which must be fleshed out further with methods drawn from disciplines that are appropriate to the research's defined subject matter and objectives. Hence, due to the socio-empirical leanings of the field research, various sociological tools focussing on qualitative theory generation have been selected to do this during the interpretative stage of the process, and are elaborated in the course of this section. A basic point of departure in the application of many of these tools is that meaning is socially constructed, and the researcher cannot separate himself fully from the constructivist process taking place within the framework of his research. Accordingly, this is decidedly not a nomothetic undertaking. Nevertheless, the goal must be to glean some tangible generalisations from this process, which might be brought into dialogue with Scripture

²⁶⁸ John Swinton and Harriet Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research* (London, UK: SCM Press, 2006)., p.vi

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p.24 „One of the main critical tasks of PTh is to recognise distorted practice and to call the Church back to the theological significance of its practices and to enable it to engage faithfully with the mission of God.”

during the normative stage of the PTh cycle. The applied sociological tools are clearly geared to garner ideographic knowledge which is not readily accessible from the outside and must “mined” in exploratory interactions between the researcher and representative members of the social groups being studied. As Swinton and Mowat observe,

within such a cultural context such things as narrative, experience and emotion become modes of ‘soft truth’ which are, to a greater or lesser extent, excluded from the realm of ‘public truth’ that has relevance beyond the experience of opinion of the individual.²⁷⁰

On this basis, a major assumption of the methodology I have selected is that perceptions, as socially constructed truths, are more central to my research than recovering the sequence of factual events. Accordingly, I make no effort to certify the veracity of recounts related to conflict situations *per se*. Instead, my quest is to establish what collectively perceived truths are held by individuals and their church communities. I therefore decided at an early stage that one-to-one interviews and focus group discussions would be the most promising fora in which I could derive theory-building data from views held by individuals and groups.²⁷¹ Gaining knowledge of respondents' perspectives, however subjective they are, is a stepping stone to mapping world-views, understanding how their identities are constructed, and construing what they think the appropriate moral response to emergency situations is. In order to advance to a normative stage of the PTh process, the individual findings must first be corroborated with the information provided by other groups within the same study, hopefully resulting in a level of data saturation and correspondence to the findings of other research. This process of *triangulation* generates confidence in the findings, assuming enough connecting commonalities between the various data sets emerge.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.43

²⁷¹ Writing at a later stage, this is exactly the tools which Juergenmeyer and Sheikh., p.632 propose for similar undertakings.

However, as Swinton and Mowat point out, the epistemology of PTh is substantially different from that of social sciences, given its perception of Scripture as divine revelation. While much contemporary thought in social sciences regards truth exclusively from a constructivist angle, PTh recognises Scripture as a source of absolute, revealed truth. It is thus the constructed social truth which must interact with Scripture in a critical and hermeneutical dialogue in a quest to emerge with new theological insights which give precedence to Scripture yet are situationally apt to address the problems at hand.²⁷² My methodology puts itself in service of this quest.

B.1.2 Use of comparative cohort populations

The field research focus is on cohorts composed of active Christian church membership in urban and peri-urban areas of Plateau State. My arguments for choosing the pew-faithful rather than drawing members from the entirety of the nominally Christian population, are (1) the amount of data collected must be limited to a quantity that can be analysed seriously, and (2) due the nature of the PTh-enquiry which unfolds principally within the body of the Church, it is most efficient to focus on members who show strong commitment to their church and who represent the opinions of the pew faithful. Moreover, in the Nigerian context, a majority of Christians regularly attend Sunday service, making the pew-faithful an important voice within their society.

In order to determine salient features of attitudes held by this core research constituency (Christian, urban, from Plateau), several comparative parameters and corresponding control group cohorts were identified, which would permit cross-comparisons and corroborations. These consisted of geography, environment, ethnicity, religion, age group and setting, and are described in detail in Chapter B.3.

²⁷² See Swinton and Mowat., p.75ff for an exploration of the topic

In order to manage the vast data effectively and construct meaningful cross-comparative parameters, I ordered the cohorts into a two-tier structure entailing core cohort populations comprising representatives of two Plateau State ethnicities, the peri-urban Berom (our core interest) and the rural Tarok, whose data sets would be mined extensively, and peripheral cohort populations consisting of representatives of the Adamawa State ethnicities Kamwe and Fali-Kirya, and the Fulani-Hausa or “Jasawa” inhabitants of Jos city. The subsequent two chapters, B.2 and B.3), describe the rationale behind the particular population choices.

B.1.3 The use of interviews and focus groups

Interviews and focus groups were chosen as the primary vehicles for data collecting, and are jointly referred to as “contact sessions”. Following the argument of Glaser & Strauss that qualitative research methods permit great scope for exploration of uncoded data and are most appropriate for theory building²⁷³ – which is the primary concern in the explanatory stage of our quest – interviews and focus groups emerged as the obvious methodological contenders.

1. *Focus groups*: These were designed to last between 40 and 60 minutes in order to attain a certain material depth, but also to avoid the fatigue which comes with unnaturally long and intensive conversations. Participants should all have identical cohort population parameters, i.e. youths and older people are grouped separately, and are of the same ethnicity and religion. Empirically, a focus group of 4 – 6 members (although preferably 4) was deemed to work best, as any more would make unpicking the conversation during transcription an unreliable undertaking.

²⁷³ Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discover of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Hawthorne, NY, USA: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967)., p.1

2. *Interviews*: These were designed to last 40 – 50 minutes for the same reasons as the focus groups. Depending on the situation, dual interviews could be favoured if it was thought that this would boost the confidence of participants.

Two overriding and mutually related concerns, *trust* and *anonymity*, profoundly influenced the way I arranged and conducted contact sessions. Their importance was premised on the argument that they are fundamental in enabling respondents to speak freely. Trust was established by fostering a welcoming atmosphere and first explaining to respondents what the research entailed and by disclosing the origins and intentions of the research. The usual rights of participants were also spelt out in detail (i.e. the right to withhold information or end their participation at any time, etc.). Even though universal literacy could not be assumed, all participants were given an ethical declaration sheet describing these points and providing the contact details of the researcher. Participants' anonymity was also guaranteed. It was clearly stated that names would not be recorded and no unprompted effort would be made on the part of the researcher or his assistants to contact participants after the contact session ended, that no photo records of the session would be taken, and that the use of audio data was strictly limited to research purposes. The corollary was of course that participants could not be required to sign a copy of the ethical declaration sheet which would have been normal practice, since that could have made them traceable.

For ethical reasons, minors were excluded from all contact sessions. This was achieved by having all participants positively affirm their majority, but was not verified by inspecting any legal documentation, as this would have been impractical and anyhow undermined the principle of anonymity. More controversially, I took the decision in advance not to

report to the authorities any admissions of participation in violence during emergency situations, which would be a normal ethical research requirement in the United Kingdom. The reasoning (and subsequent experience bore this out) was that such deeds were already well known to members of the community and the authorities, and that “confessing” individuals were under an umbrella of impunity. Following the usual ethics guidelines at best would have rapidly destroyed any trust built towards the cohort populations, and might potentially have endangered the lives of my assistants or myself.

B.1.4 Field visit concept

I constructed the data collection strategy around a double field visit concept. The first field visit was designed to collect the major body of data by first carrying out contact sessions in the core cohort populations and then in the peripheral cohort populations. A second field visit would follow after a preliminary data analysis, i.e. 6 – 9 months later, and focus on collecting ancillary comparative information and exploring topics which emerged in the first session.

B.1.5 Data management and the language barrier

A cornerstone of data management was digital audio recording, which permits in-depth analysis of the discourses, but demands careful postprocessing in the form of transcription and translation. Video recordings were judged to be too intrusive because of their potential to undermine the policy on anonymity and trust-building, and distort the spoken narratives while offering little additional analytical scope in return. I purchased semi-professional stereo digital recorders in order to make transcription as reliable as possible: a Zoom H2 for focus group recordings, and three Tascam DR-03s as interview recorders which, thanks to their playback functions, doubled as transcription devices.

Crucially, participants were permitted to speak in the tongue of their choice, which may sound more obvious than it in fact is. Given that responses had to be expected in a considerable array of native African languages which are not widely accessible, this entailed both *in situ* and *post situ* translation, which was contingent on the availability of competent translators. It would therefore have been tempting to follow the far more convenient route of having respondents speak English, and select them accordingly. However, given the complexity of the issues discussed, this would have systematically excluding representative voices of non-English speakers from the research and robbed many responses of their depth. The gravity of these implications presented a compelling reason to undertake the arduous task of translation, assuming sufficiently good translational skills were available. An obvious resource group with these abilities I found amongst certified bible translators, who are trained to appreciate the semantic and pragmatic pitfalls of intercultural perceptions. Yet any translation is burdened by the loss of pragmatic meaning. Basic problems start at the question of whether an idiom should be translated literally or in terms of its cultural meaning, and go on to the challenging situational interpretation of any of a respondent's utterances. Systematically rendering multiple translations to cover various possible interpretations would have made the resulting data quantities unmanageable and too expensive to produce, so for the most part a "low-level" pragmatic rendering was sought, which still left many of the idioms in their original wording. It must therefore be recognised that in this constellation not only the researcher, but also the translator is involved in the construction of meaning.

There are other challenges as well:

1. the danger of inherently misleading information provided by respondents/participants, be this out of embarrassment, fear or mistrust;
2. the danger of wilful or random translation mistakes which can falsify the meaning and reduce the quality of interaction;
3. the danger of fundamental differences of categorical understanding, i.e. conceptual differences between high-context and low-context languages and cultures.²⁷⁴

These can be partially mitigated by the vigilance of the researcher. Simultaneous, *in-situ* translation and transcript translation were carried out by different people and then compared in order to gain insights into the quality of the translation, the assumption being that close correspondence in meaning indicated a high degree of fidelity. However, as so often the case, the best is the enemy of the good. With the necessary translational skills in limited supply, it was possible to translate most contact sessions only once. The quality was upheld by random checks and retranslation of key passages in order to certify the standard of the work. Beyond this, text length comparison and keyword checks were employed to determine whether the translations were largely complete.

Compounding the unreliable availability of electrical power in Nigeria with the fact that most translators do not have access to computers or lack the skills to use word processors competently, most native-language transcriptions and translations were performed using pen and paper, leaving me to enter the data myself. Thus, it was practical to digitalise only the English translations for further processing in Nvivo, which was identified as the ideal software tool for qualitative data analysis.

²⁷⁴ As discussed by Edward Twitchell Hall, *Beyond Culture*, 2nd edn (New York, USA: Anchor Books, 1981), pp.105-116

B.1.6 The circular relationship between field experience and methodology of data presentation and analysis

In theory-building studies as this one, methodology is not a static programme, but undergoes modification as the researcher responds to field realities. Particular initial findings during data collection may shift the choice of some data evaluation tools away from what was originally anticipated. On this basis it might be defensible to intertwine the narrative of preliminary data analysis, i.e. the researcher's initial confrontation with the data, and the resulting method-creation process²⁷⁵. Although considered, I concluded that it would be more cogent to maintain strict separation of methodology, data presentation and analysis in subsequent chapters so as to render them more accessible to the reader. Accordingly I have placed an exposé on field experience at the head of Section C on data presentation, since it illuminates the situations in which the data originated. This leads on to the actual analysis undertaken in Section D. Aberrations from original methodological intentions and field responses to arising methodological problems are laid out in Appendix G.4.4.

²⁷⁵ this is an aspect which is often neglected in qualitative data presentation, see Ronald J. Chenail, 'Presenting Qualitative Data', *The Qualitative Report*, 2 (1995) <<http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR2-3/presenting.html>>., accessed 9th January 2013

Chapter B.2 The cohort populations

B.2.1 The core cohort populations

B.2.1.1 The Berom

Today the Berom (or Birom) populate the area to the south of Jos, including Bukuru, Barkin Ladi and Riyom. There is considerable uncertainty as to where they originated²⁷⁶, although Smedley argues that they, as other Plateau peoples did, fled from slave raiding and war.²⁷⁷ Gleave and Prothero state that a “response to slave raiding was to seek refuge in hill areas, and this was widespread in the Middle Belt of Nigeria as elsewhere in West Africa.”²⁷⁸ Indeed, the Plateau, possibly as a result of its former dense woodlands, never came under Fulani-Hausa rule until the beginning of British colonial administration and tin mining prospecting in 1904. For a long time the Berom remained a rural tribe. The towns of Jos and Bukuru grew out of mining camps that were populated by Hausa labour migrants who were viewed by the colonial administration and mining companies as more civilised and hardworking than the restless indigenous tribes. Smedley, writing in the 1960s, reported that only 3% of the urban population was Berom.²⁷⁹ This was arguably the genesis of today's urban conflict, as it allowed the Hausa to claim – with some justification – that they were the primordial inhabitants of Jos and the Berom – with equal justification – to claim that Jos was built on Beromland.

²⁷⁶ Sr. Marie de Paul Neiers, *The Peoples of the Jos Plateau, Nigeria : Their Philosophy, Manners and Customs* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1979), p.16, CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace : The Berom.*, pp. 10ff

²⁷⁷ Smedley., p.17

²⁷⁸ M.B. Gleave and R.M. Prothero, ‘Population Density and Slave Raiding’, *Journal of African History*, 12 (1971), pp. 319–24., p.321

²⁷⁹ Smedley., pp.16f

Christianity came to the Plateau shortly after the advent of British colonial rule, although only with gradual influence. SUM's first missionary station had only a very minimal impact, and it was not until around 1920 that the Berom church gained its first converts and started to grow.²⁸⁰ Today, the vast majority of Berom would identify themselves as Christian.²⁸¹ Besides the largest denomination COCIN, which grew out of the SUM, there is also a strong Roman Catholic presence and many AICs. Berom traditional religion follows the general morphology of most African traditional religions (ATR), with the Supreme-Being called *Dagwi* (Father of the Sun).²⁸² However, it is the idols, which occupy the place between God and man, and play the part of intercessors.²⁸³ Below these are the local Spirits, or *Chit*, whom Neiers calls “the Third Estate of the supernatural population” and who must be appeased or encouraged to ensure they are favourable or at least neutral towards the communion of the living.²⁸⁴ Beyond these are the Ancestors whose further existence, very much in standing with the seminal work of John Mbiti on ATR, must depend on lingering community with the living through remembrance and worship. The proximity of the dead to the divine gives rise to a “double-edged” relationship, as they can visit good or bad on their community to the point of tyranny.²⁸⁵

Traditional Berom hold important festivals, such as *Buna*, which celebrates the harvest of acha and ushers in the traditional New Year²⁸⁶. As with other tribes in the area, only boys are subjected to initiation rituals, which are designed to test and develop their virility, and can be

²⁸⁰ See slightly conflicting accounts of Smedley., pp.27ff and CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace : The Berom.*, p.vii

²⁸¹ CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace : The Berom* (Jos, Nigeria: CAPRO Media Services, 2004)., p.36

²⁸² Neiers., p.34

²⁸³ *Ibid.* p.37

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.39

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.* pp.41f

²⁸⁶ CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace : The Berom.*, pp.28f

long and gruelling. Circumcision appears to be the key feature of initiation, although the origins and meaning of it are not widely understood even by many Berom themselves.²⁸⁷ As in other places, the patterns of religious worship have experienced something of a revival, despite Christianity's prominence.²⁸⁸

B.2.1.2 The Tarok

The Tarok (or Yergam), hail from the south-eastern flanks of the Jos Plateau and populate the adjoining plains in the areas around Langtang and Wase. The name is derived from *Tallok*, meaning “the overflow from Tal”, a recent abode of the tribe in the plains' surrounding hilltracts.²⁸⁹ There are competing theories and traditions concerning their origins. That the Tarok language belongs to the Benue-Congo group (and is the only one in this study, all others being Chadic languages) and as such is related to Bantu, suggests possible migration from the East. There is some indication that the group may have originated in today's Congo and migrated through coastal areas up the Benue River into its current area.²⁹⁰

Muslim incursion in the aftermath of the Sokoto Jihad saw an alliance of tribes defeated by the Madaki Hassan of Bauchi and the area brought under Hausa-Fulani rule in 1820.²⁹¹ Slave-raiding and inter-ethnic conflict remained rife until the pacification of the area under British rule in 1904, which subsequently triggered a migration of Hill Tarok onto the plains.²⁹² Missionary efforts through SUM started almost immediately, as missionaries strove to bring Christianity to the Tarok as soon as possible

²⁸⁷ Neiers., p.71

²⁸⁸ CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace : The Berom.*, p.36

²⁸⁹ M.G. Smith and Mary F. Smith, 'Kyanship and Kinship Among the Tarok', *Africa (Edinburgh University Press)*, 60 (1990), pp. 242–69., p.242; CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace.*, p.350

²⁹⁰ Lamle., p.7f

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.17

²⁹² *Ibid.* p.21, p.76

to forestall the rapid advance of Islam.²⁹³ The Church has grown markedly in the century since, and the Tarok have been more disposed to embrace Christianity than Islam, possibly due to historical grievances. As discussed under Subchapter A.1.3, inter-religious relationships have remained difficult, with major outbreaks of violence occurring in 2004 and again in 2013. Meanwhile, traditional religion has retained its cultural strength, and as with the Berom there are signs of revival of old cults.²⁹⁴

Traditionally, the Tarok have held a concept of a Supreme Being, or *Ponzhi Inan* as lording over the firmament but considerably removed from the affairs of quotidian life.²⁹⁵ Idols have had a strong daily importance for everyday affairs, and are imbued by local forces and spirits which must be appeased through worship.²⁹⁶ As with many other African religions, it is these forces which shape the well-being of individuals and communities. Lamle, my primary source on the Tarok, states “The Tarok man believes in the presence of a life force in inanimate objects”.²⁹⁷ These forces can range from local spirits to the departed ancestors.

A very important feature of traditional Tarok culture is the cult of the *Orim* and related initiation rites. The *Orim* is represented by a masquerade who speaks with altered voices and is used for divining or for contact purposes. Women are not allowed to see the *Orim*. In the same vein, only men undergo initiation ceremonies that include high degrees of physical violence and torture, which is conjunct with the Taroks' self-understanding of a nation of warriors.²⁹⁸

²⁹³ *Ibid.* p.92ff

²⁹⁴ CAPRO, *A Harvest of Peace* (Jos, Nigeria: CAPRO Media Services, 2004)., p.363

²⁹⁵ Elias N. Lamle, *The Light Shines in Their Hearts : COCIN and the Gospel in Tarokland* (Jos, Nigeria: Crossroads Media Service, 2000)., p.44

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.47

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p.50

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp.38 & 53

The Tarok appear to be well-versed in their understanding of this cult, even though they mostly identify strongly as Christians and reject its spiritual content as contrary to God's will.

B.2.2 The peripheral cohort populations

B.2.2.1 The “Kirdi”

The Kamwe (also known as Higi) and Fali-Kirya (a subgroup of the Fali/Djimi) are indigenous to the Mandara mountains which straddle the border of northern Adamawa State with the neighbouring Cameroonian Province Extrême-Nord and are adjacent to the plains of the Yedsaram Valley in the upper Lake Chad basin. Thanks to their relatively high altitude, the Mandaras exhibit a climate broadly similar to that of Jos, although its lower flanks are certainly warmer.

The Mandaras have one of the highest densities of discrete ethnic units in the world.²⁹⁹ Its human history is one of resistance to Fulani-Hausa dominance and of comparatively recent embrace of Christianity and Islam. However, the difference to Plateau State is that many ethnic groups have sizeable numbers of both Christians and Muslims and religion does often not follow ethnic faultlines. The area experienced virtually no violence until the run-up to the national presidential elections in April 2011, although Boko Haram had been representing an increasing threat since 2009.

Historically, the area was first dominated by Adamu, a Fulani warlord, devout Muslim and regional representative of Dan Fodio's Jihad in the early 19th Century.³⁰⁰ Basing himself in Yola, he extended his Emirate down the Benue River into northern Cameroon and as far north as Mubi

²⁹⁹ J.C. Anene, *The International Boundaries of Nigeria 1885 - 1960* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1970), p.94

³⁰⁰ Kirk-Greene., p.15

on the western flank of the Mandaras. While the Fulani ruled the planes in a *modus vivendi* with the sedentary population in that the land would be vacated as pasture when not under cultivation³⁰¹, the Montagnards (also known as *Kirdi*) of the Hong and Mandara Mountains were never subjugated. Indeed, the zone has been described in terms of a buffer zone between the Sokoto Caliphate and the Kanuri Empire to the north.³⁰² The area remained welcome “hunting grounds” for the slave-raids of neighbouring power centres’³⁰³, which suckled the longstanding hostility that the ethnicities of that area hold towards the Muslim Fulani and may have led them to embrace Christianity rapidly in the course of the 20th century.³⁰⁴

The area was seized by the British in their 1903 conquest of northern Nigeria³⁰⁵, who set about pacifying it. At that time the Yedseram formed the border with German Cameroon leaving the Mandara mountains entirely in Cameroonian territory. Tribally, this made sense, given the river's role as a natural boundary separating the Margi and Kilba ethnicities in the west from the Kamwe and Fali in the east³⁰⁶. The Cameroons were captured by the French and the British in the 1st World War, and the area between the Yedseram and the Mandara peaks was added to the British zone of influence as a so-called *Trust Territory*. Nigerian independence in 1960 and a subsequent, historically controversial plebiscite³⁰⁷ saw the area fully absorbed into Nigeria. This meant that groups such as the Kamwe and Fali were practically severed from similar ethnicities in the Mandara Mountains.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.149

³⁰² *Ibid.* p.39

³⁰³ e.g. Bawuro Mubi Barkindo, *The Sultanate of Mandara To 1902 : History of the Evolution, Development and Collapse of A Central Sudanese Kingdom*, ed. by Eike Haberland (Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1989)., p.173f

³⁰⁴ Kirk-Greene., p.15 as an example that Kirk-Greene who was observing this trend in the 1950s

³⁰⁵ See Marjomaa., pp.56 & 61

³⁰⁶ Anene., p.102

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p.62f

While Islam had previously infiltrated the area through trade and conquest, Christianity did not reach the area until the Church of the Brethren Mission (CBM) opened their first mission station in 1923³⁰⁸. In the subsequent decades the churches grew quite rapidly, and the initial mission was strengthened by the Baptists and the Basel Mission, which had initially been active in the Cameroons, but then broadened its cooperation with the CBM after the plebiscite which finally brought the western flanks of the Mandaras into Nigeria.

Mass conversion to Islam and Christianity set in in the 1960s, first in the Yedseram Valley and then in the Mandaras, where the largest following of indigenous religions remains today. Most ethnicities subsequently experienced widespread conversion to both world religions, although the *Kirdi* normally favoured Christianity over Islam. Nevertheless, both mosques and churches will be found in all larger villages and anywhere between one third and half of the families have members of both faiths either within their own households or in the households of close relatives³⁰⁹.

Although there are cultural particularities of individual groups and tribes scattered across the Mandaras, there are also broad historical commonalities in terms of traditional world-views and culture. In line with many other traditions, Kamwe and Fali lore has it that God (Kamwe: *Hyalatemwe Thalmda*, God Almighty) withdrew after being hit by the pounding stick of a careless woman³¹⁰. Lesser gods, *Hyala*, are the beings with which people have quotidian interactions, who preside over court sessions at the Kamale Mountain³¹¹, a stunning plutonic outcrop on

³⁰⁸ E. Faw Chalmer, *Lardin Garbas : A Land, a People, a Church* (Elgin IL: The Brethren Press, 1973)., p.7

³⁰⁹ A finding on a survey of Bible school students and their family backgrounds which I conducted in 2008, but due to the scope and methods applied can be accepted only as indicative and by no means representative.

³¹⁰ Debki., p.116

³¹¹ *Ibid.* p.117f

the crest of the Mandaras. This may be due to the societies' allegedly acephalous nature³¹², where only the special powers and religious supremacy of the *Hlidi* (King) of Sukkur played a unifying sacral role.³¹³ Anthropological research³¹⁴ demonstrates that Kamwe Mandara societies are segregated into two castes, consisting of the majority *Mele* and specialist *Leghye*.³¹⁵ The *Leghye* are typically blacksmiths whose wives use their furnaces as pottery kilns. Through a system of taboos, the *Leghye* are outcast and live on the periphery of the community. However, they conduct special religious duties such as divination and funeral rights, and fulfil special functions during annual festivities, such as *Yawal* (harvest thanks-giving).³¹⁶ Although many traditional functions have been overtaken by the advent of modernity and Christian conversion, Debki states that the caste distinction has been carried over into the church.³¹⁷

B.2.2.2 The Muslim “Jasawa”

The Hausa and Fulani are easily the largest and most studied ethnicities of Northern Nigeria. Nomadic Fulani (also known i.a. as Fulfulde, Mbororo or Fulɓe) inhabit much of the central-west Sahel and Sudan. The traditionally sedentary Hausas' heartland is the western and central areas of Northern Nigeria and neighbouring Niger, and their language, spoken in varying dialects, is the *lingua franca* across much of Northern Nigeria and the adjoining Middle Belt. Haour and Rossi estimated in

³¹² Judith Sterner, *The Ways of the Mandara Mountains* (Cologne, Germany: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag Köln, 2003), p.230

³¹³ *Ibid.* pp.35f and 54ff

³¹⁴ Judy Sterner and Nicholas David, 'Of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education Gender and Caste in the Mandara Highlands : Northeastern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon', *Ethnology, University of Pittsburgh*, 30 (1991), pp. 355–69. and Walter E. A. Van Beek, 'The Dirty Smith : Smell as a Social Frontier among The Kapsiki / Higi of North Cameroon and North-Eastern Nigeria', *Journal for the International African Institute*, 62 (1992), 38–58.. See also Barkindo., p.63

³¹⁵ Kamwe terms from Bitrus V. Z. Debki, *History and Culture of the Kamwe People* (Jos, Nigeria: Grace Production, 2009), p.107ff

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.102f

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.113

2010 that around 40 million people speak Hausa as a first or second language in West Africa³¹⁸, although a cursory survey of Northern Nigeria alone would suggest to me that this figure is extremely conservative. Despite having two separate identities and being sedentary and nomadic peoples respectively in constant competition for land and water resources³¹⁹, the fates of the Hausa and Fulani became intricately entangled in the course of the Sokoto Jihad (1804 – 1808) when Fulani *mujahedin* under the Shiite scholar, warrior and later shehu Utman dan Fodio subjugated the Hausa States and replaced the Hausa emirs with young Fulani overlords³²⁰. Under the ensuing Sokoto Caliphate, sedentary Fulani became culturally assimilated with the Hausa. In this way, the Caliphate gradually consolidated its reach across present day Northern Nigeria as far as Cameroon. Islam, however, remained largely restricted to urban elites and the nominally Muslim Fulani. Subdued peoples were not converted, but rather harvested as a source of slaves³²¹. Notably, it was the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate by the British in 1903 which contributed most to the spread of Hausa culture and Islamic conversion. The British fostered a system of indirect rule, which favoured the status of traditional rulers, and particularly of the Emirs³²². With the “lesser” tribes pacified, slave trade moribund, and the increasing activity of Christian missionaries, widespread Islamisation, and with it a “Hausafication”, of pagan tribes was welcomed by the colonial authorities and the ruling classes as a means of consolidating administrative control of their territories. In a period imbued with race theory, many governance

³¹⁸ Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi, ‘Hausa Identity : Language, History and Religion’, in *Being and Becoming Hausa : Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi (Leiden, NL: Koninklijke Brill, 2010)., p.1

³¹⁹ Osswald., p.85

³²⁰ Last, ‘Towards a Political History of Youth in Muslim Northern Nigeria, 1750 - 2000.’, p.43

³²¹ Christopher Steed, ‘The Islamic Heritage of Nigeria’, in *The Triple Religious Heritage of Nigeria*, ed. by Christopher Steed and David Westerland (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995)., p.69f

³²² e.g. Crampton and Gaiya Musa., p.52

decisions were shaped by the Hamitic hypothesis³²³, which favoured the Hausa in general and the Fulani in particular who are broadly of lighter complexion. The same ideology encouraged mining companies to import Hausa-Fulani labourers to the Plateau rather than recruit an apparently uninterested native population. As argued in Chapter A.1.1, the establishment of small, racially segregated towns to house these labourers was arguably the nucleus of today's problems on the Plateau and particularly in Jos. The northern immigrants, most of whom identify themselves as Hausa, some as Fulani or a mixture of the two, collectively refer to themselves as *Jasawa*, or the people of Jos, a term hotly contested by Christian populations.³²⁴ (The controversy of the term leads me to use it only sparingly in this thesis.)

Islam is regarded as an integral part of “Hausaness”³²⁵, despite a significant minority of Hausa Christians in the Zaria area.³²⁶ For the most part, the Hausa are Sunnis, although Shia Islam has a strong influence, particularly through brotherhoods such as the Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya³²⁷. In recent years Sunni Islam has increasingly come under the sway of Salafism. Prayer times are widely observed and easily visible in many public places at these times of day.

Arguably, the success of the Hausa identity is its ability to absorb other peoples and forge a common identity. Haour & Rossi perpend the inclusivist nature of “Hausaness”, and argue that integration into Hausa “has been easier than into some of its more exclusivist neighbours”.³²⁸ In these terms, the Jasawa are the local identity of a broader idea which extends across much of Northern Nigeria.

³²³ Haour and Rossi., p.2; Edith R. Saunders, ‘The Hamitic Hypothesis : Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective’, *Journal of African History*, 10 (1969), 521–32., p.521

³²⁴ Ostien., p.9

³²⁵ Haour and Rossi., p.16

³²⁶ Crampton and Gaiya Musa., p.129

³²⁷ Steed., p.78

³²⁸ Haour and Rossi., pp.5f

Chapter B.3 Sample design

B.3.1 Cohort structures: structuring in regions, locations (urban/rural) and age groups

Cohort characteristics were chosen such that they constituted an array of parameters which lent themselves well to the comparative study of various group attitudes. Data analysis should be able to compare any one parameter characteristic in isolation, while the other parameters are held equal. The following table tags the various parameters and their characteristics, and Appendix G.2.1 offers a more comprehensive version with an explanation of their relevance.

Structure	Explanation
Geography (spatial comparative)	Area of country: Plateau State or Adamawa State
Environment (environmental comparative)	Living environment: urban or rural
Religion (interreligious comparative)	Religious allegiance is Muslim or Christian
Age group (generational comparative)	Individuals between 20 – 30 or above 50 years of age
Setting (situational comparative)	Individual/coupled interview or focus group setting
Timing (temporal comparative)	Attitude-shift over a period of 6 – 9 months calibrated against current events

Note: Although of considerable concern to this research, ethnicity does not feature as a comparative parameter under its own label, as it is not cross-sectional, but particular to a given cohort population. In terms of comparative parameters, the ethnicity comparative could be isolated as a compound label for geography, environment and religion.

B.3.2 The design of core and peripheral cohort population pools

The pool of cohort populations introduced in the previous chapter (B.2) was ordered into two core cohort populations consisting of Plateau-State Christians and a group of peripheral cohort populations consisting of Muslims and Adamawan Christians. The contact sessions drawn from the core cohort populations were designed to be used for “*open*”, in-depth theory-building analysis, while the contact sessions drawn from the peripheral cohort populations were used for what might be called “theory strengthening” or “theory extension” by investigating only certain “*particular*” questions which arose from the study of the core population material. The intention behind this approach was to make the extensive data quantity manageable from an analytical point of view while maintaining the ability to investigate all the parameter-related comparisons described above. How the various comparisons between the various ethnicities are undertaken and what their analytical perspectives (*open* or *particular*) are, is presented in the following table.

Comparisons	Explanation	Affected ethnicities	Analysis perspective
situational	differences between interview and focus groups situations	Berom, Tarok	open
generational	attitude differences between youth and senior groups	Berom, Tarok Kamwe, Fali	open / particular
temporal	shift in attitude differences over the course of 10 months	Berom youth	open
environmental	attitude differences between urban and senior settings	Berom – Tarok Fali – Kamwe	open / particular
spatial	attitude differences between Plateau and Adamawa States	Berom – Kamwe Tarok – Fali	particular
interreligious	attitude differences between religions within same urban space	Berom – Hausa	particular

How this approach works can be illustrated as follows: The Berom and the Tarok, as core cohort populations were discussed in an in-depth, *open* theory-building analysis and then compared in terms of their generational, environmental and temporal characteristics. Based on the emerging results and questions, the next step of the enquiry entailed *particular* comparative queries. E.g., a spatial comparison was made between the two Plateau and Adamawa ethnicities, while interreligious comparisons were made between the urban Berom and the urban and Muslim Hausa-Fulani.

B.3.3 Respondent selection

Nigerian church members are overwhelmingly committed to attending church regularly. Since the cohorts were to be drawn exclusively from the pool of church-going, adult Nigerians, Sunday morning worship was arguably the most representative and effective vehicle for recruiting them. In order to establish at least some respondent patterns, yet limit the quantity of collected data, I decided that on the first field visit a total of 8 contact sessions each would take place within both core cohort populations (i.e. Berom and Tarok). These would be carried out at two church locations per ethnicity, with both age groups (youth and senior) surveyed each with a focus group and an interview. The number of contact sessions was limited to 4 for the peripheral cohort populations (Kamwe and Fali) by reducing the number of church locations to one each. Thus, typically between 8 and 12 appropriate church members had to be selected per congregation and age group, with participation being strictly voluntary.

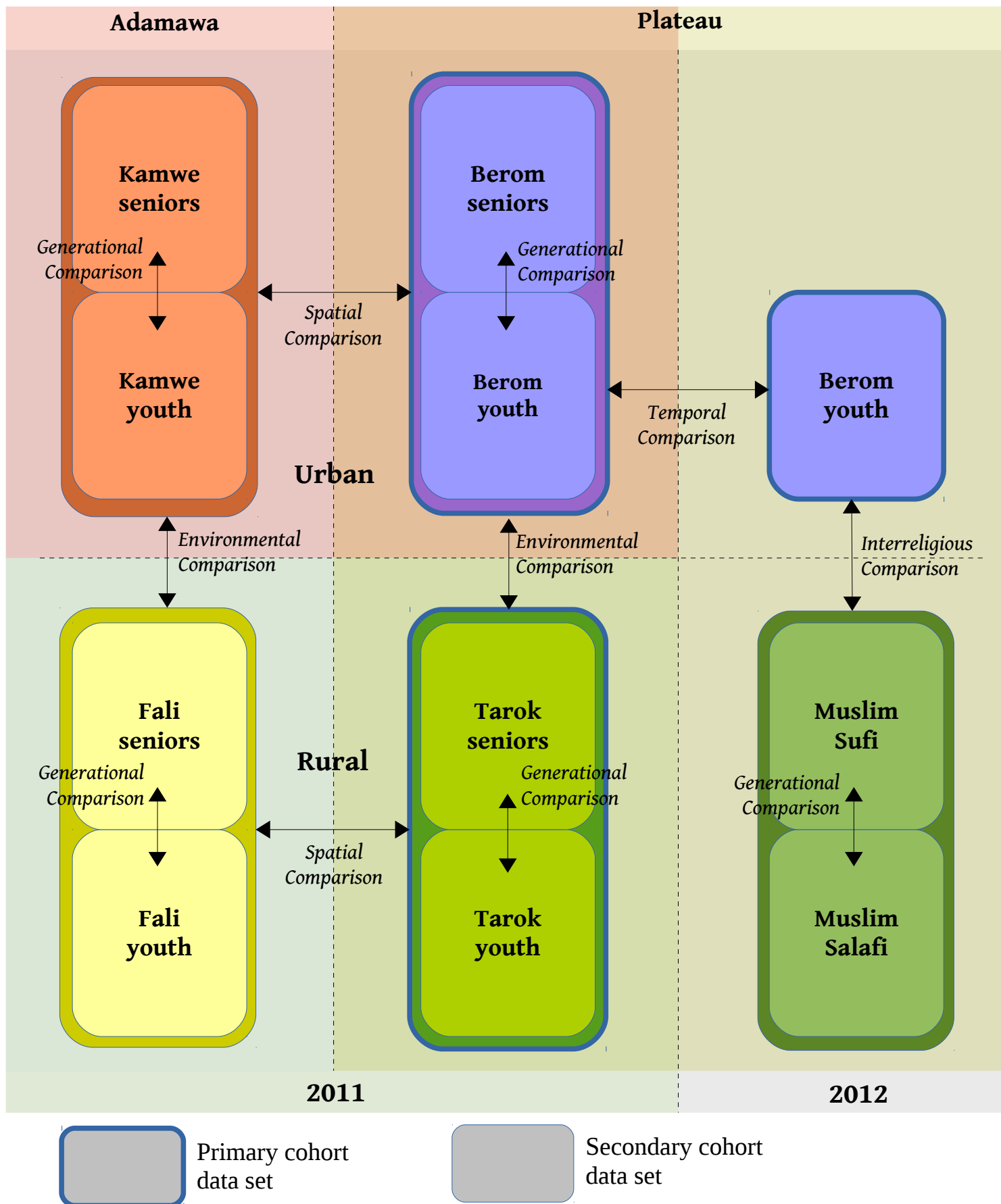


Diagram illustrating the comparative relationships between the various cohort data sets

The church location was not selected opportunistically, but with the intention of maximising the representative value of the sample. This meant vetting the largest denomination in the particular region, i.e. the Church of Christ (COCIN) in Bukuru and Southern Plateau State, and the Church of the Brethren (EYN) in Adamawa. Given urban areas, even in the heartland of a certain tribe, are usually of mixed ethnicity, I argue that visiting the largest churches within that denomination is the safest route to assuring a sufficiently large sample of the targeted ethnicity in both age groups.

In rural areas, the matter was simpler. Although the largest denomination was again chosen due to its spiritual representation, the ethnic composition in a rural tribal heartland is usually very homogenous, so accordingly, the individual churches could be selected on a random basis without concern for size.

The next consideration was the actual selection of interviewees and focus group members. Bearing in mind that participation must be voluntary, the most practical method was to have an announcement made during the Sunday morning church service requesting those of the appropriate ethnicity and age groups to meet at the back of the church after the service. Focus group members and interviewees were selected randomly from those responding to the announcement. Age group and ethnic coherence would be verified on the basis of self-declaration.

The research assistants, chosen as gatekeepers to their communities, helped establish contact with the selected churches in advance of recruitment. “Snowballing” or “fishing”, i.e. selection of interviewees through personal reference, were explicitly rejected as recruitment tools, since participant selection might then inadvertently be governed by the characteristics and attitudes of the research assistants' preferences.

Chapter B.4 Dialogue and contact session design

B.4.1 Content: The main dimensions of world-view/religion, identity and ethics

In line with the methodological precepts already laid out, dialogue rather than a structured interview was identified as the best form of interaction during a contact session between interviewer/moderator and respondent, as this provides greater potential for topical exploration than do structured interactions. The process of dialogue is a joint construction of a perspective of reality between two or more parties.³²⁹ What emerges is naturally but a facet of what is going on. It is thus the job of the researcher to aggregate the various perspectives gathered in the course of the contact sessions and slowly build a more complete picture. Of course, many gaps remain, but, if done well, the aggregation process permits the researcher to build a defensible theory of what is going on, and why.

A slate of “cue questions” was drawn up to guide the conversation in such a way as to invite the respondents to reveal as much as possible about their experiences without straying too far from the research topic. Broadly, these questions were grouped thematically as “World-view” (W), “Identity” (I) and “Ethics” (E), which are the three areas of concern identified under Subchapter A.1.6. A table providing a full overview of the questions is available under Appendix G.5.1. Over the course of the contact session, the moderator or interviewer moves broadly from W through I to E questions, although with the freedom of exploring relevant fields and testing statements with additional questions as required. The goal was to provide the conversation with depth and richness in the

³²⁹ As based on the thinking of Hans Georg Gadamer who concepts of the hermeneutical process and fusing of horizons leads to the concept that a conversation is a jointly constructed perception of reality between interviewee and interlocutor. Swinton and Mowat, ,p.110ff

various areas, which could be later mined for meaning after transcription and translation had been completed.

B.4.2 The principles and practical accomplishment of contact sessions

Of course, the success of a contact session is contingent also on setting, group dynamics and the skills of the moderator/interviewer. Accordingly, the venue, group constellation and attitude before, during and after the actual recording period had to be properly and consistently managed. Much of this could not be methodologically preconceived and therefore represented a pragmatic adaptation to the circumstances. For this reason, the following paragraphs interlace the applied methodological principles with actual experience in the field.

Setting. Ideally, a venue for contact sessions should be both inviting and private. However, as guests in the church of the participants, the research team had only limited scope to arrange the venue appropriately. In the event, ideal locations were seldom found, and emphasis shifted to finding locations which were private and quiet enough for recording. In about half the locations this led to recordings taking place outdoors. Sudden rains were a concern, which could drum down on corrugated roofs and render large parts of a recording useless (this luckily never quite happened). A conscious decision was made to keep contact sessions on the premises of the church, and not to move to another site, since keeping respondents in more familiar surroundings is reassuring for them, as long as “open privacy” can be guaranteed, i.e. a feeling of being able to escape if necessary, but also not being under supervision from peers outside the focus group.

Group dynamics. As mentioned above, trust and anonymity were identified as key to attaining openness during the contact sessions.

Research assistants were drilled on the importance of making participants feel welcome. On arrival, refreshments were offered. Before starting, participants were given sufficient information about the research team and the project, as well as the opportunity to ask questions. As discussed above, a guiding principle was to let participants speak in the language of their choice, which of course meant *in situ* translation would have to be performed whenever I was directly involved. This is where the corresponding research assistants came in. As focus groups discussions are normally fast-flowing conversations which can be substantially impaired by *in situ* translation, I decided that these would be run by the research assistants after sufficient topical initiation and practical training. I directly conducted the slower-paced interviews myself with support of *in situ* translation by one of the research assistants. Experience quickly showed that focus groups were best when sitting in a close circle around the microphone, since even in the best of situations, background noise could easily impede the transcription process. Additionally, reasonable effort was made to set people with similar voices apart in order to make utterances reliably attributable to the individual participants at any time. Within each cohort, participants were each given a letter (“A”, “B”, etc.) by which they identified themselves at the beginning of the recording.

B.4.3 Field research policies

Building on the previous chapter (B.3) and the sections above, a set of field research policies were drawn up which were designed to ensure that fieldwork was guided according to certain consistent principles which should safe-guard the quality of the data collection.

B.4.3.1 Research assistant policies

1. All field research assistants speak the language of the ethnic group they will be researching.
2. All field research assistants undergo specific initiation in focus group moderation, interview assistance and transcription and can demonstrate that they are capable of carrying these out satisfactorily.
3. All field assistants work under a written contractual arrangement and are remunerated for their time and expenses.

B.4.3.2 Contact group policies

1. Church and participants are selected on a voluntary and quasi-random basis. The church is part of the largest denomination in its area.
2. Contact groups are researched in two distinct age groups: youths (20 – 30) and seniors (50 and above). Participants are explicitly selected according to these criteria. Minors are not permitted to participate, and this must be communicated, although the researcher will not go to the extent of checking credentials.
3. All focus groups must have both female and male participants to ensure that both genders are given a voice in the research.
4. Focus group moderation ensures that also quieter members of the group are given a voice.
5. In each church an equal number of male and female respondents are vetted for interviews.
6. Focus groups are conducted by a research assistant, interviews by the researcher with *in situ* translation if necessary. Respondents

have a choice of languages: English, Hausa or their ethnic vernacular. They may respond in their language of choice.

7. Contact sessions take place on the “home turf” of the participants, i.e. on a church premises or a home.
8. All respondents tick off an ethics clearance form. To advance trust and maintain anonymity, a signature is not mandatory. Each respondent receives a copy of the clearance form.
9. Refreshments and an indemnity of ₦500 (£2) are offered to each participant.
10. Interviews and focus groups are run without interruption.

B.4.3.3 Data processing policies

1. Wherever possible, transcription is undertaken by the focus group moderator or the *in situ* translator. The researcher transcribes all sections conducted in English.
2. Translation is performed by another research assistant other than he or she who performed the transcription.
3. Transcriptions and translations are subjected to random checks and particular checks on key passages.

Chapter B.5 Analysis design

B.5.1 Particular considerations for the data analysis concept

Recognising the circular relationship between field experience and analysis design, this subchapter proleptically interlaces initial findings with the methodological discussion.

B.5.1.1 The question of categories and cued-responses

The interviewer or focus group moderator systematically raised a recurring set of topics through a roster of questions. These predefined, programmatic questions, thematically ordered into the general categories of “World-view”, “Identities” and “Ethics” were defined as “cue questions” which could lead to a wide range of responses. All things equal, the more heterogeneous the cohort, the more diversified one might expect the range of responses to be. Nevertheless, one might also expect a shared experience which may be limited to members of a single cohort group, or indeed be reflected across boundaries bounded by the various cohort dimensions, to be reflected in a common structure of “cued-responses”. Should a recognisable structure of cued-responses occur, and pre-evaluation field experience strongly pointed to this, then one can assume a substantial degree of data saturation, which suggests a relatively broad validity of the cued-responses.

Beyond the cued-responses, respondents may wander into topical areas which are related only loosely to the cue question – or indeed not at all. Should this happen frequently, and should a recurring set of responses emerge, this will merit considerable attention. Accordingly, evaluation should pay particular attention to uncued topics which arise.

Beyond this, there is the need to construct a system of topical categories. The most obvious approach would be to construct a hierarchical structure

starting from the three initial areas of enquiry, i.e. World-view, Identities and Ethics around which the cue-questions were organised. However, the resulting thematic texture of the responses does not necessarily respect these tidy boundaries and may instead point to topics in non-related sub-categories. A more relational approach to the ordering of thematic groups of categories is subsequently likely to provide a more adequate structure of categories which can be used for coding text.

B.5.1.2 The question of apparent contradictions

Not unexpectedly, many respondents appeared to be able to maintain self-contradictory positions. Initially, a certain problem or situation might be explained or described in one particular way, but might later be revisited under irreconcilably different terms. In classical terms, they are the expression of contradictory views which encumber the reconstruction of a world-view or an ethical framework. However, there is the sense that these are expressions of situational considerations, and that in order to work towards a particular outcome, respondents contemplate problems in isolation. Depending on the proximity, nature and currency of a certain problem, it seems common that many respondents seek a solution to it in the immediacy of the terms of the conversation. This has the result that they may hold a consistent concept of outcome (i.e. desired state of affairs) at a value level (i.e. a statement on what the good life would entail at a static level), and they may genuinely hold convictions on what are morally good or morally bad actions, but when a particular lens is applied, the means always becomes subject to the ends. We thus find, in positive terms, a very pragmatic case-by-case approach to moral problems, but in negative terms, an extremely teleological and fractured foundation that lacks in apparent circumspection and may result in a life experience full of accepted contradictions. It may also exhibit a lack of systemic thinking. If indeed so, such a point of departure is liable to lame

any coherent plan of action to address underlying social ills and developmental problems.

B.5.1.3 The question of power

In any society, the description of identities and inter-/intracommunal relationships is closely dependent on an accurate understanding of power relationships. In order to understand those better, I enlisted some techniques drawn from critical discourse analysis (CDA). A central element of CDA is to identify with which voice people are speaking, be this an individual, institutional or society perspective.³³⁰ Adapting this approach for my own purposes, I have introduced the concept of a three-tier voice appraisal of utterance, i.e. an utterer speaking in his own voice (micro-level), that of his group (meso-level) or that of his society (macro-level). It is particularly here where interview and focus group comparisons within a single cohort group may shed more light on the relationship between micro- and meso-level utterances. Iteratively, a conflict actors' map was drawn up based on all interview and focus group discourses within a given cohort. Together, the two provide a relatively robust model of social power relationships.

B.5.2 Structure of analysis

The collected data were categorised into three basic groups: (1) focus groups, (2) interviews and (3) naturally-occurring data in the form of documents, books and tracts which were collected during the two field visits. Naturally-occurring data are not subjected to heavy scrutiny, and have been read more cursively to provide a background understanding to the research and for corroboration. Occasionally, I have made direct reference to it in this study. The heart of the data analysis however

³³⁰ Frans Wijzen, 'Discourse Analysis in Religious Studies : The Case of Interreligious Worship in Friesland', *Anthropos*, 105 (2010), 539–53.,p.540ff

consists of the translated transcripts of the focus groups and interviews. These are analysed using a series of evaluative tools which permit a good understanding of the texts and the voices within them by analysing how the various respondents interact with their environment and with one another, and by mining their utterances for topics relevant to my scope of research. Applying the evaluative tools serially permits an evaluator to construct a fairly comprehensive analysis and defensible conclusions. The tools to be applied and their order are summarised in the following table, which also reflects the general structure of analysis:

Tool	Use
Transcript fiche	Initial summary and mapping of various contact sessions
Discourse analysis	Analysis of power relationships and voices within groups
Cue-question analysis	Evaluation to what degree utterances were invoked by the researcher and thereby providing an indication of significance
Thematic and discursive coding	Analysis of topical content
Thematic triage and evaluation	Systematisation of topical content and emerging conclusions
Word-frequency analysis	Simple statistical tool to measure prevalence of certain topics
Summative actor mapping	Graphical illustration of how various groups react to one another in the arena of the conflict

The methodology behind the tools' application and the logic of the coding structures are described in the following two subchapters. The same structure of analysis is maintained for both cohort population sets, although the analysis of material drawn from the peripheral cohort

populations is limited to salient themes and enquiries emerging during the analysis of material drawn from the core cohort populations.

B.5.3 Tools and comparison functions

B.5.3.1 The “transcript fiche”

A major first-step evaluation tool (obviously after the arduous tasks of transcription, translation and quality analysis) was to structure the most important data accruing in a contact session. This was done on the basis of the analysis techniques intended for use in order to “get a grip” on the data. For this reason, a so-called “transcript fiche” was developed. The transcript fiche captures the most striking data of a contact session and is structured as follows:

Meta data: name of contact session, audio file, audio length, word count;

Participants: names and gender of participants (“A”, “B”, “C”, ...) and interviewer/moderator;

Discourse structure: with mention of leading cue-questions and response sequence of the various participants, thus allowing a first look at the power relationships within a group;

Analysis: essential analysis of the dialogue with mention of important issues, discussion of power relationships, and presentation of key utterances;

Categories: analysis of key categories as they arise in conversation. These should serve as a basis for devising thematic coding at a later stage for software evaluation of the discourse texts.

A transcript fiche example is available in Appendix G.

B.5.3.2 Discourse analysis

The first pass on each text was to carry out a discourse analysis. A rudimentary analysis was charted using the Transcript Fiche where the applied cue questions and thematic responses of the interview or focus group participants were recorded. An analysis of the order of respondents and the way themes are taken up, repeated, rejected or ignored by subsequent speakers reveals as much about the power relationships within the group as it does about the way themes are “thrashed out”. On the basis of this analysis, I used simple group charts to describe the social and power relationships between the various group members. A second pass was then taken on the text to identify which voice the individual sections of the discourse represent, be these the micro-level (that of the speaker), that of the meso-level (that of the group) or the macro-level (that of their society). The results of the first and second passes were then compared in order to determine to what degree group members speak either with their own voices or with more collective voices, and whether this might be influenced in any way by their standing in the group. Whereas it might normally be expected that a dominant group member would have greater scope to speak with his own voice, it can, in practice, be difficult to identify dominant voices since either they tacitly accept a group opinion to cement their dominance, or since their opinion is almost immediately adopted by a good number of members of the group. The study of micro-level voices can be equally interesting, as there is the possibility of marginalised group members being more willing to express independent yet controversial opinions. In this respect it is often revealing to compare the way an individual expresses his or her opinion in an interview setting compared to a focus group setting.

I then constructed an *actor map* for each cohort on the basis of this analysis of power relationships. These relationships were then compared

and used as a fledgling structure of how individual and collective world-views relate to the intercommunal crisis. The emerging model forms the basis for the subsequent analytical steps.

B.5.3.3 Cue-question analysis

A third pass on the text consisted of an analysis of cue-question responses which identifies which sections of the text are in direct response to the cue question, which sections are clearly not, and which sections are inconclusive. The hypothesis behind this analysis is that themes which emerge without direct response to a question are potentially of deep concern to the individual or the group, and that it may be an aspect of outstanding importance if present in various discourses.

B.5.3.4 Thematic and discursive coding

The thematic coding of the contact session transcripts represent perhaps the most delicate task of the evaluation procedure, and where it comes closest to Grounded Theory (GT). Thus, in a fourth pass, the text was categorised according to recurring themes which themselves were grouped into meta-themes. This represented the bases for a thematic coding of the text. As the various contact session discourses were evaluated, a coherent and comprehensive system of codes was constructed, which was valid for all cohorts. The thematic code is composed of single digit letter code indicating the meta-category. This represents the first part of the code. The second part of the code consists of two “flavours” of discourse codes. The first is either “u”, “m” or “M” indicating whether a coded passage was uttered in context of a micro, meso or macro level discourse and a “P”, “C” or “S” depending on whether the thematic passage was prompted by the moderator or interviewer, conditioned, or was uttered spontaneously. Accordingly, a thematic-discursive code could look like this: “M12-Pu”, or “G08-Sm”.

An additional coding layer makes each passage attributable to a particular respondent and cohort. The coding process was carried out in NVivo.

B.5.3.5 Thematic triage and evaluation

The software tool Nvivo was used to facilitate the identification of thematic patterns which should enable a substantiation of world-views, identities and moral approaches. This necessitated the analysis of a complex suspension of ideas and concepts. This stage of the work was potentially the most creative, but also the most difficult stage of the analytical process where a basic model of ideas had to be sought. The model was subsequently tested and refined by applying two additional analytical tools: word-frequency analysis and summative actor mapping.

B.5.3.6 Word-frequency analysis

In the course of evaluation, groups of keywords emerged which were thought to be indicative of the salience of particular themes buried in the text, especially if present in uncued utterances. E.g. the noteworthy absence of the term “Berom” in discourses with Berom youth compared with frequent use of the same term by senior Berom could be indicative of a weakening Berom identity which is being replaced by something else, potentially “Christian”, and so signifying a strengthening of religious identity at the expense of ethnic identity. Word-frequency analysis was used selectively and at a relatively late stage to further substantiate or qualify emerging thematic patterns and conclusions. However the limits of this tool have to be soberly understood, as the frequency of a word does not necessarily indicate its gravity. Often the unspeakable permeates a text in a subaltern form and weighs heavily on its meaning without ever surfacing in the form of a keyword.

The word-frequency analysis carried out in the research was designed to take account of the varying lengths of the texts which were being compared, with the word count being standardised as the number of occurrences per 100,000 words. In some circumstances, keywords might become overrepresented, e.g. due to a topical wrinkle in the conversation such as a stutter. This can skew the word's actual importance. In order to balance this, the keyword was re-weighted by classifying each occurrence either as *spontaneous* (the use of the keyword without any immediate induction by the moderator or interviewer, *conditioned* (a thematic or suggestive introduction which might reasonably invoke the word's use) or *prompted* (a contextual direct use of the keyword by the moderator or interviewer, or a repetition of the keyword's use by the respondent within less than five words). Spontaneous occurrences were counted in full, conditioned ones weighted at $\frac{1}{2}$, and prompted ones at $\frac{1}{4}$. In total, 21 keywords were investigated across the entire body of text generated by respondents (i.e. text generated by moderators and translators was excluded).

B.5.3.7 Summative actor mapping

Towards the end of the evaluation process, a summative actor map was compiled for each cohort population by conflating the various contact session actor maps and the analysis resulting from the thematic triage and evaluation process. The power of the actor maps was to visually describe the principal relationships within each cohort's word-views. Comparing the actor maps amongst one another permits a rapid appraisal of salient differences.

In a final step the sum of these actor maps was then used to discuss and substantiate a descriptive investigation of “what is going on”, consisting of coherent models of how respondents, as individuals, as groups and as

representatives of their societies construe the communal crisis in which they find themselves, and how their self-understanding and values inform their reaction to it.

B.5.4 Coding

As explained in the preceding subchapters, coding is layered according to a number of coding sets based on analysis tools. The coding structure was developed from a study of the collective transcript sheets and then, using NVIVO, iteratively refined during the actual coding process. Coding is structured in three groups, of which the last two were merged to form the thematic-discursive short-hand (Subchapter B.5.3.4):

- *Categorical codes*, recording ethnicity, cohort and participant, and session type
- *Thematic codes*, recording topical elements in the texts
- *Discursive codes*, recording voice dependency, group position and cue questions

Appendix G.5 provides the full listings of codes with a brief explanation of their content.

Chapter B.6 Speaking and saying, listening and hearing: The problem of truth in transcultural contexts

B.6.1 Introduction

To the detriment of social research in the non-Western world, researchers often assume that the language and patterns of Cartesian thought is universal. In fact, apparent contradictions can be held in suspense, and the pragmatics of communication constructed very differently. If not taken into account, severe hermeneutical difficulties can arise, and even widely recognised methods, such as GT, can quickly lead to very misleading results if simply subjected to the mechanics of Western thinking. Whereas Western thought is based on the relating of abstract models, modes of thought in Africa are often situational, relational and concrete. This final methodological chapter intends to characterise some of the differences so they can be analytically accounted for during evaluation.

B.6.2 Central world-view tenants

Since John Mbiti the academic consensus has been that African traditional ontology is essentially anthropocentric.³³¹ Ghanaian philosopher Kwasi Wiredu, describing Akan axiology, has stated “man or woman is the measure of all value”, and that any moral maxim stipulates that the securing of human well-being is the end of all moral endeavour. As discussed in Subchapter A.4.3.2, traditional ontologies portrait the life-affirming community as locked in an incessant moral and spiritual struggle to preserve a cosmic balance within an *unseen world* which has an immediacy that has often baffled Western observers. In many cases, the precarious balance can already be upset by careless or callous individuals. In subsistence communities, which do not have much

³³¹ Mbiti., p.92

contingency, this can spell disaster, and misbehaviour must be quickly brought to heel. Individuals of unusual spiritual authority, be these witches, diviners, mediaries or ancestors, carry out pivotal roles in ensuring that communication with the unseen world is upheld, and often channel spiritual and magical powers for better or for worse by carrying out tasks such as clairvoyance, divination, cursing or healing.³³² This is an appraisal with some important ramifications:

(1) The line between the *seen* and *unseen* worlds becomes blurred. Andrew Walls talks of an African vision of an “open frontier” between the “empirical and spiritual worlds”, which is “crossed and recrossed” many times a day.³³³ Wiredu heightens this finding by claiming of his own ethnicity, the Akan, that it holds a thoroughly empirical orientation of the world, which “makes room only for material and quasi-material existents”.³³⁴ Although his terminology may not be entirely congruent with Walls', one may infer that in many cases there is not even a conscious awareness of Walls' “open frontier”.

(2) Causality is seen in terms of a densely populated spiritual and material world. Events of far-reaching consequence, such as disease, death, and in some cases unusual serendipity, are attributed to the relationships of power amongst the denizens of this cosmos. Following from this, as touched on in Chapter A.1, the questions of *who?* and *why?* have precedence over the question of *how* events come to pass. Psychologically, in the tight-knit tapestries of human relationships in which most Africans live, these questions come easily and logically, as each diurnally seeks to negotiate the vagaries of community life. To ask the same questions in events beyond human control comes naturally when one considers them as emerging from the fabric of powers in the

³³² *Ibid.* p.68ff, on religious specialists

³³³ Walls., p.177

³³⁴ Wiredu, *Cultural Universals and Particulars.*, p.54

unseen world, consciously willed out of either malevolent or benevolent intent. It is against this background that the quiddity of oaths, curses and blessings have such reach, especially when pronounced by persons of authority, since they do not go without consequences in world of spirits and powers.³³⁵

B.6.3 The problems of an oral culture

A particularly sharp contrast between Western and African thinking is one of orality versus literacy. These carry with them certain modes of thought.³³⁶ Of particular consequence is that much of Sub-Saharan Africa, with the notable exceptions of the Islamic centres of learning on the outer fringes of the Sahel zone, and of course the Abyssinian state and cities along the Indian Ocean coast, has had until very recently no literary traditions to speak of. An immediate issue confronting an oral society is that information is handed on only in context of a personal relationship. The speaker will normally make an effort to convey what is said in terms that will be readily understood by his audience. Mostly, the audience will have the opportunity to indicate the need for clarification, should they feel this necessary, and the information will be re-transmitted in a more amenable way. Consequentially, the pragmatics of the speaker will always adapt to the immediate context of the moment. This works particularly well where the speaker and listener(s) are in a stable, long-term and mutual relationship and there are many common cultural and topical reference points. Normally, the spatial and cultural proximity of those conversing in an oral society will predicate this and ensure many common points of reference along the lines of “you know what I’m talking about” that allow terms to be loosely defined in the absolute sense, yet be

³³⁵ Mbiti., p.212

³³⁶ Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power : Religious Thoughts and Political Practice in Africa* (London, UK: Hurst & Co., 2004)., p.29 quoting Léopold Senghor

singularly referenced in the intimate circle of communicants. Should the same knowledge be conveyed outside this context, it can be circumscribed or paraphrased. Edward Hall has referred to this cultural and linguistic situation as “high context”³³⁷ as opposed to the more open “low context” situation, where knowledge must travel across local cultural boundaries, normally in written form. The low-context paradigm immediately imposes a universalist semantic approach to written texts, if they are to be understood in the absence of the possibility of query and without circumscriptions becoming too long.

The Ghanaian philosopher Kwame A. Appiah argues further that an adversarial style of conversation never developed in African societies. In his view they are accommodating to the point that this approach to conversation “is part of the same range of attitudes that leads to theoretical accommodations”.³³⁸ This contentious statement is borne out by my experience in Northern Nigeria, where open disagreement seldom prevails in conversation. Instead, a verbal agreement is reached which allows both parties to feel happy about what has been said without necessarily arriving at any joint declaration of fact. Appiah's statement also supports my experience that at least apparently, conflicting concepts are held in suspension, without any obvious or immediate need to resolve them. Rather than being a form of Orwellian double-think, this may be the corollary of a well-rehearsed pattern, whereby in the case of disagreement, if no written record is fixed (as can only be the case in a purely oral society), the two views are still there, but suspended as two potential truths with verification or synthesis deferred to such time as a resolution becomes pressing, by which time the surrounding parameters conditioning the discourse may anyhow have changed.

³³⁷ Edward Twitchell Hall., p. 298

³³⁸ Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House* (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 1992)., p.130

Although not a strong supporter of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, I do believe that language *influences* thought patterns – and inversely, that it *reveals* thought patterns in its morphology. A case in point might be the Hausa word, or better, expression, for violence, which is *yin aiki da karfi fiye da yadda ya kamata*³³⁹ This translates approximately as “do work with strength exceeding what is fitting”. There are other expressions for it, one translating to “to rise up in earnest” (*tashin hankali*³⁴⁰). The lack of a precise word for something which happens relatively frequently in all societies might at first seem surprising, yet it could be indicative of the wish to avoid an offending expression and continue the conversation with an abbreviated form such as *aiki da karfi* (“work of strength”), which everybody understands appropriately in the context. Similarly, the word for “bad” is *mara kyau*, which translates as “lacking in goodness”, which is not the same as “void of goodness”, but is closer to “could be better”. Anecdotally at least, Hausa itself appears to be geared towards expressing things in “non-negative” terms, as if in an accommodating effort not to offend ones counterpart to their face.

B.6.4 Radio trottoir

Before returning to the pragmatics of language, I would like to consider what factual truth is and how it is transmitted in an oral society. To begin with, there are the inherent problems of how an event witnessed by more than one individual, might be reported. Often, it is subject to the so-called the Rashomon Effect³⁴¹, named after a 1950 Japanese film where

³³⁹ The lexical definition offered by the following English-Hausa dictionary: Neil Skinner, *Kamus Na Turanci Da Hausa* (Kano, Nigeria: The Northern Nigeria Publishing Company Ltd, 1965).

³⁴⁰ Nicholas Awde, *Hausa : Hausa - English, English - Hausa Dictionary* (New York, USA: Hippocrene Books, 1996)., *Hankali* is incidentally a very contextual word, as it can also mean “caution” or “carefulness”

³⁴¹ An interesting discussion of the phenomenon in anthropological research is offered by Karl G. Heider, ‘The Rashomon Effect : When Ethnographers Disagree’, *American Anthropologist*, 90 (1988), pp. 73–81 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aa.1988.90.1.02a00050>>.

different witnesses relate contradicting, yet honest accounts of a murder. That is just the first problem. As news of the event spreads, oral transmission behaves not unlike the game of Chinese whispers, in which the original sense and meaning are perverted within just a few exchanges. To borrow from scholars' research into the propagation of oral traditions, four to five generations appear to represent the limits of useful fidelity in retransmission³⁴². Similarly, the oral transmission of an actual event rapidly begets inactive rumour. In the case of Northern Nigeria's urban conflicts, demonstrations falsely reported as riots have triggered serious clashes. Ellis and Ter Haar, exploring the question of why rumours spread so briskly in African cities, note that Africans are less likely than people in Western countries to read newspapers or watch television and are less disposed to form their opinions based on these sources. Instead, they rely readily on family, friends and colleagues for their information:

Many Africans seem almost on principle to prefer news that arrives via conversation with friends and acquaintances, and consider it more reliable than news from impersonal sources because it emanates from more trustworthy sources than formal media.³⁴³

The authors argue that the availability and reliability of African media are somewhat less “robust” than in the West (while also lamenting the erosion of Western media standards). However, there still appears to be a strong trust in the oral village culture of kith and kin; indeed, even in large Nigerian cities, many inhabitants will refer to their “village”, i.e. where they come from and which they will visit periodically, and most remain in close contact with their kinsmen in the same city. Aligning oneself to one's group's ideas is part of cultivating a collectively-held

³⁴² David Henige, ‘Impossible to Disprove Yet Impossible to Believe : The Unforgiving Epistemology of Deep-Time Oral Tradition Impossible to Disprove yet Impossible to Believe: The Unforgiving Epistemology of Deep-Time Oral Tradition’, *History*, 36 (2009), pp. 127–234., p.201

³⁴³ Ellis and Ter Haar., p.28

world-view and building a sense of mutual support – the very essence of maintaining the ontological balance in the local cosmos of the village. Ellis & Ten Haar employ the term *radio trottoir*, a colloquial expression coined in Kinshasa and Brazzaville to describe the oral spread of news and rumour throughout an African urban area, equivalent to the “grapevine” or the “bush drum”. “Listening” to *radio trottoir* shows what Africans like to talk about³⁴⁴. It reflects the prevailing mood of their society and can tell us a good deal about the mentality of the group in which it circulates. Many of the rumours spawn elaborate conspiracy theories, so any researcher is well recommended to review antecedents, investigate the circumstances of the rumour and consider why people find it credible.³⁴⁵

Consequentially, people are left with a plethora of hearsays, out of which they are expected, against the backdrop of their world-view, to cobble together a consistent, although not necessarily factual, account of events. However, in my own cultural experience of Northern Nigeria, an encounter with very different and conflicting narrations of the same event will not necessarily lead an individual to address the contractions; instead, they are held in suspense. It is as if a Rashomon Effect were accounted for, and multiple interpretations can be drawn on, not as a factual truth statement, but as a resource of adequacy for future use in the accommodating discourses of conversation from which a new version of events may or may not eventually crystallise.

B.6.5 Truth perceptions

When marshalling the ideas explored above, it becomes clear that the African experience of factual truth is different from that of the Cartesian West. The central issue may be found in the tenets of a deeply oral

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp.28 & 33

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp.35f

culture, which deny the thinker a repository of knowledge, gradually accrued, stored and managed in such a way that he can retrieve and critically engage with it, log his conclusions and share them with people beyond a limited circle of direct encounters. Instead, he finds himself in a haze of hearsay, conflicting accounts and social protocol which refuse him the tools of gleaning facts from conversation. The pragmatics of his world have instead evolved to maintain communal unity and harmony. Indeed, this situation may have left a mark on languages. Wiredu points out that Akan has no expression for “fact” other than *te saa* or “is so”. According to the correspondence theory, to say “p is true” would signify “p corresponds to a fact”. This has the ramification that if one enters into the notion of a proposition, the proposition itself might become true: “what the proposition p says is things are as they are. Accordingly, the theory reduces to tautology that things are as a proposition says they are if and only if things are as they are said to be in the proposition.”³⁴⁶ This leads Wiredu, after further deliberation, to conclude that English lends itself to certain philosophical tasks for which Akan is not equipped:

Since [...] no cogent thinking is possible without the notion of something being so, but one can reason to one's heart's content in Akan without recourse to any word or phrase separately standing for fact (that is, in addition to the term expressing the idea of being so), it follows that the second problem (that is concerning being so), is more fundamental than the first (that is, as to the relation of truth of fact).³⁴⁷

This is the essence of the argument which he has used to underline the primacy of *moral* truth in the Akan language over *cognitive* truth.³⁴⁸ In Hausa, one might detect a similar emphasis on the basis of word etymology. The word *gaskiya* is used both in the sense of “truth” and “honesty”, whereas the English word “truth” is etymologically closer to

³⁴⁶ Kwasi Wiredu, ‘The Concept of Truth in the Akan Language’, in *The African Philosophy Reader*, ed. by A.P.J. Coetzee, P.H., Roux (London, UK: Routledge, 1998), pp. 234–38., pp.235f

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.238

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.234

the notion of fidelity (to be true). Here again, the moral component of truth is accentuated. Consequentially, if truth is indeed defined in a moral sense rather than as a rendering of a cognitive experience, then events will be filtered through the gauze of an ethical framework, which may produce a radically different evaluation than would the model behaviour of the dispassionate observer that Western sociologists sometimes presuppose when conducting field studies.

Tord Larsen, in discussing the pertinent issue of morality and cultural transmission, describes social situations, such as are prevalent in tribal contexts, where social roles prescribe moral imperatives. He refers to this as a “conflation of personal identity and social status”³⁴⁹, meaning that individuals are submitted to a code of honour in their social interactions on the basis of their station in society. In this, the normative “ought statement” becomes identical with the descriptive “is statement”.³⁵⁰ This he exemplifies by a quote from Burton describing tribal trials:

It is almost more important to ascertain the social identities of the parties involved than to get a clear account of the train of events.³⁵¹

This comes very close to Mbiti's description of African world-view and society at two levels: (1) it cements his descriptions of social roles which permit certain modes of behaviour, e.g. to administer curses or blessings; and (2) it exemplifies how the *who?* and *why?* questions come to play in a legal context, and how they precede the *how?* Question (see Subchapter A.4.3.2).

A consequence of this is that any truth statements made in a conversation will emerge not only from the subject matter discussed, but also from the social standings and interests of the participants. While this

³⁴⁹ Tord Larsen, ‘Action, Morality and Cultural Translation’, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 43 (1987), pp. 1–28., p.6

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.8

³⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.11 quoting R.F. Barton, *The Kalingas* (Chicago Il, USA: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

is not tantamount to lying in the moral sense, it is in the factual sense, at least in terms of the prevalent Western paradigm. In some cases this may simply be down to a cultural taboo which one party does not want to address and instead seeks to sidestep in order to save the face of his counterpart, be it at the cost of telling a “white lie”. Equally, giving out safeguarded information may be felt to be unseemly, either because it is none of the counterpart's business, or because it might upset the harmony of the relationship.³⁵² These are some examples of how a moral truth can manifest itself. Such machinations are of course not entirely alien to the Western mind, yet given the ponderous value of factual truth in Western culture, overriding it has severe moral consequences of its own. Thus, the other interests at stake must be significant in order for a conversational partner to resort to the “white lie” (e.g. it would kill the ailing mother to know the fate of her son at war, therefore she must believe all is well. While not being *truthful*, this position may at least still seem *honest*.) In a cultural situation where the factual truth is *a priori* harder to establish and thus of lesser value, maintaining the moral truth gains even more in importance.

B.6.6 Implications for social research

To what extent this analysis is applicable to the cohorts in this study is questionable. Modernity has encroached on Nigerian life everywhere, subjecting every corner of the country to new modes of thinking. With the rise of literacy, particularly in cities, much of what has been said on oral culture is gradually being superseded, and traditional ways of thinking about the world challenged by Christianity and Islam. From a hermeneutical perspective this confronts us with a hen-and-egg situation since interpreting an utterance fully can be undertaken only if the

³⁵² Several ideas have been garnered from Susan Blum, ‘Five Approaches to Explaining “Truth” and “Deception” in Human Communication’, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 61 (2005), 289–315., pp.293f

speaker's world-view is perfectly understood. This predicament has been noticed by Donald Davidson, who in discussion of Quine's radical translation states

[...] We do not know what someone means unless we know what he believes; we do not know what someone believes unless we know what he means. In radical interpretation, we are able to break into this circle, if only incompletely, because we can sometimes tell that a person succeeds to a sentence we do not understand.³⁵³

Accordingly, it is in the obvious misunderstanding that we can seek to understand, in that it opens a new avenue of enquiry in order to push through to a merging of horizons between researcher and counterparts. As a summative conclusion of this chapter, the potential of considerable otherness of the world-view of our respondents should compel us to be circumspect in the way we explore their world and cautious in the conclusions we draw. As a researcher I must attempt, however incompletely, to enter into the world of those I am studying and qualify the certainty with which I draw conclusions. Anything less is to become a conniver in the propagation of mendacious rumour.

³⁵³ Donald Davidson, *Inquiries into Truth and Interpretation*, 2nd edn (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 2001), p.27

Section C: Field data description

Chapter C.1 Field Experience

C.1.1 First field visit: General situation August – October 2011

2011 saw a general rapid decline in the security situation in Northern Nigeria. Bombs detonated in Jos on Christmas Eve 2010, claiming dozens of lives. Election violence impacted areas which had hitherto been relatively peaceful. Notably, this entailed intercommunal violence in parts of Adamawa leading to the burning of the market in Michika. A resurgent Boko Haram perpetrated violence during the months thereafter, with attacks in Yobe and Borno States. A bomb attributed to Boko Haram shattered the UN headquarters in Abuja on 25th August. On 29th August, an Izala brotherhood attempt to reclaim a mosque site in the Christian-dominated area of Gada Biu provoked clashes between Muslims and Christians in which more than 20 died. Military intervention prevented a spillover into other parts of Jos's wider urban area, including Bukuru. Meanwhile a group of senior COCIN church elders were fatally injured in a road accident in southern Plateau State in the last week of August.

By the first days of September the violent events in Jos had had a knock-on effect by enraging Muslim communities in adjacent Bauchi State who incited attacks on passenger buses on the eastbound highway. Only once a reasonable degree of calm had returned to the route did I risk the journey to Adamawa. No immediate problems were encountered in Adamawa itself, although conversations there were deeply affected by past election violence and by the growing threat from Boko Haram, which particularly affected the Maiduguri area. The remainder of my field visit was marked by a gradual decline in the sense of immediate threat.

Appendix G.3 provides a table charting the course of major activities over the course of the 6 weeks of field research.

C.1.2 Second field visit: General June – July 2012

The first half of 2012 was marked by a dramatic decline in security across northern Nigeria. Boko Haram attacks, which with the exception of some isolated incidents had hitherto been largely confined to the north-east of Nigeria, spread rapidly to cities such as Kaduna (i.a. 8th April and several attacks in June), Abuja (i.a. 25th December) and Jos (i.a. 12th March, 25th April, 10th June) with churches becoming primary targets. By June, Boko Haram had declared that it intended to purge northern Nigeria of Christians and had announced attacks on unspecified targets with “2000 Jihad fighters”³⁵⁴. Hence, by the time I arrived in mid-June, the atmosphere had become highly charged. Many people feared going to church. Practically all churches were carrying out thorough body checks of churchgoers, and car-owners were parking their cars immediately outside churches to deter vehicle-borne suicide bombers. On Sunday mornings access to churches was blocked on a more general scale with some municipal zones practically shut to traffic, forcing people to walk long distances. Considerable vigilance by security forces and citizens was widely assumed to have led to the early discovery of some bombs and the capture of putative bombers. Meanwhile, the popular “achaba” motorbike taxis of Plateau State had been summarily banned, further impairing commuters and putting several thousand *achaba* drivers out of work.

As a result, the visits had to be carefully planned, and as some of my research at this stage focussed on Muslim Hausa in Jos North, there were also additional security concerns which had to be considered.

Appendix G.3 provides a table charting the course of major activities over the course of the second visit.

³⁵⁴ Vanguard, 19th June 2012, available at <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/06/boko-haram-plans-jihad-on-christians-s-east-can-alleges/>, accessed 07/01/13

C.1.3 Practical difficulties

A shortage of resources was a continuing problem throughout my fieldwork. Access to trained people to work as research assistants was not always easy, and once found, work had to account for their many other commitments.³⁵⁵ For this reason, the results of some work were somewhat delayed. Work quality also proved to be a challenging issue. The easiest part was obtaining the raw data, although the cohort composition was not always entirely ideal. Considerable additional work was generated by the need to check the transcripts' accuracy by means of audio verification. This I carried out largely myself. Areas where the quality of the transcript was compromised were marked and listed for review. As the raw data (and the audio playback equipment) were removed from Nigeria for data security reasons, research assistants could not align transcripts with the audio tracks in my absence. This was deferred until my second field research visit in June 2012.

Checking translation quality proved to be a complex and challenging task. Obviously, not understanding most of the transcribed languages, I had only limited personal instruments at my immediate disposal to verify the quality of the translation beyond plausibility checks on words, length and morphology of the text. Unfortunately, as the transcripts in the original languages had been carried out by hand and were thus available only in handwriting, much of the text could not be reliably digitalised by someone not proficient in the language in question. Accordingly, the transcripts had to be returned to Nigeria for the necessary verification and processing. To this end, I segregated suspicious passages, key sections and additional random texts for retranslation and, along with the transcripts, saw that they were reviewed during my second field visit.

³⁵⁵ A total of 14 research assistants were recruited. Of these, 12 acted as focus group moderators at some point in the research, and 8 acted as oral translators. 9 of them worked on transcription, and 7 carried out translation and assisted in quality assurance.

The Kamwe texts proved to be the most challenging. Although careful checks on the text morphology suggested that the translations were reliable in terms of their topical content, some discourse metrics were disturbed because repetitions in some passages had been collapsed into single sequences on the part of the translators. For this reason, large parts of the translations had to be revised during the second field visit.

C.1.4 First field visit narrative

C.1.4.1 Berom survey

Three Berom researcher assistants were recruited through the Theological College of Northern Nigeria (TCNN), namely a Berom student, a Berom member of the Bible Translation Department staff, and a translator from the Berom Bible Translation Programme. Three days were spent preparing them along with two Tarok students specifically for interviewing and focus group moderation. Training focussed on moderation and the subsequent transcription techniques while using digital recording and play-back equipment.

Two COCIN churches, here denoted as Be1 and Be2, were randomly selected in Bukuru out of a pool of sufficiently large churches. Bukuru, part of the Jos agglomeration, had experienced considerable unrest over the last few years, the latest occurring in February 2010 and January 2011. Both church congregations consist of members from a variety of ethnicities. Focus group and interview candidates were thus picked randomly from a pool of Berom volunteers who responded to an announcement during the service, prior agreement being reached with the head pastors. Both churches held individual services in Hausa and English, allowing me to recruit members from the Hausa service in Be1 and from the English service in Be2. It was not possible to recruit sufficient youths at Be1, as young members tend to prefer the English

services. Instead, the youth pool of considerably larger Be2 was used to recruit two focus groups. The Be1 focus groups and interviews, consisting of selected senior volunteers, were conducted immediately after their Sunday service (28th August), the Be2 focus groups and interviews were deferred until the following Tuesday, as this fell on the public holiday of Eid al Fitr (30th August). Predictably, not all volunteers appeared at the appointed time, but this was not a serious problem thanks to deliberate over-recruitment. The venues for the interviews were the church premises, as this was deemed to be a location which respondents would identify as “home territory”. The Be1 contact sessions were held in a side building to the main church, while those at Be2 were held in the church itself, as no service was being held that day. Senior groups were happy – indeed eager – to communicate in Berom. Several youths on the other hand were no longer able to follow focus group discussions in their own ethnic tongue. For this reason, the interviews and group discussions were conducted in English, albeit intermeshed with some Berom. What became obvious during the interviews and focus groups was the resentment that all respondents harboured in light of recent events.

Transcription was completed by the end of September, and translation in the course of October. This would have proceeded more quickly had the recording equipment not been needed for other language groups too.

C.1.4.2 Tarok survey

Two Tarok students at TCNN, one a pastor and another specialising in Bible translation, were trained along with their Berom counterparts. They were present during the respondent recruiting process and in the church at the time of the Be2 interviews and focus group discussions. Two COCIN rural churches were selected at random in the rural area between Langtang and Wase, a zone which had been subject to considerable

intercommunal violence in 2004. The churches, Ta1 and Ta2, were selected for contact sessions on 3rd and 4th September. The pastor of Ta1, who was contacted in advance, brought together a large gathering of people on the Saturday afternoon of 3rd September, from which two focus groups (youths and seniors) were selected by picking lots. One volunteer of each focus group pool was selected for an interview. The same selection process was followed the next morning at Ta2, the selection being from a group of volunteers who had responded to an announcement during the service. The contact sessions took place on the church premises, but outdoors due to the better acoustics in the case of Ta1 and due to the ongoing Sunday use of the church in the case of Ta2.

Both age groups were happy to communicate in Tarok, and appeared to be proficient in their ethnic tongue. This is no doubt due to the relative remoteness of their rural location. The events of 2004 still appeared to be very present, with most members having directly witnessed atrocities and some having been immediately involved in clashes and killings. All contact sessions were carried out in complete anonymity with no personal details collected. One focus group recording (TaR2S-F) failed as the research assistant stopped the recording equipment by mistake.

Transcription was completed by the end of September, and translation in the course of October. As with the Berom, this could have been quicker had the recording equipment not been in simultaneous use for other language groups. Originally, two members of the Tarok Bible translation team had been recruited to carry out the translation, however, in the event one was hindered by professional activity, while the other was injured in a unrelated motor accident. Therefore, a young Tarok translator, who had recently completed his training with the National Bible Translation Trust, was engaged to do the work. Working closely to the rulebook, his work was of an excellent standard.

C.1.4.3 Adamawa survey

I travelled to the eastern state of Adamawa on 7th September after making various enquiries on the security situation. Throughout the following two weeks I operated from the Kulp Bible College in Kwarhi near Mararaba, around 20 km west of Mubi.

Kamwe. Training of two Kamwe Research Assistants, both from the Kamwe Bible translation programme, took place in Kwarhi, along with the training of their Fali counterparts. As in Plateau, three days were spent introducing the research assistants to the techniques of focus group moderation and transcription standards. In order to deal with the severe time limitations, the quantity of data, the availability of recording/transcription equipment (as some of it had been left in Bukuru), and the scarcity of electrical power for running my laptop, research was reduced to a single EYN urban church (Ka) in the town of Michika. Contact session participants were chosen randomly from a pool of volunteers who responded to an announcement during the Sunday morning services on 11th September. The youths were recruited from the earlier English service, and the seniors from the later service in Kamwe. Contact sessions were held in a church-related compound at the edge of the church premises. This choice was certainly suboptimal, as it was no longer strictly “home territory” for all participants, but the noise levels due to ongoing Sunday activities would have made subsequent audio transcription of the contact sessions difficult to impossible. All contact sessions were held in Kamwe, although particularly among the youth, Hausa was sometimes used as well. The discussions were dominated by concern over the recent market violence, Boko Haram, and the marrying-off of Christian Kamwe women to Muslim Kamwe, Hausa and Fulani men.

Transcription was completed satisfactorily by the time of my departure from the area on 22nd September. However, translation dragged on until mid-October and had to undergo further review during my second field visit.

Fali-Kirya. The two Fali research assistants were introduced to the subject of focus group moderation and interviewing along with their Kamwe peers. However, neither of them were translation experts. It must be noted that their particular branch of Fali, the Fali-Kirya, is a linguistic group of less than 10,000 with neither a written language nor any real ambition for its own Bible translation project. Nevertheless, one of the research assistants had spent the previous five years compiling a Fali-Kirya dictionary, and with this qualification was probably the most adequate member of his ethnicity to assist this kind of research. Here too, only one EYN church (Fa) was contacted, this time in a rural location, with visits made on Thursday, 15th September and Sunday, 18th September. Due to heavy rains, the location could be reached only by motorbike. An additional attempt to reach the village failed due to a mechanical breakdown. Participants in these cases were recruited through the pastor by the “drum-up method”. No arrangements could be made in advance due to a lack of mobile phone coverage. All contact sessions were held on church premises. One focus group session was interrupted due to a memory overflow in the recording equipment³⁵⁶.

Here too there were clear signs of the ethnic vernacular being lost. The youth preferred their contact sessions to be held in Hausa. Given that one elderly lady appeared to have a very poor command of Hausa, this poses the possibility of a considerable intergenerational communication rupture. Fascinatingly, while the youth raised the similar concerns about Boko Haram and a Muslim threat as their Kamwe counterparts, the older

³⁵⁶ A roundabout way of saying “I blew it” by not checking the equipment adequately before starting.

generation clearly thought more strongly along ethnic lines. The same elderly lady appeared to see no practical difference between a Muslim and a Fulani.

Transcription was completed satisfactorily by the time of my departure from the area on 22nd September. The youths' contact session translations were completed in the course of October, although the Fali-Kirya translations dragged on into 2012.

C.1.5 Second field visit narrative

C.1.5.1 Quality checks and improvements

The entire field visit was dominated by the process of improving transcripts and translations. As in the previous year, the work, with courtesy of the Translation Department of TCNN, was located in Bukuru. Research assistants from each language group were re-recruited to carry out re-transcriptions and re-translations of randomly selected passages as quality checks, and to reprocess all passages which were either of extreme importance or where transcriptions and translations were suspected of being of doubtful quality. In addition, I used the research assistants' presence to revisit many of the pragmatic meanings of respondents' utterances, where I was aware that the cultural meaning had eluded me. The Kamwe work was thoroughly reviewed, and to this end a new research assistant was recruited, who re-translated large sections of the interviews and focus group sessions. This greatly improved the quality of the work, despite the time pressure, which prevailed in light of the quantity of work in hand.

C.1.5.2 Berom youth follow-up session

An important feature of the second field visit was the follow-up of the Berom youth participants who explicitly requested to be interviewed. This offered a unique opportunity to gauge changes in attitudes in the course of the previous ten months. A meeting was arranged with them at their Bukuru church on the evening of 26th June. Of the original seven, five respondents were able to participate. As this was not sufficient to reconstitute the original two focus groups, they all participated in a single focus group session lasting a full hour. Thanks to their openness and the wide range of opinions on how to master the conflict, it was possibly the most revealing contact session of the entire project. In addition, two interviews were held, one with a female respondent who had already been interviewed the year before, and the other with a male respondent who had previously participated only in a focus group.

C.1.5.3 Hausa-Muslim survey

The most challenging contact sessions to be organised were those to be held with Hausa Muslims of Jos North. Finding the gatekeepers to mosques was particularly tricky and potentially risky at a time when the public security risk and community emotions were running unusually high. Finally, I was able to recruit a group of four Muslim students from the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Jos, which generously also provided space to prepare the research assistants for their work. Training the research assistants in Bukuru would not have been an option, as the presence of four Muslims on the compound would have been raised substantial concerns about security, and the Muslim students would themselves not have felt comfortable. On the other hand, I shortened the training period as much as possible, as the trip to the University was nearly two hours each way due to the absence of transport

alternatives to the outlawed *achabas*. A crucial question was whether I should be present at the time of the contact sessions in the mosques. After some discussion on the matter, it was agreed that the respondents' voices would be more authentic in my absence. Furthermore, as several of the mosques were located in parts of Jos North which were regarded by Christians as no-go areas, there were potential risks for my security as well.

Accordingly, it was in the period of 22nd – 24th June that the research assistants, without direct supervision, collected their data in a total of four mosques, two being Sufi, two Sunni-Salafist. What emerged was that the social controls within the mosques were generally stronger than in any of the churches, and the research assistants were closely watched. The imams in two of the mosques preselected the focus group members and participated themselves. Their reasons for doing so are not clear, but one can with certainty say that this censorship means that the data must be treated with some reservation. Another issue was that interviews and focus group sessions were frequently interrupted, and that due to the imams' involvement, the age groups in mosques Ha3 and Ha4 were mixed. One research assistant mentioned his apprehension in dealing with the topic of Boko Haram, explaining that one had to be careful about informers attached to the group, who lurk in mosques and who could initiate persecution of critics. Perceived or real, such fears do have an impact on the way people speak, and it is noticeable in some of the contact sessions that group members hesitate to venture into the topic of Boko Haram.

Although it would have been ideal to have transcription and translation performed directly by the Muslim research assistants, supervising this work would have meant my continued return to the University to carry out additional training and supervise progress. It was doubtful whether

the work could have been completed on these terms within a reasonable time period on these terms. For this reason, the work was given to previous research assistants, who were not fully versed with the particular Hausa spoken by their Muslim compatriots, but whose work was of good standard and trustworthy. The Christian research assistants were not given any details on the locations of the mosques, and their work on the transcriptions was closely supervised. Transcription was completed by the time of my return to Europe at the beginning of July, with translation work being completed by October and sent to Europe.

C.1.6 Field research policy observance

A general appraisal of the field policy observance suggests that field policy was sufficiently respected to permit significant conclusions. For the most part, policy infringement was insignificant. The worst problems in churches were limited to the loss of some data in Tarok and Fali contact sessions, and the fact that contact sessions could not be directly held on the Kamwe church premises. The more serious problems arose in Hausa contact sessions, which were conducted in all-male environments and were not under my direct control. Some focus groups compositions were influenced by Imams who prevented random selection of respondents. On this premise, the results of Hausa contact sessions must be treated with some caution. The table in Appendix G.4.5 summarises to what degree the field research policies which are discussed above (B.4.3) were in fact observed.

Chapter C.2 Open Description of Core Data Set

C.2.1 The cohorts and contact sessions in overview

C.2.1.1 Some notes on how this chapter is structured

The data are presented by grouping the interviews and focus groups into four lots: Berom seniors (cohorts 1 & 2), Berom youth (cohort 3), Tarok seniors (cohort 4 & 5) and Tarok youth (Cohorts 6 & 7), because geographical/ethnic distinctions proved to be the most dominant, followed by age group. The setting differences (church, and interview vs. focus group) were insignificant enough to be merged into one representation of data.

The presented data represents a topical and thematically relevant distillation of the transcribed contact sessions. The various references have been ordered in such a way as to illustrate the emergence of themes which then become the building blocks of the theory-building process. Within each of the four data groups, I discuss first general discourse features of the contract sessions before turning to thematic representation of the data itself.

The discourse features represent the interview settings, the participants in each data group and a summary of how they interacted with one another. The actual data presentation is split thematically into world-view, identity and moral attitudes, and broadly represent the responses to the cue questions in each of these categories. Within these, the data have been ordered into topical categories, many of which do reappear across all four data groups, and some of which are unique to only one of them. In practice, however, and just like the cue questions themselves, respondents' utterances cannot be ordered as tidily as this, and many of them contain features which make attribution difficult.

Accordingly, each utterance, or where appropriate, each dialogue excerpt has been awarded a reference number (“ref#”) which will be used as a reference in the chapters on data analysis. Only the most salient references have been listed in this chapter, and the thinned-out number sequencing reveals this. For the sake of brevity and accessibility, the transcript feature notations have also been removed. The complete collection of unabbreviated references can be found in Appendix G.7. As transcript summaries, the table in Appendix G.5 offers a summary of the meta-parameters. In total, more than 13 hours of conversation and 100,000 words were recorded. Females accounted for about 1/3 of all respondents.

C.2.1.2 Thematic and discursive coding

Each reference has a head and a tail coding. The head coding indicates the participant [letter and cohort, e.g. E-4], followed by an indication of his or her gender, and setting [J interview or F focus group] in parentheses. The tail coding follows the description provided in Chapter B.5.4 and indicates thematic and discursive features (thematic code followed by voice and prompt flavours). Many tail codings indicate multiple thematic codes.

A full list of thematic codes can be found in Appendix G.5.2.

C.2.1.3 Synthesis of salient topics and coding/keywords

In the course of the initial evaluation process, a number of keywords were distilled from the text for later application in word-frequency analysis. They are presented in the following table:

Key words	Topical category
God	world-view
land	world-view
[own place of worship] → (church/mosque)	world-view
[other scripture] → (Qu'ran/Bible)	world-view
Boko Haram	world-view
[own religion] → (Christianity/Islam)	identity
[own tribe] → (Berom-Tarok-Kamwe-Fali/Hausa-Fulani)	identity
[other religion] → (Islam/Christianity)	identity
[own scriptural tribe] → (Israel\$/Arab\$)	identity
[own religious Figure] → (Jesus/Mohammed)	identity
tribe\$	identity
indigene	identity
settler	identity
pray\$	ethics
Justice/righteousness	ethics
peace	ethics
fear	ethics
fight\$	ethics

C.2.2 Survey of Berom seniors (Cohorts 1 & 2)

C.2.2.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Settings and venues: The contact sessions took place on 28th (BeU1) and 30th August 2011 (BeU2) in two churches in Bukuru, which despite being located in Beromland were ethnically mixed due to their proximity to Jos. BeU1 was a fairly small church. Members were drawn from a pool of senior Beroms who responded to an announcement during the first of

two services (in Hausa). The respondents requested to be interviewed immediately after the service, and so the contact sessions were held in a building just off the main church while the second, an English-language service, was in progress (as can be heard in the recordings). BeU2 was a large and prominent church. Here too, members were drawn from pools of Berom volunteers responding to an announcement during the service. However, respondents requested to have the contact sessions deferred until Tuesday lunchtime, which was a public holiday (Eid Al-Fitr). Notable developments influencing the dialogues were the death of a group of COCIN pastors in a road accident only days earlier (announced during service), and by 28th August the aforementioned Gada Biu security incident resulting in several dozen people killed.

Participants: The following table presents what is known of the chief characteristics of each participant.

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-1	male	BeU1S-F	Dominant focus group member, profession unknown, accepted member of his society, often speaks first.
B-1	female	BeU1S-F	Accepted member of focus group, head teacher, accepted member of group, sometimes speaks first.
C-1	male	BeU1S-F	Accepted member of focus group, profession unknown, accepted member of his society, often speaks as second, but sometimes first.
D-1	female	BeU1S-F	Elderly lady, social role not established, identity unknown, speaks very little, dominated in group discussion, but accepted member of her society.
E-1	male	BeU1S-J	Retired sergeant in Nigerian army, experience of peace-keeping missions abroad, concerned about development of Muslim occupation of Berom land, long for peace and sees Beroms as peace lovers. Dominates the discussion.
F-1	male	BeU1S-J	Retired school teacher and respected senior citizen. Co-constructs a similar view of the world as his fellow interviewee, but speaks less. Sees Berom resilience

			grounded in their Christianity.
A-2	male	BeU2S-F	Dominant focus group member, mostly speak first, although not at length.
B-2	male	BeU2S-F	Accepted, but relatively quiet group member. Speaks more towards the end.
C-2	male	BeU2S-F	Dominant focus group member, speak mostly first, although not at length.
D-2	male	BeU2S-F	Accepted group member, but who speaks relatively infrequently.
E-2	female	BeU2S-J	Profession unknown, a grandmother, often speaking in third voice, already lost children.

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: Notably, the research team was met with a considerable degree of good will and was indeed able to establish trust. The fact that I was a former missionary was an important factor in this. The focus group members were cooperative and keen. Given their seniority, M-2, the oldest of the Berom research assistant moderated the focus groups. Meanwhile I (M-1) held the interviews with the support of T-3 as a translator. All conversations were held in Berom, even though many were proficient in English. Outside the contact session, several members of both cohorts expressed their appreciation for this effort.

I did however gain the impression that during the focus groups, members were as afraid of one another as they were of the research team. Participants aligned their views with those of others during substantial sections of the discussions, and often hid behind “pieties”, such as making implausible and frequent reference to God in their evaluation of things. This is perhaps to be expected within a church, where Godliness is a valuable currency. Subsequently, voice identification became an important part of the evaluation process. Meanwhile, interviewees were notably less guarded.

C.2.2.2 Evidence related primarily to world-views

The respondents' self-understanding as to why they exist and what their purpose on earth is:

Ref-#3

C-1(m,F): "What is precious to me, in my life, is God creating me a Berom person. With the land I have been given to live in peace in it, and to serve Him." [T05-Sm][C07-Sm][D09-Sm]

Ref-#5

B-1(f,F): "The thing that is most important to me in my life in this world, is my God, whom I worship, and peaceful existence in my land." [T07-Cm]

Ref-#6

E-1(m,J): "I desire most are living in peace and good neighbourliness at all times without any headache." [E08-Su][U16-Su]

On the question of what causes **accidents and illness**:

Ref-#9

A-2(m,F): "Some people cause death to themselves, so it is important for people to care for themselves. Some drink and drive recklessly." [E01-Cu]

Ref-#11

C-2: "We know life belongs to God, and God said for people to keep His commands, to watch our ways so that impurity will not deform us, but people drink illicit drinks which brings harm it brings harm to them, some people when travelling are involved in a car accident, he dies because he is drunk and driving carelessly." [E01-Su]

Ref-#12

D-2(m,F): "Some people are selfish, when not appointed, or they have been promised a permanent secretary, or commissioner, and when he does not get the appointment, he ends up with a stroke, just like that." [E01-CM]

Ref-#13

B-2(m,F): "There are different kinds of illnesses. Some are married, but they are not faithful in their marriages. They go from one place to the other, and come out sick." [E01-CM]

With **one day left to live**:

Ref-#24

B-1(m,F): "If God permits me, I would plead for one person to ask God for forgiveness and stop doing wrong." [D14-Sm][E07-Sm]

Ref-#26

D-1(f,F): "I would like to pray like the King in the Bible, for God to add more years to this life. To work and serve God well, so I will ask God to add more years to my life." [D14-Cm][E06-Cm]

Ref-#27

C-1(m,F): "If I have one day, then I will pray to God to give me people like those of Nehemiah, those who rise to capture this land." [D02-Cm][D14-Cm]

Moving on to the subject of the **Nature of God**:

Ref-#33

F-1(m,J): "In our thoughts and wishes it is that God will make us live in peace as He planned from the beginning. " [Su-T02]

Ref-#43

F-1(m,J): "We are praying to God that He will touch our hearts. If not, we won't live in peace." [T02-Su]

God is seen as the source of providence and blessing:

Ref-#48

E-1(m,J): "Because of this, here in Dahwol Dangwang and all over Jos, it is a place where God deposited His Blessings. There are tentelite minerals [[a mineral substance]], there are food products that are formed here, products from the irrigation farming they do are in this Beromland, in Jos here." [E15-SM][T02-SM][U16-SM]

Ref-#50

F-1(m,J): "They wanted to dispossess us of the land but they couldn't, because we are believers therefore God did not grant them victory over us. All because we are people here who have imbibed God's Word." [C07-SM][D12-SM][T02-SM]

Respondents' conceptualisation of **Evil** indicted Muslims as a corrupting force:

Ref-#56

C-1(m,F): "But the way we are living with them [[Muslims]], we are living on our land and they came and turned our character to their wicked character." [M02-Su][M03-Su]

Ref-#57

A-2(m,F): "Because of how wicked the human mind is and to go in forcefully, he had to plan evil there." [E02-Cu][P02-Cu]

Several respondents offer a very “last days” **eschatological interpretation of recent and ongoing events:**

Ref-#58

D-1(f,F): “I called all my children, I told them [...] these things that are happening, it is the end of age, so for that everyone should stand firm to the Lord. So for that, let us come together and pray to God. [...] We should depend on God to help us and give us victory over evil.” [C08-Su][D10-Su][E02-Su][T06-Su]

Ref-#59

A-2: “The church cannot stop the crisis because then it is like saying the Bible is not God's true Word. The time will come, then things will become chaotic. There will be troubles here, we will see how the world will be like. The Arab countries, those who have said they will come together, they will see lots of confusion, people will rise against each other, the leader will be displaced. Things that have not been told of will happen. They are making efforts. Ghadaffi had said that he is the king of Africa, even their king was removed from office.” [D10-CM][E05-CM][T01-CM]

Ref-#60

E-2(m,F): “Sometimes, you know the devil doesn't want peace. and you know we are almost on the last days and the devil is looking for his own. [...] Instead of attacking them, they should have prayed for them, maybe God will have pity on them.” [C03-SM][D10-SM][E02-SM][T06-SM]

Ref-#61

A-2(m,F): “This came as a fulfilment of prophecy. The Bible tell us so, where prophecy is fulfilled. A time will come when these things will come to pass. Because if we read from the book of John, it tells us, if you have time, go and read, they will do these things and say they are serving God. They will kill you and say, they are working for God. And Jesus said, stand firm, even if the body is killed, then Jesus did not come for the earthly Kingdom.” [D01-SM][T01-SM][T03-SM][T04-SM]

C.2.2.3 Evidence related primarily to identities

In reference to respondents' **self-understanding:**

Ref-#63

E-1(m,J): “Just like the elder has said, a Berom man is a person that is soft-hearted, every foreigner that arrives, he receives him wholeheartedly.” [T02-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#64

A-2(m,F): “God is a Father, to all people in heaven and earth, because as I said from the start, before we know Jesus, the Berom knew God existed.” [D16-Cu][T04-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#65

A-2(m,F): “And because the land is our inheritance, we will not run to any place. It has been on for a long time. In this land, especially the Berom here, by the 1920s, -30s it was

a law to displace the Berom. Oh, the place in which God has placed the Berom and someone wanted to move them to Kaduna, and we will be given corn.” [C03-CM][D09-CM]

Ref-#67

F-1(m,J): “I have never seen a Berom person that has offensively gone to kill a Muslim or his children, or to destroy his properties. Everytime since before and grand-fathers up until today it is that the people we gave places to settle are responsible for those things.” [D09-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#68

F-1(m,J): “Before now, we have been kind to them. What is the kindness? See, we eat the same kind of food, but if we cook food to give them during their Sallah celebrations, they would not receive it from us.” [E08-Su]

With very few exceptions, discussions of **“The Other” in general** focus on “Muslims”.

Ref-#73

C-1(m,F): “I see it was wrong for us to mingle with them, because we have become stubborn to God's Word, when God is talking to His people. With this people, the Israelites, He said I will give you an inheritance. [...] No-one knows their character, that is what has brought all this crisis we are facing.” [D02-Su]

Ref-#74

C-1(m,F): “The Fulani are in the bush, the Christians in Beromland, and they said the Christians are troublemakers. They will kill them in the morning. [...] That is it. But the Christian, the Christian is not the one who will burn someone's house or kill them.” [M08-CM][U11-CM]

E-1 and F-1 in a joint interview identify Muslims as pursuing an agenda of conquest and conversion, and offer some elaborate accounts of how this purportedly came about:

Ref-#77

E-1(m,J): “Muslims, came from other places. They are bent on coming here to work and they are working with our people again, and we work for them, they got enriched [...] they are attempting to pressure us to take away our land, because they enjoy the place, you see.” [E15-CM][M07-CM][T02-CM][U16-CM]

Ref-#78

F-1(m,J): “For long they placed importance to animal butchering and selling it, Fulanis, from here, from here to Bauchi State, you won't see grazing grass for cows, but added that the weather here is friendly, they refused to leave.”

[...]

“We have never prided ourselves with the fact that we are indigenes of Jos because we want peaceful coexistence, but their children who have been bred and brought up here and seem to be wealthy above us, are proclaiming to people that they are JASAWA. If we should take this seriously, we have never prided ourselves that we are in fact Jos indigenes, we are truly Jos indigenes, but for peace's sake, we appealed to them to stop making such assertions.

[...]

We gave them places of stay, and they went about saying that we lived on the mountains, but it is surprising that they buy fields from us. Have we ever bought fields from Muslims? It is we who sold, gave them places of stay to live in peace.” [C07-SM][D09-SM][E08-SM]

Ref-#80

F-1(m,J): “Muslims wanted to penetrate this place with war. So as, so as to Islamise us. It proved abortive, so until today, we hear from the young ones, youths that since their fathers were unable to conquer the Berom land, they are going to fight that course.” [C07-CM][D12-CM][M07-CM][T02-CM]

Ref-#81

F-1(m,J): “They are doing these things, because they Muslims want to occupy places, their agenda is that no matter what, whether we like it or not, they must dispossess us of the land and Islamise us.” [M07-CM]

Ref-#83

E-1(m,J): “We want peaceful co-existence. [...] The Muslim's nature is that anywhere he finds himself, he wants to make way for his brother and the next thing they do is strike to create violence so as to expand, because they are autocratic. [...] They have begun a journey to ruling them.” [C07-CM][E08-CM][M07-CM][M09-CM]

Meanwhile, E-2 grounded Muslim hostility in their religious system:

Ref-#86

E-2(f,J): “We are serving a true God, a living God, but they are not serving a living God. If they are serving a living God, they will not think of killing a person, to kill a person is nothing to them.”

[...]

“But they said they are serving Mohammed, and we are serving God, Jesus. We are not serving man.” [M09-SM]

Although the Muslims are clearly seen as the driving force of violence, correspondents does concede that others may have perpetrated **violence from the Christians' side**:

Ref-#91

F-1(m,J): “Yes, there are such Christians. They inevitably have to do it. It's completely a Christian issue, not only for Beroms.” [M08-SM][M09-SM]

Ref-#92

E-1(m,J): “In that aspect, it's not said that it is definite, definite that it is a Berom man that would light fire to burn someone's house. For that reason, it is not only Beroms that are in Jos, because since it started, other tribes participated, yes it is Berom and Muslims, but it is not only Beroms residing in Jos. [...] There is no way it will be said pointedly that it is Beroms. Is a Berom name written on the forehead of the person that is burning the houses? No.” [D04-SM][D09-SM]

C.2.2.4 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

On the subject of virtue:

Ref-#96

E-2(m,F): “In Isaiah, the mention is about prayer and fasting, isn't it? [...] Because the way we are looking at things going on in our land, things are not good. And if we pray sincerely from our hearts, God will deliver us, I have that belief, because it has worked for me whenever I pray and ask God for a particular problem. There is nothing we can do, our weapons is prayer. [...] We don't have guns, or knives to fight with.” [D01-Cu][T02-Cu][T06-Cu]

Error: Reference source not found

B-2(m,F): “Living in purity is an important thing. In our existence on earth, we are living with each other, but when living relationships become weak, it is good that everyone has the knowledge of God in their heart.” [T04-Su][U16-Su]

Evidence of moral dilemmas:

Ref-#107

A-2(m,F): “And you have said the Bible says to obey the authorities, and if the authorities say not to have weapons, and your own them, then what are you doing?” [P01-Su][P02-Su][T01-Su]

On Muslim neighbours:

Ref-#109

E-1(m,J): “Up till now, we still love them, we still love them, we desire to live in peace. It is very different now compared with the time we lived with their fore-fathers.” [SM-E08]

Ref-#110

E-2(f,J): “Ok. The Word of God said we should not. Like if someone offended you, you should not revenge.” [U11-SM]

Ref-#111

E-2(f,J): "I will be praying so that we will live in peace, because God said in everything, we should pray." [D01-Cu][M01-Cu][T06-Cu][U07-Cu]

How respondents respond to the **violence and threats during previous crises** (descriptive):

Ref-#113

E-1(m,J): "Leave it to Him, it is God that will avenge and not man. And till today it is in the Berom's attitude, we don't have that attitude that a person offends you and to say that you keep malice at heart, attempt revenge, you leave to Him [[God]], because you do not know tomorrow. We Christians who accepted and live in obedience to God's Word, God's Word restrains us, it changed our attitude and minds and for this reason we are unperturbed, that's the truth." [E15-Su][T02-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#114

A-1(m,F): "When this crisis occurred, I was frequently praying with my family. And we asked the youths to keep watch at night so that evil people won't come when we are sleeping." [C08-Su][T06-Su]

Ref-#115

A-1(m,F): "Every time we advise the youths, they should not at any time go and attack the Muslims, they should just keep watch all the time." [C03-SM]

Ref-#116

C-2(m,F): "The first thing we did was to pray to God, for God to take control of the situation, to be security-conscious and to be our brothers' keepers, because God has said, arise and I will help you. You cannot just lie down, fold your hands and watch your enemy calls against you. And it's not just to sit and watch things happening." [D01-Su][D14-Su][T02-Su][T06-Su]

Ref-#117

A-2(m,F): "Like he said, to keep on praying. [...] our youths have been hunting and want to attack, but we tell them, that is not how to go about it. We stopped them and we advised them on how to be alert and to observe their security." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C12-Cu][U07-Cu]

Responsibility for the violence:**Ref-#120**

A-1(m,F): "No one who is a true believer will go and burn down someone's house, because not all the people are Christians, there are those who practice traditional religion. [...] They cannot tell who is a Christian and who is not." [C04-Cu][E16-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#121

F-1(m,J): "It's been long, because of the anger is perhaps the reason why they retaliate; they've been patient, see, you see, their hearts are not pleased, it is not their wish." [C03-Su][C07-Su][D04-Su]

Ref-#122

E-2(m,J): "A Christian is a Christian, isn't it? All of us called on the Name of God, but you cannot know which denomination go to burn the Muslims' houses." [C04-Su][C11-Su][D04-Su]

Ref-#123

F-1(m,J): "Especially other ethnic groups, Yoruba or Igbos, because many other tribes that are affected, you see them flee, mostly, you find Muslims quickly rush for the houses, that's how they began. [...] All the houses are Christians', they fled to their states and the Muslims bought them. And it seems their big men [...] give them money to buy the houses." [C05-Sm][M03-Sm]

Ref-#124

D-1(f,F): "It is because of what the Muslims are doing that has made people to react by burning their homes. They have helped themselves, if we had folded our hands, then we will not have been in the community living here today." [C04-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#125

B-1(f,F): "We have never ganged up. No Christians have made any plans to go and burn Muslim homes. They came, attacked, killed some of our people and children." [C03-Su][T02-Su]

How respondents think one should react to **threats outside immediate situations of violence** (prescriptive):

Ref-#129

E-2(f,J): "Christians that go to burn Muslim houses, ah, God said we should not pay back evil with evil. And that command is very difficult, without the Holy Spirit helping us, we cannot keep it." [E02-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#130

B-1(f,F): "The things that have happened, we will not go and attack them. Because we know God's word teaches us to love people, whether they are believers or not believers, we should love them." [C03-CM][M09-CM][U06-CM]

Ref-#133

F-1(m,J): "But if I watch CNN and sees what is happening between Israel and the Palestinians, they will never do. Just last week they killed eight people in a bus. See the reaction they give to it, the moment you touch any of them, they must fight back." [C08-Su][D02-Su]

Ref-#134

C-2(m,F): "The people of Israel, during battles and building the walls of Jerusalem, they had weapons, even while they were building. Was it not to defend themselves?"
[...]

B-2(m,F): "The Bible has shown us, he did not reject them." [C09-Sm][D01-Sm][D02-Sm][P01-Sm][P02-Sm][T01-Sm]

How the **Church can work towards solutions:**

Ref-#135

E-2(f,J): "As for them, since they lack God's fear, they sometimes attack us, but the Church cannot take weapons to fight back. Ours is to pray and fast for God to take off these challenges. In times past, such things happened, but the Early Church prayed and fasted, and God delivered them. God did not command us to retaliate. What the church can do .. is to pray." [C12-Cu][C13-Cu][M09-Cu][T06-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#136

E-2(f,J): "God will touch their hearts, yes, to see that those things they are doing is not good. Is not just one day. If we persist in prayers, God can answer immediately. Sometimes it takes time, so God can intervene and we can live together again, as if nothing has happened." [C12-Cu][T02-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#137

C-2(m,F): "The important thing the church can do is to pray and for people to be alert with security issues in the church and to advise our youths too, to be alert, coming closer to God is the most important thing. Our greatest battle is a spiritual battle." [C12-Su][T06-Su][T07-Su][U13-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#138

C-2(m,F): "What can be done is praying. There is nothing anyone can do except to pray to God." [C12-Cm][T06-Cm]

Repeating the case but with doubts about the will or abilities of higher powers:

Ref-#139

E-2(f,J): "We have been praying, but sometimes it is as if God doesn't hear our prayers, because if we pray, we still hear worse things happening again and again." [T06-Su]

Ref-#140

E-2(f,J): "Well, the problem of crisis, we Christians will have to stand firm in prayer with all seriousness. If we pray with all seriousness, God will unravel the truth of the crisis.
[...]

In this situation, we leave everything to God, because He said we should cast all our burdens on Him and He will help us. We should not attempt revenge by ourselves." [C05-Su][C12-Su][D01-Su][M09-Su][T02-Su][T03-Su][T06-Su][U11-Su][U16-Su]

C.2.3 Survey of Berom youths (Cohort 3)

C.2.3.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Setting and venue: The contact sessions took place inside the church BeU2 on 30th August 2011, and at the behest of the participants, follow-up sessions were held just outside the church on the evening of 26th June 2012, since the church was being used for choir practice (as is audible on recordings). The group was drawn from a pool of about a dozen young Berom volunteers who were members of the multi-ethnic English language congregation on the morning of 28th August 2011. This fairly large cohort was recruited, as there had not been a sufficient number of willing Berom youths at BeU1 to build a significant cohort. However, only seven youths appeared the following Tuesday. The participants obviously enjoyed the interaction, as they insisted on leaving their contact details, so I contacted them ahead of my second field visit and re-established a second round of interviews and a single focus group discussion with five of the participants at the same church the following year. While the first set of discourses was influenced by the death of a group of COCIN pastors due to a road accident and especially by the riots in Gada Bui the previous day and this had affected some of the respondents, the second set of discourses was dominated by the phenomenon of Boko Haram, which over the previous six months had become a real threat to the Jos area in general and to their church in particular.

Participants: The following table presents each of the participants with their chief characteristics.

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-3	male	BeU2Y-F1	A teacher by profession and extremely “hawkish” in his attitudes towards Muslims. In the second contact session he confesses to being involved in unprovoked killings during riots, while couching this in terms of defence. He often appears to be speaking in a group voice, so many of his personal convictions remain hidden, although he is emphatic about his relationship to Christ.
		BeU2Y plus-F	
		BeU2Y plus-J1	
B-3	male	BeU2Y-F1	A student at the University of Jos, about 25, whose father died some years back when his family still lived in Maiduguri. He reports a very close relationship to his mother. He is outspoken and indeed dominant in all discussions. He expresses differentiated, albeit often mixed and even conflicting, attitudes towards Muslims and solutions to conflict.
		BeU2Y-J2	
		BeU2Y plus-F	
C-3	male	BeU2Y-F1	An undominant and relatively quiet group member who was unable to attend the second round of contact sessions. His views could be viewed as moderate.
		BeU2Y plus-F	
D-3	female	BeU2Y-F1	A quiet respondent who does not volunteer many independent opinions. She talks about her mother telling her and her siblings to pray before going to battle. She is unable to attend the second round of contact sessions due to National Youth Service.
E-3	female	BeU2Y-F2	College student, 25 years, for the most part a vocal and dominant focus group member, although more timid in interviews. She expresses clear opinions and can put her male counterparts on the spot. She describes her origins as an average home where “we don't lack, and we don't have in excess”, essentially identifying herself as a member of a fledging-middle-class family. She exhibits a militant attitude towards Muslims in recent conflicts which is bridled only by her role and identity as a woman.
		BeU2Y-J1	
		BeU2Y plus-F	
		BeU2Y plus-J2	
F-3	male	BeU2Y-F2	Timid group member, somewhat on the periphery and at a grave colloquial disadvantage due to a stutter (which sometimes provokes sniggers). He has difficulty expressing what he means, but is empathetic in the way he encounters others, and in terms of his attitudes to violence, definitely the “dove” in the group. It is not clear what his professional orientation is, but he says that education is important to him.
		BeU2Y plus-F	
G-3	male	BeU2Y-F2	An undominant group member The second of the cohort's “hawks” who exhibits a very militant attitude towards Muslims.

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: This cohort was easily the most fruitful of all, both in terms of the trust established, and in terms of the information collected. Indeed, I was able to build considerable rapport with respondents. Here, the young assistant M-3 who was about the same age group as the respondents led the focus groups. Happily, he was unusually able in his ability to interact critically with the respondents and test the content of their utterances, and they on their part felt comfortable enough to risk open controversy. What is unique to this cohort is that some members were part of both an interview session and a focus group, thus allowing direct comparisons to be made between how someone spoke in a group setting versus a private setting. Fascinatingly, although the focus group sessions were started in Berom, it rapidly became clear that most members were more comfortable speaking in English. One member openly admitted to not understanding Berom. Accordingly, also the interviews were held in English. The cohort collectively and autonomously insisted on leaving their contact details with me in hope of a future contact session. This opened the way for a new round the following year, of course once prior confirmation having been sought that they were still happy to go ahead. It also made it possible, despite my strict anonymity policies, to carry out time-shift data comparisons. The second round was perhaps the best of all, with open controversy breaking out in the focus group and very revealing discourses on the new phenomenon of Boko Haram.

C.2.3.2 Evidence related primarily to world-views

a: session 1 30th August 2011

b: session 2 28th June 2012

On respondents' understanding of how they come to be here:

Ref-#144

C-3a(f,F): "I am in the world, God brought me to this world to serve Him, and to help people." [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#146

D-3a(f,F): "God brought me to this world. To represent Him, to be an ambassador, to bring so many that don't know God to His Glory." [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#147

B-3a(m,F): "The Bible has told us, God has made us in His own image. I think we are God-representative in the world." [E08-Cm][E09-Cm][T01-Cm]

Then turning to the discussion of what their **purpose is on earth** might be:

Ref-#148

D-3a(f,F): "By extending a hand to the needy less privileged, preaching the Word of God, telling people about the Good News, helping others, so many." [U16-Su]

Ref-#150

G-3a(m,F): "To serve God and to serve humanity." [E09-SM][T07-SM]

Ref-#152

E-3a(f,F): "We are like from January to this time the COCIN theme for this year is "Salt and Light of the World". You know we are to preserve, preserve our own generation. [...] It was because of Noah that God saved his generation so we can preserve our generation by the kind of life we live." [D03-CM][D09-CM][E15-CM][U16-CM]

But then when E-3a spoke in interview context:

Ref-#155

A-3a(m,F): "Peace .. Absolute calmness." [U07-Cu]

Of **important things in life** and **future plans**:

Ref-#158

D-3a(f,F): "I would like to remain in the goodness of God and be helping my brother's or relations that don't have." [E09-Cm][T05-Cm]

Ref-#160

F-3a(m,F): "I think, to me, education is much more important to me for now." [E09-Su]

To which G-3 adds in a pious flourish:

Ref-#162

G-3a(m,F): "God is important to me, so as far as I'm concerned, if I have God, I have life." [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

In interview context:

Ref-#165

E-3a(f,J): "In five years to come, .. I would like to be a mother, a homemaker, and I read accountancy." [E09-Su]

Ref-#168

E-3a(f,J): "The most important thing I have in my life .. is the life I have and the air I breath, and my family are very important to me, and friends, my loved as well." [E08-Cu][E09-Cu]

The company one keeps has a negative or positive influence:

Ref-#170

B-3a(m,J): "Most importantly is the lifestyle. Is their lifestyle. Once one is doing something that is not right, and you keep telling him, "this what you are doing is not right, is not proper". [...] So that person is still doing what you think that is not right and you keep telling him and he's still insisting on doing it, everybody around will look as if you too are enjoying that company. That's why you are together. So there's no option than to let it be." [E08-Su]

Areas of life in which **magic** operates, what **safety** is and the **issue of materialism**:

Magic pertaining to Muslim practices:

Ref-#189

E-3a: "There are spirit of God and there are spirit, of the demonic spirit, so that one is demonic."

[...]

"It affects almost all of them, except for those who lived all their lives from childhood to their youthful age."

M-1a: "Would it also affect Berom Muslims?"

E-3a: "Yes. It does." [E02-CM][E10-CM][E16-CM][M02-CM][M05-CM][M09-CM]

Respondents' statements on the Nature of God:

Ref-#195

C-3a(f,F): "Like it has been said, if I will add, I see the goodness of God. Goodness of God because if we are living in this world without the goodness of God, we will not be able to do anything." [T02-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#196

C-3a(m,F): "God is the One that provides us with everything; He is the One that brought us into this world. He is the only One that we will worship." [T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#197

B-3a(m,F): "I think Jesus Christ died on the cross of Calvary. [...] He still said, 'Father, forgive them, for they don't know what they are doing'. I think He will forgive them. That seventy times seven times." [C03-Cu][C13-Cu][E15-Cu][M03-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#199

C-3a(m,F): "Why is it that God destroyed the Israelites? .. On the Red Sea. Does that mean that He is not the One that created them?"

[...]

C-3a: "Why did God destroy the Egyptians? ... Does that mean He's not the One that created them?"

[...]

D-3a(f,F): "Just the way he said, God will not destroy, unless you are not living according to His Will. If you are not pleasing Him, He will destroy you."

[...]

C-3a: "Ok. So that means that it is proper for God to destroy a Muslim." [T02-Cu][T05-Cu][U14-Cu]

Ref-#200

E-3a(f,F): "God cannot be described, because He's not, er, He's not a being, so God is holy, I can't just describe God, but God is holy." [T05-Cu]

And in an interview context:

Ref-#202

E-3a(f,J): "I believe that God is everywhere. But when you come to the church, He is there with you. You know, at time when you are outside the church, you tend to behave somehow. You like to do stupid things, but when you are in the church, your conscience will be ... except if you're not a believer. So I feel I'm safe in the church." [T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Respondents' perceptions of God as agent:

Ref-#205

B-3a(m,J): “Muslims, from what the Bible told us, that we, ours, are are the son of, Abraham. And those Muslims too, they are the son of Abraham, so we have the same lineage.” [D08-Cu][M06-Cu][M09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#206

F-3a(m,F): “He has a forgiving spirit so to me, I think He's going to forgive them, allowing them to stay there.” [D17-Cu][M09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#207

E-3a(f,F): “So God will definite – Jesus is – is definitely going to protect. He has been protecting us, and He will surely do it. So I feel Jesus will protect me, they are coming. God can even, in fact, confuse them, can make them fight themselves, can make them turn back.” [C03-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu]

Ref-#208

A-3b(m,F): “Look, we have all Christians having been destroyed around this place long before now. Where I think that God has been on our side and God has been faithful to us. [...] They have every - :every: ammunition on ground, to fight us, to eliminate us. But it was Christ that was working that help us to even :overcome: their strength.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][D12-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu]

And on His attitude to Muslims:

Ref-#209

E-3a(f,F): “God loves everybody, you know, even when you are doing the wrong thing. He still really loves you, just that He's not happy. He loves you irrespective of whether you're a Muslim or a Christian, as far as you believed on Him, and you confessed, He will, He loves you. Jesus loves everybody.” [C03-Cu][T03-Cu][U06-Cu]

How respondents evaluate their relationship with God:

E-3 is clearly most open about her relationship with God, although it must be said that she has the most one-to-one interview time permitting this.

Ref-#213

E-3a:(f,J) “Yes, I cherish Psalms 121 verse 1 to the end. He says, I'll lift up my eyes to the hills, whence my help come? My help comes from the Lord? [...] Sometimes, if when

things are not even moving the way I want, I still love it, because the Word says, God will protect me.” [D03-Su][T01-Su][T07-Su]

On protection against enemy:

Ref-#218

G-3a(m,F): “He has the Power. He can blow confusion among them and they can do, can go back. He can do .. things we cannot imagine.” [T02-Cu]

Ref-#221

E-3a(f,J): “Now you cannot just fold your arm like this, or if they come and you fold your hand and you don't kill the person, what will you tell God? That you cannot protect yourself?” [C03-Cu][T02-Cu]

10 months later similar things are being said:

Ref-#222

G-3b(m,F): “The most important thing in my life now is the situation that we are in now, God it's the most important thing.” [D14-Su][T02-Su][T07-Su][U10-Su]

Ref-#226

E-3b(f,F): “Like, even the COCIN Church, COCIN in general. The theme for the year is “Be doers of the Word”. [...] If we obey Him, there is nothing, there is no battle that He will not fight for us. It is just that we, the Christians, are also not too faithful to God. [...] During the times of Noah, Noah was the only righteous man, but God preserved his generation.” [C12-Cu][D01-Cu][D03-Cu][D12-Cu][E06-Cu][P01-Cu][T01-Cu][T02-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#228

E-3b(f,J): “Like in the days of Joshaphat, the choristers, the youth and their enemies began to fight themselves. So if we are in tune with God, God will made them to fight themselves, and the there will not be peace with them.” [D03-Su][D12-Su][T02-Su]

Respondents' perceptions of threats in which Muslims represent a major source of fear for many youths:

Ref-#232

A-3a(m,F): “To be sincere, I am afraid of the Muslims, the sword people. [...] It is not everywhere that you will enter and come out safe.” [C10-Su][M04-Su][M09-Su]

Ref-#234

F-3a(m,F): “Just, I don't think there is someone to going to make me fear.” [C10-Cm]

Ref-#243

F-3b(m,F): "Feeling scared, I feel well before going to church." [U10-Cu][U13-Cu]

Ref-#244

A-3b(m,F): "I'm really scared going to church these days. Why? Because churches are the target areas for our enemies." [U10-Cu][U13-Cu]

Then E-3 after her two male colleagues have spoken:

Ref-#245

E-3b(f,F): "See as myself, I don't feel scared."

[...]

"I don't .. have any fear coming to church." [U10-Cm][U13-Cm]

So B-3 toughens up:

Ref-#246

B-3b(m,F): "In my own case I don't feel I get scared going to church, because I think of I, I look at it from the general perspective." [T06-Cm][T07-Cm][U10-Cm][U13-Cm]

However in the one-to-one interview, E-3 is no longer quite as tough:

Ref-#247

E-3b(f,J): "Well, I'm scared, because the rate as which violence is growing. I'm scared, I, arr, sometimes I feel, do God exist? [...] He is the One who has been protecting us, but the rate at which it is growing..." [E05-Su][T07-Su][U01-Su][U03-Su]

References to **eschatological thinking**:

Ref-#252

B-3a(m,F): "Time will come that :we too: those that refuse to harken to the voice of God will be punished. So I think that God has given them that grace. He has talked to them, given them chance to change their way. They refused. He just wants to show that." [M02-Cu][T02-Cu][T07-Cu][U14-Cu]

Ref-#253

G-3b(m,F): "As I say, because of the situation that we are in now. The way I see it, the world is going to end, so the best thing to happen is like this." [E02-Su][M09-Su][T03-Su]

Meanwhile: B-3 stays true to his thinking of 10 months earlier, while, E-3 conflates an eschatological expectation with perceived Muslim miscreance:

Ref-#254

B-3b(m,F): “Well, the perishing [[of Muslims]] will not be now. .. When Jesus comes.=”

E-3b: “When Jesus comes.”

B-3b: “=It will not be now. ((laughs))

E-3b(f,F): “And they- and they are fighting for the- for the world. They want to be occupying the world.” [C12-Cu][D10-Cu][E01-Cu][E02-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu][T06-Cu]

C.2.3.3 Evidence related primarily to identities

The Berom youths' **self-understanding**:

Likening of one's situation to that of the Israelites (children of God):

Ref-#255

A-3a(m,F): “I say the wages of sin is death. So, the Egyptians, they were tormenting the children of God Himself, which He called them His own, the Israelite. So they were tormenting them. He showed them so many miracles. They did not believe Him. And I believe God has performed so many miracles in Plateau in which the Muslims was to know.” [D03-Cu][U14-Cu]

Here we have a clear likening of Christians to the Children of Israel.

The Christian identity is reflected in E-3's background and friendships:

Ref-#259

E-3a(f,J): “I come from an average home. We don't lack, and we don't have in excess. And most of my friends are like that.” [E15-Su]

Ref-#260

E-3a(f,J): “I don't have Muslim friends. I don't even keep them, because my perception about life. [...] But I have friends from other denominations like COCIN, ECWA, Catholic, Anglican, Baptist and the rest.” [E08-Su][E15-Su][M09-Su]

Meanwhile, B-3 is more open, but also more utilitarian in the way he enters into friendships, but when prompted, B-3 sees himself as a Christian ... and with a little hesitation, as a Berom too.

Ref-#264

B-3a(m,J): "I a :Christian:. I am Berom. I think I'm attached to those two things." [E15-Cu]

Elsewhere he extrapolates his own ethos to Beroms in general, in this case without referential prompting:

Ref-#265

B-3a(m,J): "I think from the onset the Beroms are open-minded, they are liberal, they didn't take anybody in their heart." [C03-Su][C05-Su][C07-Su][D09-Su][E15-Su]

For the most part **"The Other" in general** is equated to Muslims:

Ref-#270

M-3a: "When you said "Muslims", who are Muslims?" [...]

E-3a(f,F): "Muslim are fellow brothers and sisters from Abraham's descendants, *ko*?" [...]

E-3a: "And born of ="

G-3a(m,F) "Ishmael"

E-3a " = the Ishmael, born of Hagar, born of Ishmael, *ko*? ="

G-3a: "yah"

F-3a(m,F): "From a different religion ="

E-3a: " = From a different clan ="

F-3a: " = and religion"

E-3a: " = and different religion ="

F-3a: "religion"

E-3a: "= and different perspective about life."

M-3a: "Ok. What kind of religion?"

G-3a: "Islamic religion!" [D03-Cm][D08-Cm][M09-Cm]

Both E-3 and B-3 repeat the concept of Muslims as Ishmael's descendants in the one-to-one interviews, although they did not have any direct contact with one another in the focus groups:

Ref-#271

E-3a(f,J): "I think they are, well they are just our fellow brother and sisters. But from different background, so-to-say, because they're from the Ishmaelites, while we're from the Isaacs and Abraham. We are-we are all Abraham's children, descendants, but they are from the Ishmaelites, while we are Isaac's descendants. " [D08-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#272

B-3a(m,J): "I think they should keep on making all its members to understand that it's not everybody that is called a Muslim that is bad. We all, are sons of, Abraham and Moses. We come from the same lineage." [C12-Su][D03-Su][D08-Su]

This prompts a query on the ethnic identity of Muslims:

Ref-#273

B-3a(m,J): "Very independent of tribal belonging. There are some, I don't even know where they come from. Muslims, and they're my friends."

[...][...]

B-3a: "The first time I could hear a Berom Muslim, that I heard, it's on radio, and it was last week, that a particular group, Berom Muslim visit the Bwang Gwam [[Berom chief]] of Jos. [...] I keep on wondering, :how: will this one be relating with other Christian Berom." [D08-Cu][M02-Cu][M03-Cu]

Within further conversations, there are some differentiated, although cautious evaluations of Muslims:

Ref-#274

B-3a(m,J): "Not all Muslims. That's why I say, 'there are Muslims that are good'. There are some, that are bad. These are people you can't predict. Except, you stay with them and understand some of them." [M09-Cu]

Ref-#276

E-3a(f,J): "It's like there are different types, because it's like there are people who don't even believe in violence. But their logo, I don't know, they call them Izala and Arika, the Muslims. [...] There are ones, their logo, you see a sword on it, and there are the other ones: you see a moon and star on it. [...] But the ones with the sword, they can kill." [D03-Cu][M02-Cu][M04-Cu][M09-Cu][T01-Cu]

Ref-#277

B-3a(m,J): "There are some I call good Muslims, and there are some I called the violent Muslims. And there is a way I generalise them." [M09-Cu]

And there were respondents who find nothing in Muslims other than evil and violence:

Ref-#278

A-3a(m,F): "And the Muslim per se, they are evil."

Ref-#279

G-3a(m,F): “Even their logo, [...] I don't like it. It's a knife.”[M04-Sm]

Why Muslims are not peaceful:

Ref-#280

E-3a(f,J): “They said their religion is for peace, but they don't practice the peace.”
[...]

“Maybe probably because of their belief, their values and culture is what makes them, you know, they always want to dominate, they want to be leaders by force. [...] A typical Muslim man or a Hausa man will always want to be in charge.” [M01-Su][M09-Su][T07-Su][U07-Su][U13-Su]

Ten months later, evaluations are by no means more charitable:

Ref-#281

A-3b(m,J): “I don't want to call it “different types”, I say. I want to say that among the Muslim brothers there are ones that are good and others that are evil.”
[...]

“You cannot distinguish who is good and who is bad.” [E02-Cu][M09-Cu]

On Muslims as neighbours:

Ref-#283

D-3a(f,F): “One has to be careful. If you are not careful, you might (fall a victim) especially now that they have all these bomb blasts, all these things.” [M01-Cm]

And on differences between Christians and Muslims:

Ref-#285

E-3a(f,F): “I believe our things are different. They believe on Mohammed while we believe on Jesus Christ, so our belief and theirs is different.” [M02-CM][M03-CM][M09-CM]

Ref-#286

B-3a(m,J): “I never think, I will change my religion, or to be a Muslim, they're violent attitude.” [M02-Cu][M09-Cu]

[...][...]

B-3a: “It's what they're taught by the Prophet. And what baffles me most, is even their logo. Their logo, it's with sword.” [M04-Cu][M06-Cu][M09-Cu]

Concerning opinions on the goals and actions of Muslims, even the more differentiated respondents do not suspect any good intentions:

Ref-#287

B-3a(m,F): "What I saw, the Muslims are doing that is really wrong. They are forcing people on to their religion, on their own tradition. And they believe in this thing called jihad. And this jihad is fighting for their religion. Either you live or you die. Or you follow their religion. [...] And if you look at it, they have a logo that ought to do with sword. [...] They want to force us to follow their religion." [M04-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#288

E-3a(f,J): "You know, Muslims, there is this additional thing that they said, em, that you are being used to (a fowl), does not stop you from killing him. - Killing the fowl.

[...]

like in my area I have, em, we have neighbours, Muslim neighbours, but then, they're kind of like, you can't just predict them, they can do and undo.

[...][...]

E-3a: "They can destroy you .. in a twinkle of an eye."

[...][...]

E-3a: "Maybe it's their religion." [M09-Cu]

Ref-#289

B-3a(m,F): "This is the land of Berom. They give them land to stay, to rent, place to market, but in long run, they are looking for them to rule, those that give them that land." [D08-SM][D09-SM]

Ref-#290

B-3a(m,J): "I know that Muslims are people who believe in prophet Mohammed, and that's it. And they fought those that are not following their religion, to follow it by force." [M09-Cu]

The image of **"The Other" in conflict situations** is rather more pluralistic in terminology, although still Muslim in essence:

On Muslims:

Ref-#295

B-3b(m,F): "If you look at all the peace treaties and most Muslims that are talking, they are denouncing Boko Haram."

A-3b(m,F): "Which is a lie."

E-3b(f,F): "They do. There are mallams-"

B-3b: "They are denouncing Boko Haram."

E-3b: "Yes. There are Mallams that were killed."

B-3b: "It's not all mosques that are supporting Boko Haram."

E-3b: "Because they are telling them the truth." [C13-Cm][D05-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm][P03-Cm][U05-Cm]

Ref-#296

G-3b(m,F): "You see, this Boko Haram, it's a name. They are just using it for a name. They can just cover up. [M: mmh] Really, they are Muslims that are Boko Haram "

A-3b(m,F): "Cover up."

G-3b: "Just cover up."

A-3b: "Over their mess."

G-3b: "Over their mess." [C13-Sm][D05-Sm][M07-Sm][M09-Sm][M10-Sm]

Ref-#297

M-1b: "So are Boko Haram religious or not?"

G-3b(m,F): "They are religious!"

M-1b: "They are religious?"

G-3b: "I have said it-."

B-3b: "I have said it."

G-3b: "It has been proven-."

B-3b: "It has been proven."

G-3b: "They have- they are fighting Jihad. They have said it."

A-3b(m,F): "They are fighting for a Muslim state."

[...]

A-3b: "They are fighting for a more Islamic state in Nigeria." [C04-Cm][C10-Cm][M07-Cm][M10-Cm]

[...][...]

B-3b: "They have been saying that they have been fighting jihad, and that is the basis we know. And if they are claiming that they never told the president what to do, or what not to do, [M: mmh] IF they are fighting the president, if there is social and economical problem, they should go and bomb the Aso Rock [[Presidential villa in Abuja]] why the church? [C02-Cm][C04-Cm][C10-Cm][M07-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm]

Ref-#298

B-3b(m,F): "In my own opinion, Boko Haram are terrorist group. And they are mostly Muslims. [...] There still good Muslims, still clean Muslims. There are some that are innocent.

[...]

A-3b(m,F): "But from all from all from all the> people that are Muslim, I don't know whether it's true or not, but it is said that they believe that the Qu'ran encourages jihad." [C13-Cm][M05-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm]

[...]

G-3b(m,F): "If you go to their history, the history of Muslims, they're after jihad, and everywhere they are, wherever there is Muslims, they want to be on top. [...] They will kill people, because that is their religion, if you trace back their history, they are just after jihad." [C13-Cm][M07-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm]

Ref-#299

F-3b(m,F): "I don't think the Muslim man to be the Boko Haram, sect, terrorist group. Because the terrorists, the Boko Haram sect have their own principles and their own religion." [D05-Pu][M02-Pu][M07-Pu][M09-Pu]

Ref-#300

A-3b(m,J): "They develop a kind of, how do I say, rebel group, and which they used it to destroy places of worships, especially if they are Christian.[M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

Ref-#301

G-3b(m,F): "What is Boko?"

F-3b(m,F): "Education."

[...]

G-3b(m,F): "In their mosque, is there no educated people?"

[...]

A-3b(m,F): "There are educated people too."

[...]

F-3b: "The majority of them are educated"

G-3b: "Then why not go to the mosque and burn- and bomb the mosque because they are educated?"

E-3b(f,F): "They want to eliminate Christianity."

[...]

E-3b: "They want to Islamise us. They say in the next generation they don't want to see a Christian existing in Nigeria." [M07-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm][P02-Cm]

On the permeability of boundaries between "The Other" and "Us":

On discussion of interreligious marriage:

Ref-#306

B-3b(m,F): "We should not attack the innocent one. When we make them understand, bring them close, I think that, those we can have room to share the Gospel to those who refuse to understand." [C08-Cu][E04-Cu][M01-Cu]

On conversion of Muslims to Christianity. (Why convert?)

Ref-#307

B-3b(m,F): "I have, these two phones. {holds up his two mobile phones} This is the only phone I know {holds up old phone}. This is the only phone I know, opportuned to touch. I never know that I can use my phone to browse. [...] When this phone comes up {holds up new phone}, I see those facilities. [...] So I felt, they have seen the light, the truth, the peacefulness of being a Christian. They've seen the distress they've been going through of being a Muslim." [E07-Cu][E15-Cu][M02-Cu][U07-Cu][U15-Cu]

Yet for the most part conversion is invoked by God without Christian behaviour as agency:

Ref-#308

A-3b(m,J): "They should have an encounter with God, just as Paul, Saul had with Him, when he was going to Damascus." [C12-Su][D03-Su][M01-Su][T02-Su][T04-Su][T067Su][T02-Su]

Ref-#309

M-1b: "Supposing [...] Christians had visited his house, burnt it and killed his wife, why should he still want to turn to Christianity? [...]"

A-3b(m,J): “That really would be difficult for him. That's why except he have an encounter with God Himself, or no human can beseech him and preach Christ to him. [...]”

M-1b: “[...] Supposing he encounters God, he says, 'ok, it's maybe right that I should become a Christian', and he comes to church, and he wonders, 'these are the people who attacked me', how can he overcome this-this feeling? ”

A-3b: “He can overcome the feeling by acknowledging the fact that they attacked him when he was not yet born again, when he did not yet have an encounter with Christ. He might have a concrete reason to know that those people were not wicked then.” [M01-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][T04-Cu][T07-Cu]

On Christian love for Muslims:

Ref-#310

E-3b(f,F): “This still, we-we show them love. By buying things from them in the market. [...] In organisations now, you will discover that maybe in a group of .ten maybe you will find just a single Muslim, and they still show him that love. But if it were a Christian that is among them, I doubt if he'll still be there.” [C13-Cm][D05-Cm][E04-Cm][M03-Cm][U06-Cm]

Exploring the relationship between ethnicity and religion:

Of Yoruba Muslims:

Ref-#315

E-3a(f,J): “They are different because of their culture and diff- their values as well. You know that when civilisation came to Nigeria, the Yorubas got it first, before all others.” [M05-Cu][M09-Cu]

Of Berom Muslims:

Ref-#316

E-3a(f,J): “Not giving them a spirit. :All: Muslims are the same. You understand?Even the Beroms, the Berom Muslims, those ones can be-, they are predictable. You can predict them.” [D08-Cu][M09-Cu]

Of Hausa Muslims:

Ref-#317

E-3a(f,J): “Hausa who are Christians? We don't have problem. Christianity, that really (jump) alone, it gives you unusual understanding. It gives you an edge over others. So we're unique, we flow with each other.” [D08-CM]

Ref-#318

E-3a(f,J): "I know that there are real Muslims, there are Hausa Muslims, who don't have a dialect. [...] But if you find a typical Hausa man, that it the Bayajida's descendants, those ones, it is the religion of passion.
 [...] [...]

E-3a: "The ones in the West are different from the ones in the in the the North." " [C13-Su][M09-Su

Of Fulanis:

Ref-#319

E-3a(f,F): "That the Muslim Fulanis were saying, the Berom people stoles their cows. So they wanted then to attack them, and afterwards, [...] the fellow Fulani men went and stole the cows of their fellow Fulani." [D08-Cm][D09-Cm]

Ref-#320

E-3b(f,F): "My village, just the last two weeks, a cousin of mine was killed by Fulani herdsman." [C04-Cu][C08-Cu][C13-Cu][D05-Cu][M03-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#321

E-3b(m,J): "In my village I can still remember the week by when they said Fulani came. They gave them land. They built houses for them. [...] They [[Fulanis]] are now the ones :killing: our own people." [C03-Cu][C05-Cu][M08-Cu][P03-Cu]

Ref-#322

E-3b(f,F): "They want to collect the land from us. And if they are able to succeed, they will. [...] Right from the word go, it's like they have it at heart. We have a very vast land there, and maybe they want to capture the land. So that's the fight"

M-1b: "So it's about land."

E-3b: "No, it's also about being religious. But yet, they want to capture the land as well." [C03-Cu][C05-Cu][M08-Cu]

C.2.3.4 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

Things worth sacrificing one's life for:

Ref-#335

E-3a(f,F): "If I will preserve my generation, if I will save others, I will give up my life. [...] Many have fought so many battles to save their generation, so I should not act different." [D08-Cm][D09-Cm][U12-Cm][U16-Cm]

How respondents experienced and took part in the last crises:

Ref-#337

F-3a(m,F): "What happened, they tried, they killed our, fellow Christians and they do that, we tried to defend ourselves, so, I tried to defend myself, my family and my community." [C03-Su][C13-Su]

Ref-#339

D-3(f,F): "Because during January, if they're fighting, I always sit inside, but last year I said, 'let me go out', even I will die, let me die." [E01-Sm][T07-Sm][U16-Sm]

Ref-#340

F-3a(m,F): "Yeh, sure I did. [...] But recently sure, the recent crisis, like the last year. I was not a participant."

M-3a: "Ok"

G-3a(m,F): "He can I say, we are the victims, sir. I think I was in Jos , as 2001. [...] so the thing was horrible, was, kai! was bad."

M-3a: "[...] Was that a good response or a bad one as a Christian?"

F-3a: "To me, it's ok, because-"

G-3a: "You can't want them to come and kill us-"

F-3a: "And the Bible says, you have to protect yourself."

G-3a: "And they were coming to this church, to come and destroy this church." [C03-Sm][C11-Sm][C13-Sm][D03-Sm]

Ref-#341

E-3a(f,J): "This areas was just total blackout. We have Muslim neighbours around us. So the people, the youths that came from this side, they were coming that they should show them the houses of the Muslim, because already the Muslims were destroying Christian home elsewhere in Bukuru. And some churches had been razed with fire. So they came that we should show them Muslims' homes here. We were just standing there, if I had a weapon, sure I will help. Because I cannot just sit down and watch what they were doing." [C08-Su][C09-Su][C11-Su][C13-Su]

Ref-#342

B-3a(m,J): "We have security agent and some are calling me from town, how is the situation here, like, because they know I am here. So, I was looking at it, trying to give them explanation, we need more [...] security agent, which they did [...] and they brought things to calm. [...] I believe the soldiers really need somebody to talk to, to give them direction and what to do and not what to do. And give them list of what really happened. I took a bold step, came out on the road, bodily, the gun is facing me, I don't care. Maybe it will shoot me. I just become my mind, that if I'm dead, I'm dead. But I believe that this is for me to know the inside. I walked up to the soldier and gave them explanation." [C03-Su][C08-Su][C13-Su][E15-Su][U13-Su]

And some accounts 10 months later:

Ref-#346

G-3b(m,F): "It was horrible, seriously. Because we were just in the house, and my father came and told me that they had started fighting. I was surprised, the fighting as in how, and then before you know it, small-small children, they sent small-small children, they started cutting people's vegetables foodstuff in the market, so, we now chase them, we

now chase them, and when we were chasing them, they now sent their big ones and their elder ones start chasing us. Then our brothers, our elders too came, and that's how it started. And before we knew it they were in their mosque, so after they finished from mosque, before you see it, one, two seconds, everywhere is on fire.” [C08-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#347

A-3b(m,F): “It was a bad experience. To see people being killed, slaughtered like chickens, [...] you fight or you run for your dear life.” [C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][...][...]

B-3(m,F) “Some of these people you are killing, they are so innocent that they know nothing about it. I don't call that as though I go to kill. I am defending myself. [...] And everybody running and confused. I told my friend, what do we do now? A Muslim took out his bike and decided to help us out. He helped.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#348

F-3b(m,F): “The innocent ones, while some which they have weapons and try to protect their lives by fighting the Christians who also were killed. But I don't think that it is necessary for killing the innocent ones.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#349

E-3b(f,F): “Though at times I'm being moved, because anyhow, there are innocent ones among them. But, but, nowadays I don't feel bad if there are Muslims being killed.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C12-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#350

M-1b: “So you actually yourself were involved in raiding houses, killing people?”

A-3b(m,J): “Really, I was involved.”

[...]

A-3b: “Actually, I was .. very excited. Or am excited whenever I found myself destroying properties that belongs to the Muslim fellows.”

[...]

A-3b: “Very happy because I knew that if they come across mine, they would destroy something, they would destroy my own property.”

[...]

A-3b: “The plain truth is that .. both <old>, young, ... and to some extent women have been killed.”

[...][...]

A-3b: “King David was one of the kings that fought most of the battles, because the (higher) battle in the Bible, that even before he went to the battlefield he asked of God's guidance first. [...] We cannot fold our hands and say that Christ will fight the battle for us. Because [...] God has given us the power. We are to protect, defend ourself. [...] I cannot just fold my hands and watch the enemy, using machete, killing me, because I have Jesus.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][E03-Cu][M03-Cu]

How one should respond to **security threats**:

Ref-#352

A-3b(m,F): “How Christians can defend is to attack back.”

[...]

“We attack mosques as well. As much as they attack churches, we attack mosques. [...] Just like Israel and Gaza.

[...]

M-1b: “So where would this lead us, where would this lead us, if, if we just attack mosques .. as Christians?”

A-3b: “It will lead us to a state of :chaos:”

M-1b: “Uh-huh. Is that what we want?”

A-3b: “Actually, that's what they want.” [C02-Cu][C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C12-Cu][C13-Cu][D01-Cu][D02-Cu][D03-Cu][D05-Cu][M01-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#355

A-3b(m,F): “Assuming they [[Boko Haram]] had their ways, they could have bombed this church. Because they are into bombing churches anyhow. Because most churches are not safe by them. They are hunting churches just the way a hunter hunts in the bush.” [C10-Cu][D05-Cu][D13-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

Respondents' **analysis of causes** of the crisis:

Ref-#356

B-3a(m,J): “It's out of anger. They want to revenge, what was did to their own fellow, and that's just it.” [C03-Cu][E03-Cu][U11-Cu]

The respondents' **defence and apology of Christian actions**:

Ref-#360

B-3a(m,F): “From my own perspective, this is a question I've asked one thousand and what times again .. And I don't know if God will really really forgive us. God said we should forgive seventy times seven times.” [C03-Su][C04-Su][C13-Su][E15-Su][M03-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#361

E-3a(f,J): “Though the Bible say that vengeance is of the Lord. As I earlier said, we can't fold our arms and watch them kill our youths and burn our home.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][D04-Cu][T01-Cu][T02-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#362

E-3a(f,F): “We don't attack, we only defend.” [C03-CM][E15-CM]

Ref-#363

M-3a: “Would it be good under any circumstance to attack them?”

F-3a(m,F): “Well, our religion, it not teach us to do that. So you're not supposed to do that. [...] when it comes, we're supposed t-to defend ourselves”

[...]

G-3a(m,F): “What I want to say, er, but our Bible teaches to retaliate (or to protect), but as .. maybe .. as the crisis break out we have to defend ourselves, can't just stop our worshipping to come and kill us just like that =”

[...]

G-3a: “ = I know, how. We have to do something.” [C03-Cm][D05-Cm][T01-Cm]

Ref-#364

A-3a(m,F): "Bible let us understand that vengeance is for the Lord, not for man. And I think I want to recommend the Christians in Plateau for that. Because, as my brother here has said earlier, the truth is, they have been :attacking:, we have been defending." [C03-Su][M01-Su][M03-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#365

A-3b(m,F): "It's better that we defend."

M-1b: "Yes, it's better you defend, but do you know if you are actually attacking or do you know if you are actually defending?"

[...]

A-3b: "I'm defending."

M-1b: "You're always defending."

A-3b: "°Yes." [C03-Cu][C13-Cu]

Ref-#366

B-3(m,F)b: "I limit defence, when they approach you, and you protect yourself from being killed or harmed by killing them. I see that as an- as a defence. [...] So I limit attack as killing them when nothing is happening, and defence, as defending yourself from being killed by killing them." [C03-Cu][C13-Cu][D05-Cu][M01-Cu][T01-Cu]

Ref-#367

G-3b(m,F): "I've never seen a situation where Christians started fighting." [C03-Cm][C10-Cm][C11-Cm][M09-Cm]

Ref-#368

B-3b(m,F): "Not that an eye for an eye, I don't want to attack anymore, no matter what you do to me today. But if anybody come around the church, want to do anything in the church, I will KILL HIM!" [C03-Cm][C12-Cm][C13-Cm][D05-Cm][M01-Cm][U13-Cm]

Ref-#370

E-3b(f,J): "It's like in Jos I have not heard, I have not seen Christians who go to attack the Muslims. It's always the other way round." [C03-Cm][C05-Cm][M08-Cm]

On how **Jesus/God would/does respond:**

Ref-#371

A-3a(m,F): "They have the Israelites to fight battles. Sometimes, He performed miracles. [...] I know Jesus Christ can perform miracles. [...] He might decide to :destroy: them as He did He helped the Israelites. Go and give you power of them. They are destroyed. During the time of Gideon, they even fought themselves and killed themselves." [D12-Cu]

Ref-#372

A-3a(m,F): "Because of the evil, that shows that Jesus Christ Himself was :angry: with us. That is why He even planned, He said He would destroy the world with fire. [...] In the period based of the New Testament, [...] He destroyed people. He destroyed people as well. Because if you harden your heart, God can destroy you." [D12-Su][T03-Su]

Ref-#375

G-3a(m,F): “He has been protecting us even in the recent crisis, even in the recent crisis 2008. Actually, you saw the hand of God, because the kind of weapon these people are using. What are we to do, we don't weep, it's only stones and ticks. And actually, people has, I believe if God will definitely protect us. If they are coming that Jesus Christ is there to protect us. If He means to destroy the people, He will destroy them, but I know He will look for a solution not to destroy them, because He know them too.” [C03-Cu] [D07-Cu][D12-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu]

Proposed action **towards a solution** (prescriptive):

Ref-#380

A-3b(m,J): “The Church needs to pray to end the violence. That is the major measure the Church needs to do, is prayers.” [C12-Cu][T06-Cu]

The **church's role towards a solution**:

Ref-#392

B-3b(m,F): “There will be never, there will never be peace without acting peace. If they are calling for peace, they should practice peace and there will be peace. I know Christians are peacemakers, because if you are not peacemakers, no Muslim can preach in Plateau State.” [C03-Su][C05-Su][D04-Su][E04-Su][E15-Su][U07-Su]

C.2.4 Survey of Tarok seniors (Cohorts 4 & 5)

C.2.4.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Setting and venue: The contact sessions took place in two rural churches, TaR1 and Ta2, about 5 km apart along the road between Langtang and Wase in southern Plateau State. Being in the heart of rural Tarokland, the two congregations were almost homogeneously Tarok. At TaR1, members were drawn randomly from a large section of the congregation which was drummed up by the pastor on the afternoon of 3rd September 2010. The following day at TaR2, volunteers were picked randomly from the congregation attending the service. In both cases, the contact sessions were held outside the churches immediately after recruitment, along with the youth Tarok respondents, since the acoustics

were better than inside. The discourses were still influenced by the recent road accident deaths of a group of pastors announced in most COCIN churches.

Participants: The following table presents each of the participants with their main characteristics.

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-4	female	TaR1S-F	Despite being the only female in the group, she holds her own against the men, often being the first to respond. However, none of her opinions stand out against the rest.
B-4	male	TaR1S-J	Self-identifies as a first-generation Christian, who is nevertheless a proud Tarok and attributes considerable power to traditional religion.
C-4	male	TaR1S-F	Blends into the group with his opinions and what he says about himself to the point of losing all profile. Seldom to speak first after a question, he aligns himself fully with the group.
D-4	male	TaR1S-F	Describes himself as an Angas man, who nevertheless speaks Tarok and seems to be fully integrated. His opinions are in line with the rest. Going by what he says, he was directly involved in battles which result in the deaths of Muslims.
E-4	male	TaR1S-F	Perhaps the most colourful of the group who insists on speaking mostly in English. He stands out with some rather deviating opinions and adventurous theological positions. While being tolerated by the group, he does not appear to be accepted. He appears to be under the influence of alcohol.
D-5	female	TaR2S-J	Senior school teacher who prefers to speak Tarok during her interview, but understands all utterances in English.

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: A notable degree of trust was established thanks to the research assistants who hailed from the area. I myself enjoyed a similar degree of trust due to my status as a former missionary. Here it was easy to recruit the necessary number of respondents for each cohort. One assistant (M-4) moderated the first

focus group while the other translated the simultaneous interview (M-5). They swapped their roles the following day. The first focus group was slightly unruly thanks to a drunken member (E-4). Unfortunately, the second focus group session failed due to M-4 switching off the recording equipment to cut out the noise of a passing motorbike, but failing to switch it on again.

C.2.4.2 Evidence related primarily to world-views

Themes with a **high priority** in life:

Ref-#398

A-4(f,F): "Christianity is important. [...] Because I got life that God suffered and gave because of me." [D14-Sm][T07-Sm]

Ref-#399

C-4(m,F): "He died because of my sin, that's why Christianity is more than anything to me in this world." [T03-Cm][T07-Cm][U14-Cm]

"Christianity" is given prominence rather than God. It is as if the religious system as such somehow "works" better than it being intricately based on a relationship with God.

Ref-#400

D-4(m,F): "Then it is God who will bring peace more than any thing". [D14-Cm][T02-Cm][T07-Cm][U07-Cm]

Ref-#404

B-4(m,J): "Need chieftom and LGA [as freedom]." [P03-Su][U02-Su]

Ref-#405

B-4(m,J): "The greatest thing is that we Tarok people that are here as slaves to Muslims." [C13-SM][E04-SM]

On the subject of **life-after-death**, there are traditional comparisons with the Christian view:

Ref-#413

A-4(f,F): "Unlike the traditionals who may resurface as a masquerade, the Christian will „stay with Jesus at that fine house that He has prepared." [D16-CM] [E13-CM][E16-CM]

On the respondents' understanding of the **Nature and Agency of God:**

Ref-#415

D-4(m,F): "God created man; so what is good in the life of a human being is to live in peace. Besides living in peace, you will follow God. Then it is that God who will bring peace more than any other thing." [D14-Sm][T02-Sm][T07-Sm][U07-Sm]

Ref-#416

D-5(f,J): "God created me because I should worship Him, serve Him, to do His work through serving as the light of the world." [E09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#417

E-4(m,F): "God made the universe and put a human being there to be His servant and worship Him." [D03-Sm][D10-Sm][D14-Sm][T04-Sm][T07-Sm]

And a little later:

Ref-#418

E-4(m,F): "Fear God. Fear God. Fear God. So to me as a human being, you only respect a human and fear God, because God can do and can do now. So you have to give Him due respect, I mean due fear with the Ten Commandments." [D14-Cu][P01-Cu][P04-Cu][T07-Cu]

Attitudes towards **other religious systems:**

Ref-#422

C-4(m,F): "And for those who are unbelievers in Christ, they believe that their belief showed them, they'll become a different thing entirely, which is called masquerade in Tarok, 'Orim'." [D08-CM][D16-CM][E13-CM][E16-CM][T04-CM]

Traditional religion is still very much seen as the ways of the forefathers:

Ref-#424

B-4(m,J): "The missionary came in and we have now understood, and we are preaching the Gospel to them little by little. They are repenting, that thing is going to die." [D17-SM][E15-SM][E16-SM][T04-SM]

But the same respondent does nevertheless attribute power to the same belief system, albeit with signs of religious relativism:

Ref-#425

B-4(m,J): “To those who believe? It has power to those who are using it, I saw with strength there. But to us, we can say that it doesn't have that power, but they, because of the fact that when you go contrary to anything there, then you can't go unpunished. So they depend on that power.” [D16-Cu][E16-Cu]

Throughout the contact sessions the perceived **threats** voiced during discussion consistently concern Muslims. Although never titled as “threats”, they nevertheless surface either as traumatic accounts, or as a force intent on disrupting the good life:

Ref-#426

B-4(m,J): “A Muslim has his own different religion, and he makes me by force to follow, and I said I won't follow and that is why he is persecuting, because I didn't follow his way. This is where I'm disturbed.” [C01-Cu][C08-Cu][E04-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][U03-Cu]

Not many references arise which would permit us to isolate the agency of evil in respondents' thinking. Mostly, evil arises in description and moral judgement of the behaviour of other groups, be they tribes or Muslims. Satan as an agency of evil does figure:

Ref-#427

A-4(f,F): “A man will die and if you are Christian, you will go on the way, you will go and get everlasting life, but he who is a non-Christian will go and be a servant to the satan.” [D16-SM][E02-SM][E13-SM]

Ref-#428

D-5(f,J): “Evil things, just as the Bible says to us, it says that keeping malice is not good, gossiping is not good, stealing is not good, as murdering is not good. Give due respect to your parents.” [E02-SM][U14-SM][U16-SM]

But then again, the force of evil does become evident in opponents:

Ref-#430

C-4(m,F): "Like Muslims too, they do fear me so, because their fear is that I have Jesus inside me, so all their crony ways that they will do pertaining me, maybe to do me a certain evil, then when they see me, they'll become afraid and shake." [M09-Cu][T03-Cu][U03-Cu]

Note: The term "fear" in the Tarok is ambiguous with the meaning "respect".

C.2.4.3 Evidence related primarily to identities

On the question of one's self-understanding:

A notion of the Tarok as inherently good is often conflated with "Christian" (the two are often collapsed into one):

Ref-#435

E-4(m,F) "If a Tarok man is a Christian, there could be no problems in Tarokland. You hear me? Hear me well! But today a Tarok man is the :worst: culturist." [D08-Su][D15-Su][E15-Su][E16-Su][U16-Su]

The Tarok are seen as progressive and morally good. Western education and Christianity are associated with progress:

Ref-#437

B-4(m,F): "Schooling then was interpreted that it is slavery to be done to us, that is was why at that time (then) a Tarok didn't understand it. [...] But now a Tarok man has understood [...] and that made our sons and daughters to be something today." [E09-Su][E15-Su][M02-Su][U02-Su][U16-Su]

But part of the Tarok identity of not being Muslim or being slave to Muslims overlords is not far away:

Ref-#439

B-4(m,J): "We don't want to eat [[cheat]] people. That is why we don't want to succumb to their instructions [[agree with their sayings]]. That is why they hate us. Yeah, so this

is the end of the talk that 'we don't want to remain under some people any longer'".
[E15-SM][M09-SM][U02-SM][U15-SM]

Ref-#440

B-4(m,J): "We Tarok people that are here as slaves to Muslims." [C13-SM][E04-SM]

Ref-#441

B-4(m,J): "That was when I know that this people are forcing us to follow them, and they said if we won't follow them, we are not good people, so let's leave this land completely for them. And we did not follow, that we must follow them." [C01-Cu][C02-Cu][E04-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#442

B-4(m,J): "Our [[Tarok and Fulani]] relationship is that where you've cultivated and left it to regain, it lost its fertility. Then a Fulani man will come and inquire from you to settle there. [...] He can't settle in the bush, but he will settle near a Tarok man in a place he has shifted from it to farm somewhere else." [M08-CM]

In terms of the image of **"the Other" in general**. While the terms "Fulani" and "Muslim" are often conflated, "Muslim" is used almost exclusively in context of strife and conflict. When peaceful interactions are discussed, the ethnic term "Fulani" is more often adopted and then usually employed to describe an economic relationship. In relation to the Fulani, who are also overwhelmingly Muslim, there is the functional description of the Fulani as a nomad, while the Tarok is described as a man of the land, a farmer, however without a peaceful relationship.

Ref-#448

B-4(m,J): "The life between a Fulani and a Tarok will not be peaceful, because whoever that hits his forehead on the ground cannot stay for long without quarrelling." [D08-CM][M08-CM][M09-CM][U07-CM]

So relationships obviously remain strained and wrought with mistrust. Danger is never far away.

Where the conversations turn to the image of **"The Other" in violent conflict situations**, the divide is mainly between Christians and non-Christians, though functionally, "The Other" in the vast majority of cases is either the Muslim or the Fulani, with the two identities usually being

treated as synonymous. Within the conflict dialogues, Muslims are treated as a constant threat with a specific agenda of forceful conversion to Islam or extradition:

Ref-#450

B-4(m,J): "They killed our people so much that they must follow what they are doing or else we shall pack and leave this land. If not, then we should be killed and our people also were killed." [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#452

D-5(f,J): "They wish everyone should follow that their religion, to hit your forehead on the ground." [C10-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][P03-Cu][U05-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#453

B-4(m,J): "The people that hit their forehead and they want to see us, then they cut this place to Wase apart from us, then you will imitate their ways of farming also. Then the Emir's will makes us to farm for them, then we became fate of with that. It is even our forefathers who could realise that this is slavery. Then the Emir of Wase went to connive with Fulanis to fight us, to an extent that Fulanis kept killing our people far away in the hamlets." [C03-Su][C08-Su][C13-Su][M08-Su]

There is a push and pull in this relationship in that religious belonging is an important identity marker, and resistance to the overlords is *per se* to not be Muslim:

Ref-#455

B-4(m,J): "He who refused Islam will not be together as a slave, nor in the inner council." [M09-Cu]

Ref-#456

B-4(m,J): "That is, if they stay with somebody that is a non-Muslim, they won't like it, even in the whole northern region, they want everybody to be a Muslim." [M09-CM]

But then he says:

Ref-#457

B-4(m,J): "That is the people that you know, and not every Fulani in the Muslim religion is in support of the conflict, because they look at their flocks so that it won't affect [[them]]." [M08-Cu][M09-Cu]

The self-description of Islam as the religion of peace is rejected out of hand:

Ref-#458

D-5(f,J): “They will just say it verbally, but the religion of living in peace is not found in them.” [M03-Cu][M09-Cu][U05-Cu][U07-Cu]

Then with emotional vehemence:

Ref-#459

D-5(f,J): “Always fight, always fight, always fight, as they stay they will show themselves indicating living in peace. Really, they will show respects and if you are in need, they will give you what you want, they will meet your needs, they will pep you the way that you will come into their religion. But when you went into it deeply, there is no peace.” [C10-Su][E14-Su][M09-Su][P04-Su][U05-Su][U07-Su]

Marriage of one's off-spring to a Muslim would be a tragedy to the point of representing a virtual death:

Ref-#461

D-5(f,J): “The time I was young, one Muslim man kept coming to me at Yelwa, so I told him that I don’t want it, then he thought maybe my father is someone who likes bribes. He came and said to him that “business man, I like you daughter”. Then my father said, “you like my daughter, Alhaji Musa? He said “yeah”. “Well, if you like my daughter, then convert and follow Christianity. [...] Then he left and forget my path.” [E04-Su][M03-Su][M09-Su]

On the other hand, marriage to a Christian Berom – or a Christian Hausa, even a convert to Christianity, would be acceptable:

Ref-#462

M-1: “So even a Christian Hausa would be ok?”

[...]

D-5 (f,J): “I would allow him if he is a Christian.” [Cu-E04][Cu-E14][Cu-M08]

She does however muse on whether peace could be established had everyone been converted to Islam:

Ref-#464

D-5(f-J): "If at all, it had been successful that Nigeria is an Islamic country, the issue of this fight-fight wouldn't have arisen, because we would have been Islamised, but because our people persisted, then they will kill somebody if you refuse following their religion." [C10-CM][M07-CM][M09-CM][P03-CM][U05-CM][U07-CM]

In fact, Babangida did bring Nigeria into the IOC.

As in other cohort groups, the Muslims are given a place within ones own religious system, in that they are described as the off-spring of Ishmael.

Ref-#465

C-4(m,F): "A Muslim always always don't sleep, like Ishmael, and Israel that were, that were born (Ishmael), so from those people, that conflict, it was God that said that it is He who refuses taking from their tradition, the Judah, not Isaac, because that he was given birth by a lady that stayed with them, and this is not a benefit of tradition. And that was the genesis of the conflict. [...] So this is my opinion to the attitude of a Muslim doing to a [[Christian]] Tarok." [C07-CM][D02-CM][D08-CM][M01-CM][M09-CM][T01-CM][U07-CM]

In her interview, D-5 chimes in with this view, in that there is something inherently troublesome about the "tribe of Ishmael":

Ref-#466

D-5(f,J): "There's something a Nassara does say, heredity, then to some people, they inherited the attitudes of their heroes through genetical influence, and that is based in their blood [...] since from the beginning they have inherited the habit of causing troubles, like the tribe of Islam. Ishmael was one whom God discover his attitude was different, so Abraham was asked to send that child away so that he won't see his eye. [...] That is why whoever that joins Islamic religion will be interesting in terminating lives of Christians, and this came as a result of heredity." [D08-Cu][D09-Cu][D15-Cu][E14-Cu][M09-Cu][T05-Cu][U16-Cu]

C.2.4.4 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

On the subject of **vice**

Ref-#467

E-4(m,F): "If a Tarok man could come together and get himself together, nobody would touch a Tarok man." [D08-Su][D15-Su][E08-Su][E15-Su][U16-Su]

On the subject of **respect** (note: "fear" and "respect" are the same word in Tarok, so although "fear" is used in terms of the original nature of the question, people respond in the sense of respect. To bring this out, I have left the responses with the word "fear"):

Ref-#471

E-4(m,F): "I fear my father and mother and those who are next after me will fear me." [E08-Su][P02-Su][P04-Su]

Ref-#472

A-4(f,F): "Those who fear are my children who fear me, because that I gave birth to them. God gave them to me, I delivered them and I am taking care of them until they are supposed to know God, then they must have to fear me well." [E08-Cm][P02-Cm][P04-Cm]

Working towards the **Good Life**:

Ref-#476

B-4(m,J): "A Tarok man can pick a child of his counterpart, sponsoring to schooling if he is not in a position, that is progressing." [E09-Cu]

On discussion of **reconciliation and forgiveness**:

Ref-#479

D-5(f,J): "I will pray, 'may God forgive me my sins that I've committed'. And maybe there are people that I offended. I will also tell him to forgive me those whom I could not see them." [D17-Su][E08-Su][T07-Su][U14-Su]

Ref-#480

A-4(f,F): "If someone offended me, the Bible says, you should forgive him as yours has been forgiven too. So if somebody did something wrong to me, then I will either leave

him or tell him, that 'this what you did to me and I'm not pleased about it', I will tell you all what I know, so you cannot kill me.“ [D03-Cu][E03-Cu][T01-Cu][U11-Cu]

The moral action of **revenge** emerges in many discourses, often with biblical underpinning:

Ref-#481

D-4(m,F): “So because of the crisis, it is then good that I should burn his house, but if not because of crisis, that there's peaceful co-existence, it won't be good that I should set his house ablaze. Though the Bible told us that we shouldn't retaliate evil for evil, but because of crisis, this is because even the children of Israel from the beginning of the world, they themselves fought, they got burnt some places before they went and stayed there in that place, so it is right that I should burn his house.” [C03-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][M01-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#482

D-4(m,F): “But to Christians, as they do study the Word of God, it is said that you should not allow the sun to go down with you holding someone in your mind, so he will forgive the other person without even allowing the sun to set, talkless to hold the grudges to their grandchildren's clan. So it is good that whoever is a Christian should forgive that person and never retaliate. But he who is not a Christian will insist on retaliating, so for this earthly living, such has been happening.“ [D03-Su][D17-Su][E08-Su][T01-Su][U11-Su]

And immediately afterwards:

Ref-#483

D-5(f,J): “Well, God said to us in the Bible that we should not revenge, but as you are together with someone, and he always pressurises you, so we can do just that to defend our life in another way; That is why we do it to them.“ [C03-CM][C04-CM][T01-CM][U11-CM]

(in response to why they retaliate)

But then she says:

Ref-#484

D-5(f,J): “Well, it is not good that we should attack them, except they should bring attack to us, then we'll try and defend ourselves, that is all. Because that is what the Bible says.“ [C03-Cu][D01-Cu][M01-Cu][T01-Cu]

More specifically on response to **threats and violence**:

Moral predicament; biblical injunctions are good, but not always practical:

Ref-#485

A-4(f,F): "All Muslims said, if you kill a fellow human being, there's a reward, but to us ever since then, the Bible says that all unnecessary bloodshed will come upon me. But to me, that I've been born of blood, I deem it fit to retaliate to a Muslim. [...] I felt the pain so much, so it is proper to go and burn the Muslim house." [C04-Su][C11-Su][M01-Su][U03-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#486

E-4(m,F): "What is the completion of Jesus Christ? He said, when one slaps you on this cheek, give him the other one. Jesus was of the world, you hear me, and today we still come back to the law of Moses, because the law of Jesus has not become manifest. It will come in the third generation. [...] The Israelites fought many wars before getting into the promised land, and today, if we as Christians could not retaliate, you could have not even met a Tarok man here." [C03-CM][C04-CM][C11-CM][D01-CM][D02-CM][M01-CM][T01-CM][U11-CM]

And to crown it:

Ref-#487

C-4(m,F): "When you go to Kano now, there you will understand that, for a Christian to have a place, a small portion of the land to to erect a structure for the worshipping of God, then is not gotten like that, so we shall continue to leave them to keep killing us we can't look at them, then at the end of the day still, we are not in this world talkless of worshipping God. So to retaliate is obvious." [C07-Cu][D02-Cu][D05-Cu][M01-Cu][M09-Cu][T01-Cu]

(These last three quotes are linked in dialogue)

What happened in the last crisis:

Ref-#488

D-4(m,F): "I think we tried, we Tarok, to defend ourselves. So the Muslims came and burnt our houses. [...] I killed Muslims so that they will not come and attack us." [C03-Sm][C06-Sm][C09-Sm][C13-Sm][D09-Sm][M03-Sm][U11-Sm]

It follow that revenge and defence become conceptually very similar.

Ref-#489

A-4(f,F): “Yeah. During the last that came, we though we then did not have what to fight with as said, sling, an arrow, the scabbard barrel, stones, so it is men that will carry these, but we women will hold with us gruel following them behind so that when they are tired and thirsty, then they will drink.” [C03-Sm][C06-Sm][C09-Sm][C13-Sm][M03-Sm][M08-Sm]

Ref-#490

C-4(m,F): “I came and passed to go and collect my cattle from the Fulanis directly from their hand, I collected them and brought it. After bringing that then, I defended against Muslims inside, because they were burning our place, so I defended, defended at that time – full participation I defended, defended.” [C03-Sm][C08-Sm][C13-Sm][D09-Sm][M03-Sm][M08-Sm]

Ref-#491

D-5(f,J): “We saw our colleagues bringing loads, bringing those loads, as our colleagues were bringing loads including children wrap around their back with many loads coming with it suffering a long journey. And as I saw this tears started coming down from my eyes, and some of them, the children, they were coming along were killed on their way, husbands were killed, some were not killed, some women were raped by Muslim Fulanis [...] We picked our children that night into the bush, and before us was a lot of snakes that night. But still that night we kept trekking, and we went, nothing happened to any of us, then so we came and slept at open spaces. The day broke then I went back to go and fetch food stuff so that we would eat any my children over there before we hear the way forward pertaining the crisis. As I just enter the house, my husband said I should come out immediately, the Muslims are here coming and I came out and saw smoke everywhere here. The foodstuff I fetched with me, I just pack some rubbish and put on it there, then I kept moving, and I even saw one woman about delivering, men were running, women were also running. Then that woman went and knelt down, as I saw that, a thought came into my mind from the Bible. As it says about the end time. So as I'm thinking, one woman said, “fire, there is fire on the roof”. So there immediately I thought of Lot's wife, then I said “don't worry, come let's go”. So we turned again and from Langtang we do attend church. So as we came one Sunday like this, so already they've come intending to attack us in the church, a gunshot nearly shot my husband, then he escaped and he came and picked me on his motorcycle. As I climbed the machine, a lot of bullets behind us. They killed about eleven people that day apart from women.” [C08-Su][C11-Su][C13-Su][D03-Su][D10-Su][E03-Su][M03-Su][M08-Su][U03-Su]

Ref-#492

D-5(f,J): “What we do is this to stick to them on this our world. Men of ours did not even sleep, guarding them by the boundaries, so they won't have ways to penetrate and attack us. And for them we were ever ready to face them.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C10-Cu]

Ways forward on how to **resolve the conflict**:

Ref-#493

D-5(f,J): “Let's keep on praying. For God said to us that our weapons are in prayers.” [C03-Su][T02-Su][T06-Su][T07-Su][U10-Su]

C.2.5 Survey of Tarok youths (Cohorts 6 & 7)

C.2.5.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Setting and venue: The contact sessions took place in the same two rural churches, TaR1 and Ta2 as those of the Tarok seniors. Youth members were recruited in the same way as their seniors. Their contact sessions took place immediately after those of the seniors, meaning they were left waiting for about one hour.

Participants and voice alternation: The following table presents each of the participants with their main characteristics.

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-6	female	TaR1Y-F	In training as a teacher. Makes considerable contributions to the dialogue throughout.
B-6	male	TaR1Y-F	Speaks very seldom and did not reveal much about himself. He is definitely a dominated group member.
C-6	female	TaR1Y-J	Tailor by profession, but with the hope of studying English someday. A very quiet respondent, and in some senses very difficult to coax information out of; however, on closer inspection very revealing in the stories she tells and how they reveal a quiet optimism in a relationship with a living God.
D-6	male	TaR1Y-F	Self-identifies as someone with intentions to train as a teacher. Along with E-6, he is one of two dominant group members.
E-6	male	TaR1Y-F	Expresses hopes of studying, but prepared to do handiwork or farming to make ends meet. Along with D-6, he is one of two dominant group members.
A-7	male	TaR2Y-F	A quiet member who does not reveal much about himself, making his statement “I press myself not to be self-centred” credible.
B-7	female	TaR2Y-F	Very little is known about her. Forgiveness appears to be an important leitmotif in what she speaks about.

C-7	female	TaR2Y-F	Dominated some parts of the discussion, but not throughout. Little is known about her background.
D-7	male	TaR2Y-F	Little is known about his origins. He is dominant during the first half of the session, although his participation tapers off towards the end.
E-7	male	TaR2Y-J	Teacher and part-time mature student with political ambitions at a local level. Directly involved in reprisal attacks at time of last crisis which resulted in the slaughtering of Muslims until security forces intervened at the time.

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: The youth were clearly closer to their elders in attitudes and world-view than their Berom peers. Their interaction with the research team was similar. M-4 took the first focus group while M-5 translated the interview which took place simultaneously, before swapping their roles the following day. The interviews were both challenging and revealing. While C-6 was rather curt in her responses, it was E-7 who provided an abundance of revelations, particularly when describing his attack on Muslims.

C.2.5.2 Evidence related primarily to world-views

On the question of future plans for the **next five years**:

Cohort 6 participants all agree on the importance of education:

Ref-#494

D-6(m,F): "In my life then I like schooling. I discover schooling to read, to gain employment so as to help my relations." [E09-Su]

Ref-#495

E-6(m,F): "I will like to do teaching. The teaching of that which will help me in my family." [E09-Su]

Ref-#497

C-6(f,J): "I want to be in school at that time and what I want to do is to further my education." [E09-Su]

Cohort 7, meanwhile, take a particular interest in peace:

Ref-#498

A-7(m,F): "That thing which is the greatest in my life is to live peacefully, because that, if you want to do something in your life, there must be peace before." [E09-Su]

Ref-#499

B-7(f,F): "That thing which I want in my life is peacefulness [[fine to sit]], living in peace, so-to-say, it is greater than everything." [E09-Cu]

Whereas E-7, interviewed on his own, values both education and peace:

Ref-#500

E-7(m,J): "What is precious to me in my life is living in peace, because before one can take a step forward to do something is when there is peace." [E09-Su][U07-Su]

Ref-#501

E-7(m,J): "Yeah, of a truth as of me here I'll want to achieve something important. What I want is, I want to gain admission into a higher school." [E09-Su]

And then compounds the two:

Ref-#502

E-7(m,J): "If there is no living in peace, the time that I am supposed to complete my school, I may not complete it." [E04-Cu][E09-Cu][U07-Cu]

On the causes and nature of **illnesses and accidents** ("sickness and stumbling", or "hitting of toe"), participants are for the largest part surprisingly non-spiritual in their responses:

Ref-#516

E-6(m,F): "Yeah, what brings sickness and stumbling is, to some people is a lack of body caring by themselves. Secondly, supposing the vehicle that you take and when it is not in good condition, it will be good that you should take care of yourself by taking it to someone who has the technical know-how on repairs to check for you where there's fault. [...] Not ever food is allowed to be eaten." [E01-Su]

Ref-#517

A-6(f,F): "Like mosquitoes, they do also bring sickness to many people." [E01-Cu]

Nevertheless, for some, illness's causes are by no means confined to biological processes:

Ref-#521

A-7(m,F): "What brings sickness is, sometimes through eating some things, sometimes through an enemy." [E01-Cu][E11-Cu]

On discussion of humans' fate **after death**:

Ref-#522

C-7(f,F): "We really believe that if somebody died and if you are a Christian, then you will go to heaven. If you really believe that then, because there is judgement awaiting everyone. If you do good, your good deeds are there kept mainly for you. If evil then they are there for you. This means that if you die, then you will go to where God is." [E13-CM][T05-CM][T07-CM][U04-CM]

Ref-#523

D-7(m,F): "You are dead, as you have died, then your life is with God. Again, it is God that created us and we came into this world. He is the one who takes your life, so it is with Him." [E13-CM][T02-CM][U04-CM]

Ref-#524

B-7(f,F): "Death, if you are really a Christian, not that you just follow a Christian, then there is no judgement for you." [E13-CM][T05-CM][T07-CM][U04-CM]

Ref-#525

E-7(m,J): "The life that is given to a human being by God and the day that is taken way that show you are dead already." [E13-CM][T02-CM][T07-CM]

Much is said by participants on their **relationship with God**:

Ref-#533

D-6(m,F): "You can even pray to God for forgiveness, so that you will die a death of blessing and go to the good house that is prepared for you." [D17-Cu][E08-Cu][E09-Cu][E13-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#534

E-6(m,F): "You will be able to come closer to God because ... through prayers." [D17-Cm][E08-Cm][E09-Cm][E13-Cm][T06-Cm]

Ref-#535

B-7: "Myself, I will want to be with my God at all times, because when I leave Him and go, I will hit my toe. [...]"

A-7: "Because I know that He is the Way."

[...]

D-7: "Because I know that He is the Way." [T05-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#537

C-7(f,F): "Before I will be with Jesus, then he suffered because of my life. He died because of my life. So it is good that I should be with him, even in the fire or water." [T02-Cm][T03-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#538

A-7(m,F): "Like of me here, if I am following Jesus with the whole of my heart, if there's that, money will make me forget about sorrows." [T03-Cm]

C-6 speaks most readily of all on her **experience of God:**

Ref-#541

C-6(f,F): "Before I will get married I said to God Almighty that if he agree, may he give me a husband that is really my choice, and he gave to me like that. At the time before I got married, I said I am the only one to my mum, she gave birth to. So I wish as he may bless me with a child, it should be a male child, and God kept giving me male children as requested. Then I came and said to God Almighty that the male children you gave me then, how I so wish that you should give me the one that will carry a mat for me [[a daughter, also "one who will wash for me"]], then God gave me." [T02-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

The validity and power of other religious systems are also discussed, particularly **Tarok traditions and beliefs** which bear similarity to those of Christianity:

Ref-#543

A-7(m,F): "When somebody is about to die, and before going to the burial, they will say that "you, that is a Christian", then that broad way there is a way to enter hell. So the way that leads to eternal life is so narrow. So it is the same thing as when an unbeliever will want to perform his burial, he will say, "now that you have fallen asleep, the way that is broad is not yours. The one that is narrow is the way for you." [D02-Cm][E13-Cm][E16-Cm][T01-Cm]

Ref-#547

E-7(m,J): "Of course, yes, of course, at the time when somebody died and as people convey to the burial ground, in their leadership of service they do say 'you are dead, the broad way is not for you, the road that is so narrow is the one for you'." [D01-Cu][E06-Cu][E13-Cu][E16-Cu][T01-Cu]

C.2.5.3 Evidence related primarily to identities

On the subject of **Tarok self-understanding**:

Ref-#548

C-6(f,F): “So that the person will know me that I am Tarok.” [D09-Su][E15-Su]

which suggests that C-6 sees the meaning of “Tarok” as entirely self-explanatory. However, after more prompting:

Ref-#549

C-6(f,F): “A Tarok is a human being, and supposing it will be good that if anything wrong is said so far about a Tarok, then it is good that they are corrected.”[E15-Pu]

Ref-#552

C-7(f,F): “Tarok is the man who rejects no one, lest he rejects himself.” [E15-CM]

Ref-#553

D-7(m,F): “As the other one said, then, lest he hates himself, instead of him having a conflict with someone else.” [E15-CM]

Ref-#554

A-7(m,F): “I press myself not to be self-centred. [...] If something came before a Tarok man, then he will always pray for peaceful living so much.” [E15-CM][T06-CM][T07-CM][U02-CM][U12-CM][U15-CM][U16-CM]

Ref-#555

B-7(f,F): “If to say a Tarok man then, left for my own then, Tarok ... is someone who has no problem with himself will sit down and behave like a fool, but as foolishly as he behaves, but then tactically, because he seems to have selflessness in the sense that if his kinsmen is in trouble.” [E15-CM][U12-CM][U15-CM]

In terms of discussions where the nature of **“The Other” in general** is discussed, it is to a large extent equatable to “Muslim”:

Ref-#559

E-7(m,J): “A Muslim [...] anywhere they found themselves, they want to cause violence because they believe that once somebody dead as a result of anything crisis, there is hope for that person to inherit the Kingdom of God.” [C13-Cu][D01-Cu][D15-Cu][M09-Cu][T05-Cu]

[...][...]

E-7: “Historically right from the history of Muslim, they're the people that like violence than anything. And even the generation it inherits it from, their ancestors, and the thing is even progressing up to date.” [C13-Cu][M08-Cu][M09-Cu]

Specifically, when discussing Tarok Muslims (this was prompted):

Ref-#563

C-6(f,F): “I'll look at him [[the Muslim]] as nothing before me.”

T-5: “For what reason?”

C-6: “Because my people are dying and he is the one killing my people, and when you read in their book, it says if you did not kill, then that person will not get everything in life.” [C13-Cu][D15-Cu][M05-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#564

E-7(m,J): “During this crisis, some of them that are Tarok and they are Muslims. During the crisis some of them went into Wase, staying together with them there. [...] They knew where we were settling, it's them that lead them to where the Tarok are settling.” [C03-CM][C13-CM][D08-CM][D09-CM]

It thus emerges that Tarok who become Muslims are seen as being as vile traitors who helped the Muslims attack during the crises. It is almost a corollary that only a Christian Tarok is a true Tarok. Religious adherence is as important – or indeed more important than ethnic identity.

Meanwhile, when turning to the “third force”, those of the Tarok traditionalists:

Ref-#565

C-6(f,F): “I'm thinking over it that he is not going to get eternal life, so I have sympathy over him.”

[...][...]

C-6: “There is nothing.” [E04-Su][E16-Su]

And finally grouping references to Fulani, as an ethnic identity:

Ref-#566

C-6(f,F): “A Fulani is a human being, and the relationship between a Fulani and a Tarok is that a Fulani goes about into the bush, he don't normally stay in one place to build a house like a Tarok man does. [...] That is why God has already created human beings

with them ethnic groups that is why everyone has it's tribe and he is called by that name, because he sleep here and there, sleep here and there.”

[...][...]

C-6: “Their relationship goes with Muslim.” [D11-Cu][E09-Cu][E14-Cu][E15-Cu][M08-Cu][T02-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#567

C-7(f,F): “And if you discover there are no cattle there then, you will see him with a caftan and the machete, with the long stick he is holding, one must consider this man is a Fulani.” [E04-CM][M08-CM]

Ref-#568

A-7(m,F): “A Fulani man used to come and pick up Tarok pupils to go and look after their cattle. Having finished taking care of the flock then, a Fulani will present it to the child a gift of a cattle for his absolute caring over his herds.” [E04-CM][M08-CM]

Now turning to the image of **“The Other” in conflict constellations**, these are exclusively defined as Muslims. References to Fulani or “Tarok Muslims” never arise:

Ref-#570

D-7(m,F): “A Muslim, is that not the man who hits his forehead every time he offers prayers, not of peace in his life? He wishes that in every place he should always be the head, and nobody should rule over him.” [M02-CM][M09-CM][T06-CM]

Ref-#571

B-7(f,F): “A Muslim [...] He will hate you so that he will make you come to where he is, so that he will be your leader.” [M07-CM][M09-CM]

Ref-#572

B-7(f,F): “A Muslim [...] The assistance that he rendered to you there then, he will never do to you free of charge, as the devil does.” [E02-CM][M07-CM][M09-CM]

To test the permeability of boundaries, the marriage question is raised with E-7:

Ref-#573

M-1: “Could you imagine marrying a Muslim girl?”

E-7: “I don't. I don't imagine even-. I don't even dream of going to a Muslim girl, let alone marrying her.”

[...]

M-1: “I'm talking about, there's a small number of Hausa who have :traditionally: been Christians, would that have been an option, theoretically?”

E-7: “Yes. I can take it.” [E04-Su][E15-Su][M01-Su]

C.2.5.4 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

On the question of **sacrificing ones life** for a cause:

Ref-#584

D-6(m,F): "Somebody will give his life so that there will be freedom." [U02-Su][U12-Su]

Ref-#585

E-6(m,F): "If I will give my life and that the issue of Plateau will resolve that, there will be no problem." [C12-Cm][U12-Cm]

Meanwhile members of the other cohort are less sanguine about their bravery:

Ref-#588

D-7(m,F): "Kai, that is difficult!" [U12-Su]

Ref-#589

B-7(f,F): "If because of God, then I may be able to give." [T02-Su][T05-Su][U12-Su]

Thereafter the topic of peace re-emerges here too:

Ref-#590

C-7(f,F): "I would be able to give my life if Christians will be able to live in peace." [D01-Su][U12-Su]

But then A-7 reports taking loss of life into account during his actions :

Ref-#591

A-7(m,F): "I will give my life because I want to protect someone in the sense of life during war. At the time of crisis, as the killing of people is on, I will go out that I'm going to war, then I will take off on my way and go. [...] So after I went to the front at the battle ground that then showed that my life, I am giving life, because to live peacefully." [D01-Cm][T02-Cm][T05-Cm][U12-Cm]

On how participants **experienced and responded to the last crises**:

Ref-#592

E-6(m,F): "Out of what we just discussed, left to me, it is good to burn the house of a Muslim because since the beginning of this thing, if you look at it critically, there is no place where it is said that a Christian has ever started chasing people away from a place. It has never happened. Everywhere you will hear those people [[Muslims]] saying

that they are the only ones, they are the only ones, they are the only ones [[with the right to dominate]]. [...] As we were sitting in our place, then we discovered people packing their loads just like that going about and running with it. And before we could do anything, we realised that there were burning houses. So even if you have the mind of a dumb snake, one day the worst will happen, because we too also have God. [...] So do we allow our own God to die [[give up our faith]]? Well, our own God said that it is not even good for us to fight one another. But because of our own fleshly thoughts, we looked at it that if we fight them back, then maybe He can help us.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][D04-Cu][D12-Cu][E12-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][P02-Cu][T02-Cu][U11-Cu][U13-Cu][U14-Cu]

and then:

Ref-#593

B-6(m,F): “And if he has done it for the first time, second time, the third time and I kept quiet, and when the pushing reached to the wall and he did it to me again, then it is a must that I should defend myself by slapping him too.” [C03-Cm][C13-Cm][C03-Cm][E12-Cm][M09-Cm][P05-Cm][T02-Cm][T05-Cm][T07-Cm][U11-Cm]

and then:

Ref-#595

A-6(m,F): “That time we brew gruel and carried it down there very early in the morning so that we can give to those men who were at the battleground.” [C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu]

Which suggests that the response was planned in advance.

Ref-#596

E-6(m,F): “We really defended ourselves and we were able to send them back. [...] As you went for hunting, it is a must that when you come across an animal, then you will kill it. [...] We were able to get our own share as they were able to get their own share from us too.” [C03-Cu][C06-Cu][C08-Cu][D13-Cu][M03-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#601

E-7(m,J): “At that very time they came, they kept bringing attacks on us, then even me here, I went, we came and took the decision of going, so we went early in the morning before six o'clock, then we've already started the operation at the time they were just waking up” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu]
[...][...]

E-7: “The reasons that we went is because they've gone round causing a lot of destruction on our farms and I feel that we should go and retaliate.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][U11-Cu]
[...][...]

E-7: "We claimed so many lives there that day." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][P02-Cu][U11-Cu][U13-Cu]
[...][...]

E-7: "As I come home that day I was very happy [[pleased]] in my mind due to what they had done to our people and what we did to them in reaction. I came home and my mind was full of joy." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][E03-Cu][U08-Cu]

Of **Revenge**:

Ref-#605

A-6(f,F): "Because our Lord Almighty said that we should not revenge evil for evil, so you may forgive him and never retaliate on any of his relations." [U11-Cm]

Ref-#606

D-6(m,F): "For example, as you are schooling, you will look for assistance from somebody, and the person does, and later on, one of his relations, or his child come to you for assistance and then you know humanly, if you do not think carefully then you will want to do something, so that you will tell the person, ever since somebody did something to you like this, you will take revenge, so that they will learn a lesson for that, and never do that habit to anybody again. That like one woman has already said it, maybe somebody may just forget on the ground that he has been forgiven." [D17-Cm][U05-Cm][U11-Cm]

Ref-#607

D-6(m,F): "As Christians have known that the Bible says that let us not repay evil for evil, but when this is brought to our human thought, then there are some who are not Christians. If that something happened at that instance, the level of his annoyance may be at high tension, so he may like to retaliate immediately and so urgently. [...] It is not good to say that if somebody offended you, and you will want to retaliate to him or to any of his relations, so the Bible didn't tell us that one." [E02-Cm][T01-Cm][U11-Cm]

Ref-#609

D-6(m,F): "I believe that a Christian, even if a mad thought came into his mind, he can't just go and begin to burn somebody's house just like that. But as far as it is a war, a Muslim will burn your house and you will burn his own. That is to make him realise that as he did it without feeling the pain." [P05-Cm]

Respondents' **analysis of causes** and their **solutions to the crises**:

Ref-#616

B-6(m,F): "Then the Church will teach us living in freedom, we are trying to have our own freedom. So it is a must that they should teach us about the crisis to make us prepare ourselves, preparing ourselves against tomorrow. So that anything that will want to happen, we should know how to defend ourselves properly. In the aspect of crisis, in summary, if we can pray for one another, we pray for our brothers so that God will send down His Holy Spirit upon those enemies of progress who will want to bite one

another's eye, which brings problems.” [C03-Cu][C12-Cu][E06-Cu][E07-Cu][E15-Cu][T03-Cu][T04-Cu][U02-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#617

E-7(m,J): “At that time what we did was as a result of us defending ourselves, because even if you don't they will come to kill you, but all the same we should keep praying that may God condole and show what they are doing is not good.” [C02-Su][C03-Su][C04-Su][C08-Su][C12-Su][C13-Su][E12-Su][P05-Su][T02-Su][T05-Su]

Action by the Church towards a solution:

Ref-#619

A-6(f,F): “It is good that the Church should pray together with fasting, because a crisis. I think that is what can help the Church.” [C12-Sm][T06-Sm]

Ref-#620

D-6(m,F): “It will also be good for a church to organise a teaching as regards how to face conflicts, and also on how to approach conflicts when it comes, and how to be free from crisis. [...] And to bring so people to do something on conflict resolution or conflict management, the teaching will be conducted in churches.” [C12-Su]

Ref-#621

E-6(m,F): “Mostly, when you look at things that usually cause conflicts, the more especially in the villages, are children of irresponsibility that have no personal houses and have nothing to do. They are the most who usually cause problems in many villages and hamlets.” [C02-Su][C12-Su][E07-Su][T01-Su][T04-Su]

Ref-#622

E-6(m,F): “Those that have nothing doing and are the cause of conflicts should be giving teaching. They should look for things, like some of us who are in the village.” [C12-Cu][E07-Cu][E11-Cu][T04-Cu]

Ref-#624

E-7(m,J): “Maybe you now take something, anybody, mostly the less privileged, if you are opportuned to have something in as a good Christians. For the members of the church. Like during this crisis various churches even outside, they put in their own assistance in terms of building materials and it was distributed to – to people.” [C12-Cu][E06-Cu][E07-Cu][P04-Cu][U07-Cu]

And the **role of those in authority in terms of solving the conflict:**

Ref-#625

E-7(m,J): “One way one can best fight for peace is through intervention of the Federal government. [...] Discuss with them in a neutral area and they will discuss the issue.” [C12-Su][P02-Su][P03-Su][U07-Su]

Chapter C.3 Specific Description of Peripheral Data Set

C.3.1 The cohorts and contract sessions in overview

C.3.1.1 Some notes on how this chapter is structured

This chapter is structured similarly to the one describing the Core Data Set. Interviews and focus groups are grouped into the same lots. However, youths and seniors are treated as single cohorts. This allows me to arrive at similar unit sizes as those previously discussed, and to uphold the salience of spatial, environmental and religious comparisons rather than chart generational differences. Subsequently, three lots emerge: Kamwe (Cohorts 8 & 9), Fali-Kirya (Cohorts 10 & 11) and Hausa (Cohorts 12 to 16). The Hausa lot was designed as the largest of these in order to explore potential differences produced by religion more deeply.

The presentation of the data follows the logic of specific queries emerging from the evaluation of the Core Data Set, which should permit a more straight-forward discussion of its content. Accordingly, the following topical headings are provided:

- Self-understanding
- Understanding of “the Other”
- Understanding of God
- Understanding of the world
- Salient values
- Drivers of peace
- Drivers of conflict
- Marriage and cross-religious relationships
- Moral attitudes to others in general
- Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

The referencing of the utterances follows the same logic as those in the previous chapter. The complete reference collection, can be found in Appendix G.7, starting at Reference Ref-#629. As a transcript summary, the table in Appendix G.6.2.2 presents a table with a summary of the meta-parameters. In total, more than 10 hours of conversation and 90,000 words were recorded. Females accounted for about $\frac{1}{4}$ of all respondents, and about half of all non-Muslims surveyed.

C.3.1.2 Thematic and discursive coding

The coding metrics are similar to those of the Core Data Set's coding. Each reference has a head and a tail coding. The head coding indicates the participant [letter and cohort, e.g. E-4], followed by an indication of his or her gender, and setting [J interview or F focus group] in parentheses. Since youths and seniors have been pooled in the same lots, a third parameter marks their age group. The tail coding follows the description provided in Subchapter B.5.3.4 and indicates thematic and discursive features (thematic code followed by voice and prompt flavours). These are distinct from those used for the Core Data Set. Many tail codings indicate multiple thematic codes. A full list of thematic codes can be found in Appendix .

C.3.2 Survey of Kamwe (Cohorts 8 & 9)

C.3.2.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Setting and venue: The contact sessions were held on 11th September 2011 on the premises of an EYN church in the town of Michika, adjacent to the actual church grounds. This followed a call during the two morning services for Kamwe volunteers, who formed the majority of the congregation, to meet outside in two age groups. Youths were recruited

after the earlier English-language service, and Kamwe after the later Hausa-language service. Consequently, the pool of volunteers in each case was quite large, so gender-balanced cohorts were picked randomly using a counting system. A notable point which coloured the conversations was the public notice of four local women who had left Christianity for Islam and the ensuing consternation in the congregation.

Participants: The following table presents each of the participants with what is known of their chief characteristics, as far conversations revealed them:

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-8	male	KaUS-F	Dominant focus group member, often first to speak, respected senior member of the church.
B-8	female	KaUS-F	Accepted member of focus group, most vocal of the female participants, and over periods quite dominant.
C-8	female	KaUS-F	Accepted member of focus group, her participation tapers off towards the end of the session.
D-8	male	KaUS-F	Accepted member of focus group, little is know about his background.
E-8	male	KaUS-J	Older, respected member of the community, first generation convert.
F-8	female	KaUS-F	Accepted member of focus group, background unknown.
A-9	female	KaUS-F	Dominant focus group member, little is known about her.
B-9	male	KaUS-J	Lively participation in interview, student living outside Michika.
C-9	male	KaUS-F	Accepted, but quiet focus group member.
D-9	male	KaUS-F	Dominant focus group member.
E-9	female	KaUS-F	Dominated and rather quiet focus group member.
F-9	female	KaUS-J	Lively participation in interview.

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: My knowledge of the area and legacy as a missionary to the church was instrumental in establishing a strong trust basis with participants. All contact sessions were held in Kamwe, of course with the inevitable interjections in Hausa or even English. The seniors' focus group was moderated by M6, the youth by M8, while the interviews, held simultaneously, were translated *in situ* by M7 and M6. While the older generation spoke at ease and produced some very unguarded and frank exchanges during the focus group, the younger respondents were more cautious, but nevertheless forthcoming. There was little indication of people hiding behind pious façades.

C.3.2.2 The sources

Self-understanding

Self-understanding in relation to God:

Ref-#629

A-8(m,F): „I am a man created by God. He created me in His image.“ [D53-Cu]

And pointing to a degree of dualism:

Ref-#631

D-8(m,F): „We are all people before God. Took over some people. Before Satan took over some people as his.“ [D53-Cu]

One's self-understanding as a Christian:

Ref-#632

B-8(m,F): „Who is a Christian? He who follows God from his heart, does God's work, he is the one.“ [D53-Cu]

And with an ethnocentric slant (Christianity being our inherent religion now):

Ref-#636

D-9(m,F): „My mother heard the Word of God. I met her going to church, so that is how we find ourselves going to the church up to the time we got born again.“ [D53-Cu]

Of language:

Ref-#637

A-8(m,F): „The Muslims I used to know in Michika, are we not people of the same Michika? There are not many people whose daughters were married by Muslims. If he has not married your own, hasn't he many relatives? What really happened was that enjoying the living with these people, that is it. The land is our own, and brought them to our land and live with them. In these days there were no Muslims in Michika. We are the ones that went and called them from Kopa.

[...]

No one knew how to speak Fulani language before, not even our parents. If people come from Yola, no one can speak with them or speak with the Kanuri. So they had the idea to go to Kopa to see Niari for a boy that can speak Fulani to translate it to them.

[...]

Later, people came from Yola, because before there was no ward or village heads. So, they came from Yola and said they will give them a leader.” [D55-CM]

Ref-#638

C-8(f,F): „You mix words with Hausa.“

F-8(f,F): „It's my tongue.“ [D55-Su]

Of ancestry:

Ref-#640

D-9(m,F): „Historically, small that I was told, there was this man called Kwada Kwaka. He was the first man that came down from the mountain to live here, and the man was from, a clan called 'Kambwege' from the mountains of N'Kaffa Miya.

[...]

So along the line, er, the Fulani that were wanderers looking after their cattle were there also.“

[...][...]

„Michika is the name that was given to it, but according to what I heard, I see that going by history, every village has its origin which means 'mountain'.” [D55-CM]

Ref-#641

C-9(m,F): „It reached the extent that Michika can no longer accommodate the Kamwe. If you go to Gombi Gulatabah, part of Hong, err, there is another place that surprised me

that I went to in Maiha. [...] The whole of that place, only the leader of that village is not Kamwe.“ [D55-Cm]

Ref-#642

C-9(m,F): „The rest of our brothers in the mountains, eh-eh, like the Sina and the rest, even if they will come down here, there will be no space for them.“ [D55-Cm]

Ref-#643

C-9(m,F): „Michika local government at large, we have three major religions: Christianity, Islam and Traditional; of which Christianity in the majority. [...] Christianity is 72 %, then Muslim 18 %, then others, is it 4-4 %.“ [D55-CM]

Understanding of “The Other”

“The Other” is almost exclusively referred to as “the Muslim”, here understood in religious terms:

Ref-#647

A-8(m,F): „They came with a religion, but we didn't have that. They have not shown us that religion, but instead used it as something to confiscate our animals and daughters. Any girl that is beautiful, they take it by force! If we had corn, that is taken by force by them together, see that are good with us. Now, they have hindered us to be Muslims and also hindered us following God, but the missionaries came and saved us, but they now say, why is that? It was missionaries that delivered and educated us.“ [D52-SM][C53-SM]

Muslims can be referred to in terms of severe evil:

Ref-#648

B-8(m,F): „I will send him out, because living with such is like staying with the devil, for they can change at night and attack.“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#649

E-8(m,J): „A Muslim is the devil among the human beings, to me.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#650

B-9(m,J): „They had wanted Buhari to be the President of the country, but when they heard that it is Goodluck Jonathan that had been elected to the presidency of this country, they were grieved. Their hearts changed and began to fight people, burning places and killing people.“ [C51-CM][D52-CM]

The origins of this behaviour is attributed to their pattern of faith:

Ref-#651

T-6: „Where does this evilness among Muslims come from?“

E-8(m,J): „From reading their own book.“

[...]

E-8: „Their writing that is from right to the left is where they got the evilness from and their evil habit.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#653

B-9(m,J): „What he did before he brought about the Qu'ran was that he read His Word and merged it with his own also so that he could establish their religion.“ [D52-Su]

But Muslims can also be thought of in positive terms:

Ref-#654

A-8(m,F): „The Qu'ran teaches Muslim children to respect their mother and father.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#656

A-8(m,F): „When you call or send a Muslim child, he comes and kneels before his father, but our children don't do such.“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#658

D-8(f,F): „The thing Muslims do more than Christians is respect as baba says. They respect their parents and so are over us with respect for elders.“ [D52-Cu]

Muslims are seen as intrinsically violent:

Ref-#660

E-8(m,J): „Only what the devil has taught them is what they like. [...] He who kills someone is the devil.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#661

E-8(m,J): „The most unsafe place in the whole world is staying amongst the Muslims. [...] Fighting is what is in their heads. They don't want peace with you.“ [D52-Su]

Ethnic angle on Muslim identity:

Ref-#662

B-8(m,F): „Even in the Bible a word is said about Islam before when Abraham married a second wife. [...] Now the world suffers from Ishmael descendants as was foretold.“ [D52-Sm] [D55-Sm]

Muslim goals:

Ref-#663

B-9(m,J): „They wanted to change our land into Hausaland, so that we all become their brothers.“ [D57-SM]

Ref-#664

T-7: „Why should they attack their fellow Kamwe again?“

F-9(f,J): „They want everybody to follow their own religion.“

Several references are made to the activities of Boko Haram:

Ref-#666

E-8(m,J): „They don't fear death. They could tie a bomb on their body and kill themselves.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#667

E-8(m,J): „One thing that made me to hate Islam is those suicide bombers. I can't find an answer to somebody wanting to kill himself and others for the sake of religion, it is a mystery.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#668

B-9(m,J): „When I say they are fanatical is that if you see what is happening today, anywhere is as a result of them.“

[...]

As Mohammed Yusufu, the leader of Boko Haram of Maiduguri told people, his followers, if you kill a human, you will be rewarded in heaven. [...] They have completely changed the minds of their people.” [D52-Su]

Muslims keep themselves separate:

Ref-#669

E-8(m,J): „Even their father, they don't eat together in the same thing.“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#670

E-8(m,J): „I will report to the government [[security forces]], because I fear them [[the Muslims]].“ [D52-Cu]

Of others:

Ref-#673

D-8(f,F): „The Europeans that came and freed us from slavery of the Fulanis that have maltreated us all over.“ [D52-Cu]

Understanding of God

God's agency:

Ref-#679

A-8(m,F): „God created all people, but other people turn to Satan because they have an evil spirit. [...] He has created them, but in the world, they've turned into Satans.“ [T51-Cu]

Ref-#680

F-8(f,F): „He is my Protector, He is my Father.“ [T51-Cu]

God as an incentive to a particular behaviour (but as an indirect agent of moral inspiration):

Ref-#683

A-8(m,F): „He made people in like Himself [His Image].“

B-8(m,F): „There is peace.“

C-8(f,F): „There's peace [here].“ [T53-Cm]

Ref-#684

E-9(f,F): „The reason why we have chosen Him as the most important is because He is Our Creator.“ [T51-Cm]

Ref-#687

F-8(f,F): „[Only by God's help through prayer.]“

[...]

A-8: „Don't ever fail to pray. [...]“ [T54-SM]

D-8: „Only by prayer and fasting, we can be free from these people.“ [T54-Cm]

Understanding of the world

The world understood through biblical paradigms:

Ref-#690

A-9(f,F): „The big thing, in summary, to my knowledge, living a humble life to the Lord, because if I can remember the life of David. David sinned to God several times, but because he humbled himself before God, he was favoured. He progressed in whatever he did correctly.“ [T51-Cu]

Ref-#692

D-9(f,F): „Whatever you do me, I can only pray for you, tell you the truth, also, like how Daniel led his life in the land of Babylon.“ [T54-CM][E53-CM]

Ref-#693

E-8(m,J): „The majority of those that cause problems are the Muslims. Nothing surpasses God. God is the only person that can bring peace if there is no peace. At the time that the Israelites [...] were doing service to Pharaoh, it was Lord God who came and saved them from the hand of Pharaoh. Then, so the these Muslims that are causing lack of peace to us, they are like Pharaoh in our life.“ [C51-CM][T51-CM][T54-SM]

Understanding of accidents and sickness:**Ref-#694**

C-8(f,F): „Satan brings it. “You looked for it”, people will say to you, but Satan brings it.“ [T54-Su]

Ref-#695

E-8(m,J): „An accident is something done by God, because it is only God who knows what causes accidents. “ [T54-Cu]

Traces of traditional religions:**Ref-#696**

A-8(m,F): „If a Muslim boy wants your daughter to marry, he gets charms and robs her.“ [...]

A-8: „They marry our daughters with charms.“ [T56-SM]

Ref-#697

A-9(f,F): „Adding more to what he said, some of the girls do not want it in the first place. Because these Muslim boys, they used something like charms. [...]

So most of them use charms, even though some of the girls were trapped as a result of desire of worldly things.“ [T56-Sm]

Ref-#698

E-8(m,J): „Yes, and the people who can actually inflict disaster or accident on people are, for example, if you have a wayward child that doesn't listen to you as his father, [...] and the people decide to curse this child because of his waywardness.“ [T56-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Not all people do that. Only elders who have lived long and had experience of such things. If you do evil to them, from their experience, they can curse you.“ [T56-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Magic is of the devil and anything of the devil is not permanent. It is not original. If God agrees with the way of life, he gives you that power.“ [T56-Cu]

Salient values

The value of prayer:

Ref-#701

A-8(m,F): „Don't ever fail to pray. [...] As you are in your farm, pray to God for help and protection from evil things.“ [U51-SM]

The soteriological importance of maintaining purity of heart and proximity to God, which may indeed be connected to the stress of obtaining ablution from sins:

Of role models:

Ref-#709

C-9(f,F): „I personally I took Job as my role model, because whenever I am reading the type of life he lived and all the suffering he did, I always become happy.“ [U51-Cu]
[...]

E-9(f,F): „If we follow the details like that of Joshua was and his land, we will never be discouraged in our life.“ [U51-Cu]
[...]

A-9(f,F): „We should remember Daniel is a role model, because in our life, whatever suffering we may face, there are times the Lord will let us enter trouble in order to uplift us. But sometimes immediately, we find ourselves in trouble, we begin to ask 'why did God allow us in such problems?' Sometimes God lets us alone deliberately. [...] Even in the story of Jesus in the Bible, anytime I read this, my body becomes cold. Jesus, by Himself came to this world and took the form of a man so that He could glorify God in heaven and man, He went to the Cross because of us. He suffered all kind of suffering.“ [U51-Cu]

Drivers of peace

The essence and the fruits of peace:

Ref-#711

A-9(f,F): „In one's life there's no important thing like peace. If one has peace in his life, it can build one's spirituality. Without peace, one's spirit cannot grow. [...] If the devil takes away your peace, you cannot listen to God's message [...] Peace can make somebody to be free. [...] If there is no peace, every day there will be trouble and there will be no freedom.“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#713

C-9(m,F): „In a society where there is war, there is no freedom, you not free, you are already slave.“ [C51-CM]

The outcomes in the absence of peace:

Ref-#714

D-9(f,F): „If there is no peace between you and your brother, it means there is no trust and you will not get progress in anything you are doing.“ [C51-Cm]

Prayer as a major force for peace:

Ref-#715

F-9(f,J): „What I think is that the church should .. :pray: and visit our people, and them to be patient and tell them of God's Word.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#716

E-8(m,J): „The White men [...] They should help us with prayers from there [[abroad]] because we can also live peacefully in Nigeria.“ [C51-Su]

The importance of unity and working together:

Ref-#717

D-9(f,F): „Thanks be to God, because of what took place recently. There is a bit of unity, and because there is unity again, there is progress. Eh, next to this is prayer. [...] God said, 'If my people can humble themselves and turn unto me, I will hear their cry and heal their wounds'. So it is the greatest thing. Because it happened to the children of the Israelites, God doesn't change.“ [C51-Cm]

Ref-#718

C-9(m,F): „Living together can bring settlement of the conflict and can bring peace.“ [C51-Pm]

Ref-#720

D-9(f,F): „Again, there is what people say in our language, [...] if we work together, you will see everything will work out easy.“ [C51-CM]

Drivers of conflict

Identity-based competition for resources, dominance by “The Other”, either identified as Muslim or Fulani:

Ref-#723

A-8(m,F): „The people that relieve the Kamwe people which gave them victory and he can answer a word to the Fulanis were the Missionaries.“ [C53-SM]

Reasons for Muslim aggression:

Ref-#724

E-8(m,J): „They are jealous. They don't want non-Muslims possessing anything. [...] They want people as their slaves. Our children here are really hard-working. So when they now see that our children possess wealth with big shops, that is why they began to be jealous, and when it was declared that Goodluck is a Christian man.“ [C51-Cu]

Ref-#725

D-9(m,F): „In the case of politics, our youth are being used. [...] Whether we like it or not, surely they will attack us, but what are the ways that we can avoid them? It is only through our faith, through emphasising on the teaching from our various churches and various Christian families and houses.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#727

B-9(m,J): „[Well,] what I see on TV and what I used to hear on NTA these people, they are politicians who also seek votes and they failed.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#731

F-9(f,J): „Not only Kamwe Christians, but of any true Christian they burnt their properties. In the process of doing that, some Muslim shops were burnt.“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#732

T-7: „Do you think they burnt Christian shops to turn them to Islam then?“

F-9(f,J): „Well no! But because of political rivalry.“ [C51-Cm]

Marriage and cross-religious relationships

Stories of Muslim conversions of family members:

Ref-#734

B-8(m,F): „Mine, [they did that by willingness.]“

A-8(m,F): „[Mine also, it is their will.]“

F-8(f,F): „They entered willingly before.“

D-8(f,F): „No, .. it was not their wish.“

D-8: „=Really, greed led others to go into Islam.“

F-8: „Greed of worldly things.“ [E55-Cu]

[...][...]

B-8: „While some entered willingly [by their own willingness, especially my relatives.]“

F-8: „[Some are given cars and materials to join.]“ [E55-Cu]

[...]

A-8: „I was rearing cattle before. So, my master called my and said, 'I will give you my daughter to marry if you become a Muslim'.“ [E55-Su]

[...]

A-8: „Then, I said, even if you ask him, he won't allow it, because I am the only child at home with him. [...] A Kanuri, came and said, 'I won't give my daughter to someone else,

but only you if you could only become a Muslim, because it's you only I like as an in-law'. But I told her that I can't because who will be with my father.“ [E55-Su]

Ref-#736

D-9(m,F): „I even befriended a Muslim girl, and there is even a female child between us. I could have married her, but she told me I have to become a Muslim. I told her 'you know, I have a Muslim in our family, because in the past there was my step sister in Islam'. [...] I said to her: I am the one to marry you and not you marrying me. So you are supposed to follow my religion. She said, 'truly, I told you I can't because my parents will not agree'.“ [E54-Cu]

Attitudes to interreligious marriage:

Ref-#738

T-7: „Would you marry a Marghi boy who is a Christian.“

F-9(f,J): „Oh, yes. Would you marry a Muslim girl?“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#739

B-9(m,J): „If she agreed for me or she sees that she wants to live with me in my religion or would like to be a Christian, I will marry her.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#740

E-8(m,J): „Whoever they may be, if they are a Christian, I will agree. Whoever, maybe even a black or a white man. Whatever tribe, I will agree to him/her.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Either Arab, if he/she is a Christian, I will agree to him/her.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#741

T-7: „If you were a girl from a poor home and it happens that a Muslim comes with a lot of money, [...] would you accept to marry him?“

F-9(f,J): „I as a person won't marry him because of his riches.“ [E54-SM]

Invocation of conversion and marriage with money:

Ref-#745

E-8(m,J): „After a few days when they gave them money and become a Muslim. If it is a wife they have married, they are ready to pay no matter the cost if the woman becomes a Muslim.“ [E54-Cu][E55-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „My daughter, she is still in it.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Just recently. She came and visited me from Maiduguri and gave me ₦1,000, and even slept [[a night]] in my house.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#746

E-9(f,F): „What brought about these is worldliness. If you look at the life of our Christian ladies, we desire worldly things too much. What a Muslim boy can offer to a Christian girl, a Christian boy doesn't have the heart to offer it to a Christian girl.“ [E54-CM]

Ref-#747

D-9(m,F): „There is a lack of proper training of our children right from the beginning. [...] She will need will be more than that of a boy. One, she will need clothes to wear, soap to bathe with pomade and the rest. [...] The father refuses to give her her demand, [...] Such ladies, come in contact with Muslim boys, whatever they ask, they will be given whatever they want.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#748

C-8(f,F): „Now there in our ward, four on the same day. One of them said 'they presented wrappers and gave me money'. Then I stayed a bit. When I take water and have stayed for a short time, I will go my way.“ [E55-Cu]

Ref-#749

E-8(m,J): „They are giving them money, I think like this.“ [E55-Cu]

Attitudes to Kamwe Muslims:

Ref-#752

F-8(f,F): „Since I've sent out the child I gave birth to, let him stay in the same house with me.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#753

D-8(f,F): „You see, my sister, God did not say we shouldn't live with Muslims. Because we are the same people and have to be together.“ [E53-Cu]

Alleged relationships of Muslims to Christians:

Ref-#761

A-8(m,F): „As for me, if your brother is in Islam, you are not a relative to him.“

Ref-#762

A-8(m,F): „He began to name other and said if my brother isn't in Islam, I've no relationship with him. So I was really shocked because this is someone we grew and shared meals with him, and we've been intimately close. [...] I sensed that it's true that if some is a Muslim, your relationship is finished and over. I became so furious to fight him, but God brought [[name]] who cooled me down, saying I know that a Muslims can't be our brother again.“ [E54-Cu]

Conversion of a Muslim to Christianity:

Ref-#765

B-9(m,J): „Converting these people to the way of God can be done only by God.“ [E55-Sm]

Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

Attitudes in which the implication is that it is presumably correct to defend oneself:

Ref-#766

B-8(m,F): „Just fight them without anything happening?“
All: „No, it's not right“ [E52-SM]

Ref-#767

F-8(f,F): „If something happens, we people can fight them, [but if nothings happens, it's not right.]“ [E52-SM]
B-8(m,F): „[If nothing happens, and they have done nothing and if people don't fight, it's not right.]“ [E52-CM]
D-8(f,F): „[That can't happen] because we're brothers with them. [...]“ [E52-Cu]
A-8(m,F): „The Muslims I used to know in Michika, are we not people of the same Michika? There are now many people whose daughters were married by Muslims. If he has not married your own, hasn't he many relatives?“ [E52-CM]

Attitudes in which the moral stance is presumably rather more pacifist:

Ref-#770

B-9(m,J): „As for me, I will not fight. Because of what? The Word of God has not taught us like that. [...] Revenge, says God, it is.“ [E52-Cu]

Reaction in an outspoken emergency situation:

Ref-#771

B-9(m,J): „What brought me out, I really don't know. What happened was that a brother came and knocked on the door at me, saying, if you sleep, people will come and burn you inside, so come out, so that we go into town, lest they come and burn you at home, for there's fighting in town.“ [E52-CM]

C.3.3 Survey of Fali-Kiryia (Cohorts 10 & 11)

C.3.3.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Setting and venue: The contact sessions were held in and immediately outside the church on 15th (contact sessions with youth) and 18th September 2011 (contact sessions with seniors). As with the Tarok, prospective participants were assembled by the pastor on the basis of their availability. The seasonally-conditioned high degree of agricultural activity was already a selecting factor. Furthermore, given the distance (the trip meant travelling, partially by motorbike, for several hours over bush paths to reach the community), patchy communications over the mobile phone network, and the availability of respondents at the time, it became evident that the costs of repeating the exercise in pursuit of gaining a slightly larger selection of prospective respondents far outweighed any conceivable benefit – especially when the additional trouble to the community was accounted for.

Participants: The following table presents each of the participants with what is known of their chief characteristics, as far as these were known:

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-11	male	FaRY-F	Accepted focus group member, married.
B-11	male	FaRY-F	Dominant member of focus group, farmer.
C-11	female	FaRY-F	Accepted member of focus group.
D-11	female	FaRY-F	Dominated and very quiet member of focus group.
E-11	male	FaRY-J	Currently in training as a school teacher with the ambition to go for further education later.
F-11	female	FaRY-J	Accepted, on-going health worker with plans to train later as a nurse.
C-12	female	BeU2S-F	Elderly widow, marginal figure in the community.

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: As with the Kamwe, the Fali respondents showed a forthcoming degree of trust towards me on the basis of my missionary past in the EYN and knowledge of the area. The contact sessions with the older generation were held in Fali-Kirya while the youths, obviously having lost contact with their own tribal tongue, preferred to speak Hausa. That one of the older participants spoke only Fali-Kirya suggests that the community may suffer from an intergenerational rupture in communication that may have far-reaching social and cultural consequences. Focus group moderation was managed by M9, while T10 carried out *in-situ* translation for the interviews.

C.3.3.2 The sources

Self-understanding

Self-understanding in relation to God:

Ref-#773

C-11(f,F): „The purpose He brought me, like now I have given birth to children“ [D53-Sm]

Ref-#774

A-11(m,F): „Even if your parents are pagans, they don't go to church, ok, you who are fortunate to have repented, you are to keep the Word of God, worship God, and serve Him.“ [D53-CM]

Ref-#777

T-10: „Why are we here in this world?“

F-11(m,F): „Because God has a purpose for us.“ [D53-Sm]

Ref-#778

E-11(m,J): „My purpose is to serve the Word of God.“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#780

E-11(m,J): „God kept us particularly to serve Him. To fulfil His mission as He sent us.“ [D53-Su]

The **most important thing** in life:

Ref-#781

F-11(m,F): „The most important thing in my life is the Christianity.“ [D53-SM]

Ref-#782

E-11(m,J): „I am a Christian, I accepted Jesus Christ. That is the most important thing in my life.“ [D53-Cm]

Understanding of “The Other”?

References to “The Other” are almost always directed at Muslims.

Within the immediate vicinity, they are not regarded as any major threat in numbers:

Ref-#783

M-9: „Are there Muslims in this town?“

[...]

C-11: „They are about three.“ [D53-Sm]

But positive features are also attributed to Muslims:

Ref-#784

B-11(m,F): „Truly, the unity that the Muslims have in this town, like those that entered Islam, we Christians, we don't have that unity.“ [D53-Su]

Yet the relationship between the two groups is acknowledged as being very poor, and Muslims are categorised as wayward and even dangerous:

Ref-#785

A-11(m,F): „Anywhere you are as a Christian, if a Muslims sees you, he doesn't like to see you. [...] Even if it is just a small misunderstanding, he will just try and see that he makes life difficult for you.“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#787

F-11(f,J): „All they are trying to is convert Christians to Muslims or to be one of them.“ [D53-SM]

Ref-#789

E-11(m,J): „They are killing our brothers.“ [D53-Su]

The perceived bad behaviour of the Muslims is seen as coming from the Qu'ran...

...and jealousy:

Ref-#793

M-11: „So may – what makes them to kill people?“

F-11(f,J): „Jealousy, jealousy.“ [D53-Su]

Muslims are seen as being far away from God and arrogant in their attitudes.

Ref-#797

F-11(f,J): „Muslims are people that think they are faithful in their religious or worship to God, they don't play with it, but in that worship they do, they are completely at fault, and they don't want to be corrected.“ [D53-CM]

Meanwhile, even pagans are perceived in more favourable terms:

Ref-#799

E-11(m,J): „Pagans do not do anything with us, because even they themselves want to be a Christian like us.“ [C51-Cu]

Fali Muslims, despite being of same tribal group are definitely seen as outsiders:

Ref-#800

E-11(m,J): „Apart from that their Islam, there is in their Islam they showed practical hatred between us and them, because they have heard from their leaders preaching that this people [[Christians]], are pagans, so they regard the pagans as one who kills their brothers.“ [D57-Su]

F-11: „Muslims [...] they know that if they behave the way their brothers in the the town do, it will not go well with them, that is why they are calm here like that.“ [D57-Cu]

The senior respondent regards the term "Fulani" as essentially being synonymous with "Muslim", which is also used in context of an ethnic enumeration:

Ref-#801

C-10(f,J): „Fulani, they don't like us.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu]

[...]

T-10: „Muslims are Fulani. Her understanding of Muslims are Fulani.“ [C-10]

Ref-#803

C-10(f,J): „Muslims do not like Christians to exist. Especially the problem used to erupt in the cities where both Muslims and Christians die.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu]

Ref-#804

C-10(f,J): „The way we live here, Marghi, Fali, Higi, and so on. There is no conflict. Most conflicts begin in the cities and Muslims are the ones who start the conflicts.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu]

Understanding of God

God is described in terms of His agency rather than nature:

Ref-#807

D-11(f,F): „He is our Creator, He gave us good health, food free, clothing.“ [T51-Pm]

Ref-#808

F-11(f,J): „What gives me to pray is because I know it is God that created me, he gave me good health, He gave me clothing, he gave me food, it is a most that I sit and thank Him by way of prayers, because it is by way of prayers that we can communicate with God.“ [T51-Sm]

Ref-#809

T-10: „Why are we here in this world?“

F-11(f,J): „Because God has a purpose for us.“ [T54-Sm]

Understanding of the world

God is seen as the giver of earthly existence and of a life thereafter:

Ref-#810

B-11(m,F): „The church is established to enlighten people that after you die, there is a place you will go, so you should try to fight to see that you go to the right place.“ [T54-CM]

Ref-#811

F-11(f,J): „What will happen to those that have died according to the knowledge of the Bible we know now, if you die, there is judgement. You will be judged according to the life you live while here on earth.“ [T56-SM]

Nevertheless, one senior respondent appears very unconcerned about spiritual matters.

Ref-#812

C-10(f,J): „There is nothing I can do when God's time comes. Since I have stayed long in the world, I will just accept. [...] I have lived a life that I have not cheated, stolen, or borne false witness.“ [T51-Su/U51-Su]

Ref-#813

C-10(f,J): „Church is good. Though I was not baptised, and I don't participate in church activities.“ D56-Sm]

Yet traditional modes of understanding the world do linger. Traditional religion is afforded some currency, especially as embedded in so-called secret societies:

Ref-#816

E-11(m,J): „What they mean or even secret cult, these are the ones that are among these things as I know, as I heard brings problems and brings diseases.“ [T54-PM]

Ref-#817

E-11(m,J): „Based on how our old people, [...] they said if you become a witch and you go and kill someone that person that you went and killed, his brother will go to a witchcraft doctor who will make you to appear in a pot and he will also kill you there.“ [T54-CM/T56-CM]

Ref-#818

E-11(m,J): „What they call secret society, [...] their deeds are similar to that of witchcraft.“ [T54-SM]

Ref-#820

C-10(f,J): „For they say there is witchcraft, but my father didn't have it, nor my mother, so I don't have it. And people say witchcraft kills. To me, I will only die at God's appointed time. There is nothing witchcraft can do to me.“ [T56-Su]

Salient values

Ref-#821

E-11(m,J): „Apart from that I do something that is not right, that is, sometimes when I used to drink beer. When I accepted Jesus Christ, I stopped it.“ [U52-Su]

Drivers of peace

The belief in Jesus Christ is seen as a force that can help individuals work for peace:

Ref-#825

E-11(m,J): „You accepted Christ, that is you forsake sin in your old way of life, and come into new way of life, you receive, you take on the character of Jesus Christ and walk with Him.“ [C52-Cm]

Sharing is one of the most potent ways of instigating peace:

Ref-#826

C-10(f,J): „Nothing exceeds giving food to somebody. Living peace with people, no fighting, don't insult anyone. If you live like that in the world, people will be attracted to you.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#827

C-10(f,J): „Stories are bad. They portray times of war. In these days people fight with sticks, knives, and so on. But those kinds of lives are forgotten. We are in a new era now. no need for fighting, we are not interested in this kind of live which was lived before, for it is no use to us.“[C51-Su/C52-Su]

Ref-#828

C-10(f,J): „The ones I often tell children are those that have good lessons. For instance that tells a story of a lady that people looked for her hand in marriage.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#830

C-10(f,J): „Nobody can talk about enemies now. In those days, this village and Kirya fought. But now, nobody cares about that, because we share the same market.“ [C51-SM/C52-SM]

Marriage and cross-religious relationships

Marriage to a Muslim is not regarded as a welcome option:

Ref-#831

E-11(m,J): „Kai .. this will never happen in my life!“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#832

E-11(m,J): „If you do that, even you brothers or relatives will not associate with you again, if they are Christians.“

F-11(f,J): „There is a great thing, in fear, in this thing.“

E-11(m,J): „For them unless you will be following that their teaching like that. They are also saying that it is the men that help or made the Muslim women to have salvation.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „Truly. So she will not be allowed to practice her religion.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#834

C-10(f,J): „My younger daughter declined. They asked for her hand in marriage, but her father said, “how could I give my daughter to a Fulani?“ [D57-SM/E54-Su]

In the case of the older generation, becoming a Fulani wife is regarded as impractical on the basis of one's work experience:

Ref-#835

C-10(f,J): „If I am used to farming, I will not marry a Fulani. I am already used to farming. What their women are I can't.“ [E54-Su]

[...]

C-10(f,J): „What they do in their own culture is the way they cook. I will not be able to do it. For I got used to farming right from the beginning.“ [E54-Su]

Moral attitudes towards others in general

The pursuit of peace and obedience is seen as an ingredient to God's blessings:

Ref-#837

C-11(f,F): „If now, there is fighting or a crisis, if you come to church, they preach to you, you will make your ways right. Then you will fellowship with one another, no fighting, no fear.“ [E53-Cm]

Prayer and patience are of use when engaging with Muslims:

Ref-#839

F-11(f,J): „ A Muslim possibly becoming my neighbour, first of all, I will pray. And say may God do His will in His life. “ [E53-Su]

Ref-#840

E-11(m,J): „Prayers are the only thing I can do for this Muslim.“ [E53-Su]

Ref-#841

F-11(f,J): „If you live close to a Muslim, [...] you will show them love, you pray for them.“ [E53-SM]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „You can talk to them, sometimes quoting verses from their Qu'ran and compare them with the Bible and explain it to them.“ [E53-SM]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „If God has any plan for such a person, he can repent.“ [E53-SM]

Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

Discussions often circle around invoking action by the security forces, moderated defence and self-defence:

Ref-#844

B-11(m,F): „Well, if truly something like that happened, and I am there, or I am at home, the thing happened, there is nothing I can do, than to call the security and tell what is happening.“ [E52-Su]

[...]

A-11(m,F): „No, I will not do like that, because why, this Christianity is something that has so many rules. They said if a person slaps you on this side, you turn the other side for him to slap you. Because if truly you are a mature Christian, if you take revenge, I that I will do my own will not be more than taking it to God in prayer first.“ [E52-Su]

Ref-#845

B-11(m,F): „If you are called a Christian, definitely it is a must that you will take the cross of Jesus and follow Him. All the sufferings that Jesus suffered, don't forget, it is on your neck: the joy and the sufferings, all is on your neck. If that happens, if even that can happen, you as a Christian, there is nothing retaliating that you can do.“ [E52-Cm]

Ref-#846

T-10: „Is it right for us to kill a Muslim, sometimes?“

E-11(m,J): „Sometimes.“

F-11(f,J): „In war.“ [E52-Sm]

F-11(f,J): „Like when they come to attack us Christians.“

E-11(m,J): „[...] You see things can happen, like this Boko Haram in Maiduguri. They are even coming here, and their coming here is not peace that they are coming here for, so we are supposed to kill them.“ [E52-Sm]

C.3.4 Survey of Muslim Hausa (Cohorts 12 to 15)

C.3.4.1 The cohort and discourse metrics

Setting and venue: The contact sessions were held on the premises of four mosques in wards adjacent to Bauchi Road in Jos North after Asr

and Magreb prayers on 22nd June, and after Magreb prayers on 23rd and 24th June. I did not take part in the interactions due to security concerns, and also in order to make it easier for the team to build trust with potential respondents without my presence. Differing from the churches, the mosque leaderships (HaU3/HaU4) took more control over how the focus groups were composed, overriding the research assistants' preference for segregation of age groups and even the clear separation of focus group and interview settings. The imams insisted also on selecting the participants of the contact session in these two cases, which has considerable implications for the interpretation of the utterances, and it must be expected that respondents were thus very “establishment-conform” in the way they spoke.

Participants: The following table presents each of the participants with what is known of their chief characteristics:

Name	Gender	Session	Characteristics
A-12	male	HaU1S-F	Accepted member of focus group, an Islamic teacher and member of the group Jama'atu Izala.
B-12	male	HaU1S-F	Accepted member of focus group, also a Jama'atu Izala member and Islamic teacher.
C-12	male	HaU1S-F	Accepted member of focus group, a resident of Jos and a student of the group Jama'atu Izala.
D-12	male	HaU1S-F	Accepted member of focus group, a resident of Jos, and a student of Jama'atu Izala.
A-13	male	HaU1Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, from Bauchi State, from where he recently grew up, and now in Jos for reasons of study.
B-13	male	HaU1Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, from Adamawa State, in a border area with Cameroon, studying in religious fields in Jos.
C-13	male	HaU1Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, from Kaduna State, and now in Jos to study “Higher Islam”.
D-13	male	HaU1Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, a local from Plateau State, also studying “Higher Islam”

E-13	male	HaU1S-J	A young man, born and raised in Jos, a place in which he feels very much at home, and interested in developing his business in order to establish a family.
A-14	male	HaU2Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, a young resident of Jos, who sees education as the root to development and life improvement, not only personally, but for the community.
B-14	male	HaU2Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, profession unknown, young man who attributes much importance to education, valuing it above all else in life.
C-14	male	HaU2Y-F	Accepted member of focus group, a young resident of Jos, currently at higher secondary school.
D-14	male	HaU2Y-F	Accepted member of focus group. a student who studies in Kaduna.
E-14	male	HaU2Y-J	Accepted member of focus group. a student who studies in Jos.
A-15	male	HaU3SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group, exhibits an interest in foreign affairs, older group member
B-15	male	HaU3SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group. middle-aged group member.
C-15	male	HaU3SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group. older group member.
D-15	male	HaU3SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group. middle-aged group member.
E-15	male	HaU3SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group. older, commoner member of mosque.
A-16	male	HaU4SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group, runs a local business.
B-16	male	HaU4SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group. younger group member, yet speaks at length.
C-16	male	HaU4SY-FJ	Dominated member of focus group, younger group member, shy.
D-16	male	HaU4SY-FJ	Accepted member of focus group. older group member.
E-16	male	HaU4SY-FJ	Mosque imam, older gentleman

Interaction with moderator/interviewer: The first two mosques (HaU1/HaU2) were visited by M-11 and M-12 and the second two (HaU3/HaU4) by M-13 and M-14. There were no notable differences between the narratives coming from the Sunni-Salafi and the Sufi mosques, which is why they have not been distinguished in the following presentation of the evidence. All discussions were very tempered and polite to the point of appearing controlled and self-censored. In both topic and content, practically all utterances appeared to follow community meta-narratives with little controversy within focus groups. Notably, the imam listened in on the contact sessions in HaU3 and was even the interviewee in the case of HaU4.

C.3.4.2 The sources

Self-understanding

Islam as a religion of peace:

Ref-#848

C-12(m,F): „Now in this our country Nigeria, the way they are shedding people's blood, to be frank, had it been that they are going to follow the Islamic rule, nobody will go before someone and lose his life or someone's blood to drop.
[...]

I see how the Christian religion is, [...] they do anything in this town, that is showing that, truly, if not because the Islamic religion has a peaceful living, they would not have, this country would have been in crisis, total crisis.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#849

B-14(m,F): „A Muslim, his religion is a religion of peace, and their religion is a religion of pity, so there is no how it will happen that a follower of the religion of peace will go and attack. If anyone is arrested with a bomb, definitely you will see that it is a Christian, not a Muslim. So they should know this or understand this thing. Glory to God.“ [D54-SM]

Sense of victimisation:

Ref-#851

D-13(m,F): „We in Nigeria, we are the majority, but we are the ones being despised the most because we, those that sold us, I will say our leaders, have all sold us out.

[...]

We are the majority, yet we are the most despised.“ [C51-SM][D54-SM]

Ref-#852

A-15(m,F): „Anything that a Muslim did that is concerning his religion, then people will say he is a violator.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#853

E-13(m,F): „Those that give me most fear in my life are the people with whom we are >NOT< in one religion with them. Because my religion has told me 'they will not love us unless I [[we]] love what they love'.” [D51-SM]

Differences between Ahali Kitab/"Christians" and Muslims:

Ref-#854

C-12(m,F): „The difference between the Christians and the Muslims. Had it been that time that we came out and see what they had been doing to us, they would have finished us all, thousands of people, Muslims with their children. They wanted to just wipe out the Muslims at this time. [D54-SM] [C52-SM]

Ref-#855

B-12(m,F): „The attacks that are coming on us, they are just thinking, how are we going to harm the Muslims, and this is not what is before us.“ [D54-SM]

Claims to rightful spatial occupancy:

Ref-#856

D-15(m,F): „Muslims, especially the Hausa-Fulani that are here for years more than a hundred, and they have evidence by which they are confirmed in this town.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#857

E-15(m,J): „Those who have formed this town are people of Hausa-Fulani. [...] This is why jealousy, and envy, and enmity has come into the hearts of those who are close to these people of ours.“ [D54-CM][C51-Su]

Two quotes with clear claim to primeval occupancy, both of which mix the identities of religion and ethnicity into a singularity. Each is uttered in a different mosque, but they have a startling morphological similarity, which points to the likelihood of a salient meta-narrative:

Ref-#858

A-13(m,F): „This town that we are inside, the owners are the Muslims and the Hausawa, because in this town God Almighty blesses the Muslims since the time of their forefathers who lived here. They gave birth to their great parents in this town. [...] Anybody that is saying the Muslims are visitors in this town, he is lost and doesn't know the history of this town. [...] It is Islam that established this town.“ [D55/D57-PM][C53-PM]

Ref-#859

A-14(m,F): „In this town that we are inside Jos town is a town of our Muslims, and those that are not even Muslims, with different tribes that God made in it. [...] We have tribes above 50 different tribes, but all it is only one tribe that is disturbing others to go out and leave. [...] If they say they will go by who first came, you will see that it is the Hausa or Muslim tribes that first settle in Plateau. [...] I will tell you it is the Hausa or Muslim tribes, or tell you Hausa-Fulani or Fulani Muslims, they are the first to settle in this land.“ [D57-CM] [C53-CM]

Understanding of „The Other“

The unrighteousness of Christians:

Ref-#861

B-12(m,F): „Anyone that who is not a Muslim, Christians, they don't have righteousness. [...] The brother of this one committed an offence. he will come and defend him and hide the offence. If it is someone that is not his brother that committed an offence, he will try by all means to see that he is punished.“ [D51-SM][C51-SM]

Ref-#862

E-13(m,J): „Our religion has taught us justice. I will not take only bad word and load on them and say oppressors, extortioners. [...] There are upright people there are those who are not upright people as the same way among the Muslims too there are upright people there are those who are not upright people.“ [D51-Su]

Christians' lack of “religion”:

Ref-#864

D-13(m,F): „A Christian is a person that as, does not accept God, or he accepts God, but accepts two.“ [D51-SM]

Ref-#865

C-13(m,F): „The Christians, their religion is said they worship God and after that, their religion, as it is their religion, is opinion and not religion. Why, even now in their Bible, even if they read what is in their Bible, they don't work with it.“ [D51-SM]

Ref-#866

E-14(m,J): „A Christian is like someone that doesn't have a religion.“ [D51-SM]

Recognition of Christians' religion and status as *Ahali Kitab*:

Ref-#867

A-14(m,F): „A Christian since he has a religion. [...] Since they did not say he is a pagan, [...] it is expected that he should know where he is going. Did his religion not show him how life is?

[...]

Life is expensive, so he is supposed to understand, these Muslims, as they are called, they are the friends of the Christians.“ [D51-Cu]

Ref-#868

C-14(m,F): „A Christian [...] knows he has a religion and he has a Bible of his religion. [...] In this, he knows how to go about his life. This, if he does it well. If he does this not well, isn't it? So, if it is so, it is expected that he should be studying his Bible. [...] This tribe doesn't agree with that tribe, and all their Bible is not the same.“ [D51-Cm]

Ref-#869

D-14(m,F): „Likewise the Christians, like they gave us this Qu'ran, the same way they gave them the Bible, no fomenting trouble, no this things, only to live peacefully with everybody. There is no how they will say, it is- it is a lie to say that the Bible today came with-with-with saying today they said you should fight the Muslims or Islam, or the Qu'ran said you should fight the Christians.“ [D51-Cm]

Ref-#870

E-16(m,J): „A Christian to us we Muslims is he whom God himself called *Ahali Kitab* whom is given the book he is the one we are calling him Christian who did *Ahali Kitab* who hold his book and he is working with it.“ [D51-SM]

Christians as believers in the Trinity / poligamy:

Ref-#872

B-15(m,F): „A Christian, [...] he has belief in him is Isa [[Jesus]], prophet Isa which we Muslims we call him prophet Isa but to him who is Christian? He is regarding him as Son of God. [...] He also believes in what he called God the Father, God the Son and also God the Holy Spirit, which we see as three God in one, the point of disagreement which we Muslims believe.“ [D51-SM]

Non-Muslims as holding power in Plateau State:

Ref-#873

D-16(m,F): „He is governor of Plateau State and also king of Jos together. So these things, they are the one that hold the real root of this *rikicin* that has refused to finish.“ [D51-SM][C51-SM]

Non-Muslims as the source of Boko Haram:

Ref-#874

D-13(m,F): „From there, they are just using this Boko Haram, killing Muslims with this name Boko Haram, and they know who are the Boko Haram. They have arrested some several times. They have arrested Igbo and the rest of them like that with Boko Haram name, and they are not Muslims and they know it like that.“ [D51-SM] [C51-SM]

Explicit mention of the Berom:

Ref-#876

C-14(m,F): „If there is anyone that is enjoying it, [...] it is the Berom. [...] He doesn't even like us in the land, and the land is not his. [...] The Fulani brought him up. The Fulani put him in school.“ [D55/D57-SM]

Ref-#877

D-14(m,F): „This thing, Gada Biyu, they too, the Berom, they are not happy, or these yam sellers that are, we and or this, or this machine that we are riding, we don't sell there. Only our machines we just passed. This thing, or these yam sellers that bring them, it's good, since they eat with us and we also go and eat with them.“ [D55/D57-SM] [C52-SM]

Understanding of God

God as a Creator of friend and foe:

Ref-#879

A-13(m,F): „God Almighty said in the Qu'ran, 'I did not create spirit and human being, except to worship me'.“ [T51-SM][C52-Su]

Ref-#880

D-14(m,F): „Islam does not permit for you to catch a person because he is not following your religion and kill him. [...] It is He that created the Muslims, it is He that created the pagans and all of them He loved, except with a reason, that God permits that is in war, it is only then that you can touch anyone that is not practising your religion“ [T51-SM][E52-SM]

Ref-#881

E-16(m,J): „God has said, 'I have not created man with creation for anything except for them to serve me'.“ [T51-SM]

Understanding of the world

Ref-#883

E-13(m,J): „Indeed, God has said he is giving to people leaders who are equivalent to them. Because of people, then it happens that the people of God, they should rule on them. [...] But if it happens that the people, they themselves are doing things which are severely sinful, then there is no way they can expect God to give them upright leaders who will do them justice.“ [T54-SM] [T51-Su]

Salient values

The truth and honesty:

Ref-#885

A-12(m,F): „Truly, what I desire most is to find an elder that has wisdom that will tell people the truth.“ [T51-Su]

Ref-#886

B-12(m,F): „If you do like that, or a Muslim if he makes a promise, don't fail to fulfil that promise between you and anyone that is not a Muslim, except he is the first to fail that promise.“ [T51-Su]

Observation of moral values will invoke God to usher in the good life:

Ref-#887

E-13(m,F): „God has said he is giving to people leaders who are equivalent to them.“ [T51-Su][T54-SM]

Drivers of peace

The peaceful and patient nature of Muslims:

Ref-#888

C-12(m,F): „The importance of peace in Islam and even those that are not Muslims is given, that is peace is more than anything.“ [D54-Su]

Ref-#890

D-13(m,F): „My addition is that truly peace is the ultimate in everything. That is why the Muslim man said, living in peace is better than being a king's son.“ [C52-SM]

Ref-#891

E-16(m,J): „We are the ones being deceived and after deceiving us, our leaders and our religion will tell us to exercise patience, and we exercise patience and we agreed because of agreeing with judgement of God. This is the contribution that Muslims will offer to peace.“ [C52-SM]

Ref-#892

E-16(m,J): „Peace is JUSTICE. To give everyone his right, and that is what Islam is all about, that is why it brought peace. [...] But once there is no justice, I brought report and I will not obtain my right, and keep supporting whom I reported, then indeed the issue to stay peaceful even has not taken its way. But once there is no justice, even if I am deceived/cheated/blackmailed, I will report to the authorities and I will not be given my right. Instead they keep supporting whom I reported. Then the issue of staying peacefully has not taken its way.“ [C52-SM]

Understanding of what peace is:**Ref-#893**

B-16(m,F): „Peace, what is meant by peace is; to do justice, and to have the justice to make the government stable..“ [C52-Su]

The dividend that peace provides:**Ref-#894**

C-12(m,F): „The blessings that are in living peacefully cannot be counted.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#895

C-12(m,F): „Even religious matters, except there is peace, anything concerning this life, if there is no peace, then there will be nothing, nothing will work.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#896

C-12(m,F): „Leading the people. Whatever you will give, give them peace, it is more important than anything else. [...] But no matter how wealthy a country is, even if anywhere you touch or march, there is gold, if there is no peace, the wealth is in vain.“ [C52-Su]

But the government also has a role in ensuring this peace dividend:**Ref-#897**

D-14(m,F): „They should look and see and have pity on the people in Plateau, not a pagan, not a different person, not a different person, not a tribe, not a Yoruba, not a Fulani, not a Muslim.“ [C52-SM][D57-SM]

Ref-#898

B-15(m,F): „There is not even a complete 10% of work for development, whether repairing road, or provision of electricity, or repairing schools or anything that is called development none of it was amongst the people of the Muslims.“ [C51-SM][C52-SM]

Ref-#899

D-14(m,F): „Peace itself, truly, is a simple thing, but if they take or follow it in a way that the Governor will [...] call the Christian leaders, call the leaders of Muslims in Jos, sit down and discuss with the chiefs, the Muslims leaders, the pastors or other leaders in Jos.“ [C52-SM][D55/D57-SM]

God's calling for peaceful behaviour:

To invoke peace, one must follow wholesome patterns of behaviour:

Ref-#901

B-13(m,F): „Because if you see Muslims, and even pagans are deceiving them, you should know that among them there are fake ones or there are among them those that it is not the religion that bothers them.“ [C52-Su][D54-Su][T51-Su]

Ref-#902

B-15(m,F): „Peace is justice to everybody in life such that everybody will get his right without someone holding someone's right either because of his religion or because of his tribe or also because of his colour or his language.“ [C52-Su]

Proposals to promote peace actively:***Ref-#905***

B-15(m,F): „One contribution that Muslim people can give is to understand/identify those who are not Muslim that have this opinion and also effort to join hands with them or work together with them.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#907

E-16(m,J): „The contribution that they can bring out; is they should agreed that they will follow what their book [[Bible]] has told them. If only they will work with their book, then peace is already gotten.“ [C52-SM]

Drivers of conflict

Recounts of violent situations:

Ref-#909

C-12(m,F): „Those that are pagan, it is them that went and entered the church and placed the bomb. But because we Muslims, we don't have that aim, then they went, the Christians, they went and blocked people and continued to kill people.

[...]

Government Security was there and Muslim Security, and even those that are not Muslims and policemen of the Government and the Muslims, and those that are not Muslims and security of SSS, they came and they were just looking. Christians were carrying stones in tipper trucks, coming to put them on the road, while we were sitting inside the mosque as we prayed or worshipped.“ [C51-SM] [D51-SM][E52-SM]

The government is the primary initiator of conflict. Violence is tolerated and indeed promoted by Governor Jang:

Ref-#912

B-12(m,F): „Here is a person arrested for a crime. They will allow him to go. If they go and investigate. If they find out that some big men in code are behind it, that is all you will go and find out what happened,, you will look for them and will not see them.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#913

C-13(m,F): „They will take a Governor pagan and also take his deputy a pagan. So you see, there is no how we will have peace or live in peace, but where other states, if they take a Christian as the Governor, they should take his deputy, should be a Muslim.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#915

B-16(m,F): „The controller general of custom from Plateau State, also a tribe of the governor, he is supplying arms and he is bringing to Plateau State and he is giving them to their people, his brothers Christians just to fight us we who are not their people.“ [C51-SM]

The conflict has been provoked for political reasons:

Ref-#916

A-12(m,F): „They can or want to affect the character of the whole country, because any crisis that is happening, is almost that they are learning from the big people that caused the crisis in Plateau.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#917

E-13(m,J): „They saw that there was nothing that is more proper than if they put religion inside. So the more they will gain support that if as before they are doing it – doing it themselves of their tribe? So if they put religion come in, they discovered that they will have supporters. So this is why I said first, it is a war of tribalism, but later, it turned and then it become religious.“ [C51-SM][D55/D56/D57-SM]

Ref-#919

D-15(m,F): „Preventing their children from study in all schools, preventing them from entering the work of government, despite the fact that they deserve to be given, not with this, all their rights.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#920

A-15(m,F): „There is no governor that is working like this governor in Plateau State all over; he constructed roads, he did container contract, he built stadium, he did a lot of things, he visited every place. He constructed an express road, this twin roads. But no project that you will come into the town where Muslims are. [...] They set this goal of their own that they will be given the Middle Belt to establish a country belonging to Christians, and made Jos the headquarters for a Christian country. [...] We have Bishara Street number one (No. 1) COCIN, [...] we have first Baptist Church, [...] likewise Good News, [...] Darben Street market was not touched.“ [C51-Su]

Explaining Boko Haram:

Muslims too fear the organisation:

Ref-#924

B-13: „This situation frightens me a lot, because they don't even know who is doing it, and they will come and be killing people [[reference to Boko Haram]].“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#925

E-14(m,J): „This Boko Haram that comes, because of them, people are being killed, the Muslims, the Christians.“ [C51-CM]

Boko Haram however is not Muslim, but perhaps Christian:

Ref-#927

D-13(m,F): „They have arrested Igbo and the rest of them like that with Boko Haram name, and they are not Muslims and they know it like that.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#928

B-14(m,F): „Any time they caught a person, you will see that they are Christians, and if they don't catch them, the government will say it is the Muslims.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#929

B-16(m,F): „They the government, they are deceiving the people of Nigeria. There is a certain interest differently that want to be used on the issue of Boko Haram particularly also on us Muslims who are the majority in northern Nigeria. It is for this they created them. [...] Here in Jos, COCIN Church Headquarters. They had an attack of bomb last, he who went and made this attack is Christian, their names are Joseph Ashaba. [...] There was an attempt of suicide bombing at Bauchi, whom was a woman and she is a Christian.“ [C51-SM]

Boko Haram exists at the pleasure of the (Christian-run) government...:

Ref-#930

C-14(m,F): „The things and issues, truly, on Boko Haram the Musl- Muslims are not Boko Haram. They go and know where Boko Haram is. If the government were to bring out Boko Haram, say today like they killed Yusuf, Ahmed Yusuf, but why was it that when he said no, he wanted to go and talk with the Governor, why did they not allow him.“ [D57-Su][C51-Su]

Ref-#931

D-15(m,F): „They have caught many people accused of planting these bombs or met them with some weapons. But up to today, we don't know one person who is said today was introduced to court in order to judge him. So this shows that the government is not really serious and do not have zeal even to resolve this matter.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#932

B-14(m,F): „They will say it is such-and-such a group, the Boko Haram. What, they are no the ones, truly the situation, they should stand and understand the government of Nigeria is the one causing all these things.“ [C51-SM]

...and is indeed a child of the government and the ruling party:

Ref-#933

B-14(m,F): „Everyday they are saying 'Boko Haram', and now nobody can show you this Boko Haram, even though the President once said he eats with them, he lives with them, he does what with them.“ [C51-SM]

An assessment of the effects of Boko Haram:

Ref-#934

B-15(m,F): „We will see that the bomb attacks we are having are nearly more frequent in worship centres where Christians do their service, which thus increases doubt or fear/suspicion that Christians have to Muslims, which led to having several time Christians can call everyone who is a Muslim member of Boko Haram, they interpret (relate) Boko Haram with Islam.“ [C51-Su]

Marriage and cross-religious relationships

God forbids marriage between Muslims and Christians:

Ref-#937

C-12(m,F): „It is forbidden for a Muslim to marry a woman that is a Christian, because it is God Himself that forbids this marriage, not any Islamic teacher or leader.“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#938

C-12(m,F): „No matter how beautiful she is, no matter how you love her, don't marry her, for you to marry, that is worshipping a different god.“ [E54-Su]

It is better to look for one's own divorcees first:

Ref-#939

D-12(m,F): „We have divorcees, they are here, our very own, they are looking for those that will marry them.“ [E54-Cm]

The injunctions permitting it are from a time when Islam was weak:

Ref-#940

B-12(m,F): „Islam has a standard. There are verses at the back that they can marry, but in this time that we are talking, there are talks like, because of what, at that time Islam was not strong, and Muslims were not many.“ [E54-Su]

Many women marrying Muslims may in their heart not wish to be Muslims, and this can raise many problems:

Ref-#941

B-12(m,F): „Now, if you marry a woman with the name *Ahali Kitab*, she goes to church with your children on Sunday, and you, if you are a bit jealous, you go to the mosque. [...] She eats pigs, she eats dog, and you, you eat goat, you eat sheep, you eat cow. So know, how will you do, if she cooks her own, you will join her and eat or you? [...] They say there is no mistake that is greater than for a person to say that God is three in One, Trinity. So there is no mistake that is greater than that. These authors and many others say they are pagans, even if they talk, what explanation in creation that the Qu'ran came and met them with the Bible, what about now, are they still there?“
[...]

„But what about now? Where are they? Who are the *Ahali Kitab*? [...] If they say they are the *Ahali Kitab*, where is their real Bible? They say the one that one, that is older than the Qu'ran, all these ones are in the hand of the Qu'ran. [...] Now if she dies in pregnancy, in which grave will they take her?' It is a belief that the child in her womb will take after his father, a Muslim, and she, she is not a Muslim, in which grave will they take her?“ [E54-Sm]

Christians are no longer *Ahali Kitab*, but only Christian in name:

Ref-#942

B-13(m,F): „Especially the Christians of nowadays, they are just Christians by name, but they are not practising Christianity. [...] Because of that, the opinion of marrying them is not there at all.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#943

A-13(m,F): „They don't marry Christians because Christians, some referred to them as *Ahali Kitab* but now in our own time now, there is no *Ahali Kitab*. [...] So because of that, you see, anyone who marries a Christian, marries a pagan, or someone who does not have a religion. She is just a pagan and not this thing.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#944

A-15(m,F): „Yes, even though Muslim religion has given the right through the tongue of the messenger/prophet, peace be upon him [all: peace be upon him] that we can marry *Ahali Kitab*, which means like Christian. But now, I cannot marry, because Christians that were known in those days are not the ones now, they have changed completely.“ [E54-Su]

Marrying a Christian is permitted:

Ref-#945

E-13(m,J): „Our religion has agreed for us to marry, since they are the ones who are called *Ahali Kitab*.“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#946

B-14(m,F): „Ok. Even *Ahali Kitab*, the Islam religion does not forbid, but as long as the woman will not convince the husband to follow.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#947

D-14(m,F): „If you will marry a Christian woman, but if she will not be able to draw you into Christianity, it is ok.“ [E54-Sm]

It is permitted, but wrought with problems:

Ref-#948

B-16(m,F): „Marrying religion ... marrying a woman which is called *Ahali Kitab* in Islam is something which we know it we agreed with it. But I in my position as a Muslim now, I will not marry a Christian. [E54-Su]

Ref-#950

E-16(m,J): „Our Qu'ran has given right that Muslims can marry Christians. [...] They are here plenty who do not have husbands, [...] they are the ones that most deserve that I marry instead of a Christian.“ [E54-Su]

Reasons for conversion

The Prophet sets an example of moral living:

Ref-#951

B-12(m,F): „A Muslim that gives a good example if he interacts with someone that is not a Muslim, let him interact with him sincerely.“ [E55-Su]

Ref-#952

B-12(m,F): „Good relationships between those that are not Muslims, this draws their attention to desire the Islamic religion.“ [E55-SM]

People will be enticed to convert if Muslims demonstrate respect for their own religion:

Ref-#953

A-13(m,F): „Christian to leave his religion and turn to Islam, if he see that the Muslims in all that they do, they are sincere and they also see that the Muslims do not play with their religion. [...] Even their pastors as they read their Bibles, they read and see that their religion is not a religion, the true is the Islamic religion.“ [E55-SM]

Establish good relationships with non-Muslims:

Ref-#954

D-13(m,F): „The Muslims themselves should make sure they create a cordial relationship with the Christians, because this cordial relationship between you can make someone who is not one of you to desire to be one of you.“ [E55-CM]

A good example goes before preaching:

Ref-#955

E-13(m,J): „Of 100%, 95% were Islamised not because of the preaching that he had been doing to them. They were Islamised because of the behaviour that was good between him and them.“ [E55-SM][T51-SM]

Ref-#956

B-14(m,F): „If they showed him the right way, through pity and how the religion is not difficult, Islam is easy.“ [E55-SM]

Ref-#957

D-14(m,F): „Different things you will be showing him, until it will make him to say, this your religion is it. From there he will develop an interest to join.“ [E55-CM]

Evil prevents Christians from converting:

Ref-#958

C-15(m,F): „They know that our religion is the true religion. Those things, one, two to three which are being spoken to them and also the enmity that keep entering their heart against the Islamic religion is what will prevent them coming to Islam.“ [E55-CM]

Christians can find the way to Islam in their own scriptures:

Ref-#959

A-16(m,F): „Prophet Isa told him that 'there is someone to come, there is my master he will come. [...] Therefore a Christian if is a real Christian he already knows about our prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him.'“ [E55-SM]

Ref-#960

E-16(m,J): „What will make a Christian to turn back into Islamic religion; is if he agreed with his book [[Bible]] that all that it teaches him, he will work with it, then at that time he will turn back to Islamic religion, because his book has told him this.“

Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

Moral guidelines for perpetrating or abstaining from violence:

Ref-#964

A-12(m,F): „The Islamic religion protects the right of everybody, [...] the Muslims and those that are not Muslims. [...] But Islam did not permit that you lie down for somebody to come and kill you“ [E52-SM] [E53-SM]

Ref-#966

C-14(m,F): „The Islam, just like that you cannot hold somebody who is not a Muslim unless there is war.“ [E52-SM] [E53-SM]

Ref-#967

E-16(m,J): „A Muslim, he himself is not killing someone just like that unless with reason.“ [E52-SM]

Ref-#969

A-13(m,F): „It is not right to kill a non-Muslim, unless there is a reason.“ [E52-Su][E53-Su]

Section D: Field data Interpretation

Chapter D.1 Evaluation of Core Data Set Query

D.1.1 Analysis of Berom data of August 2011

D.1.1.1 Discourse and thematic analysis of seniors' data (Cohorts 1 & 2)

Discourse. Most respondents appear to be part of an influential and respected class of elder churchgoers. Particularly two men, one a former army sergeant who took part in West African peacekeeping missions, and the other a school teacher, are particularly outspoken in their opinions. Furthermore, the power roles within the group are strongly tilted towards the men, who tend to speak first and for longer than women.

There are some marked differences in the way people respond, depending on whether they are speaking in an interview or in a group setting. These differences are most notable in people's appeal to social norms and standards. In the focus groups, people make frequent reference to God and Jesus, as if to underline their piety in conformance to a “group think”³⁵⁷. However, the references to God and expressions of piety tend to become less common in the course of contact sessions. A possible explanation is an obvious need to demonstrate ones Christian credentials within the group before engaging more freely with the material of discussion. Meanwhile, interview respondents make considerably fewer references to God from the beginning (eight occurrences coded as “orthodoxous piety” in focus groups cf. none in interviews), and here too the frequency of the references tends to decline over the course of the contact session. I postulate that individuals feel more comfortable in an interview than in a focus group setting, and may even extend a higher degree of trust to the interviewer than towards their fellow church members.

³⁵⁷ e.g. Ref-#24/Ref-#26/Ref-#27

Spirituality and agency of God. The model that any mention of God or expression of piety is an appeal to a “group-think” and not a genuine micro-level voice should not be overworked. There is ample evidence that God is an immediate reality to all respondents (a majority of reference texts in the reference repository in Appendix G.7.1 refer to Him at least once), and quite apart from being mentioned as a source of succour in many life situations, He is evidently also the most crucial agent in overcoming violence³⁵⁸. Conjunctively, prayer is seen largely as the vehicle to salvation³⁵⁹, and several respondents voice the opinion that the church's contribution to peace is to fast and pray³⁶⁰. This spiritually pregnant understanding of how the conflict is governed is an indication that respondents doubt that any human effort to overcoming their predicament can be successful if God is not the agent behind it. Indeed, beyond spiritual devotion, only F-1 affords humans any immediate role in building peace and reconciliation³⁶¹. This is perhaps surprising, in that not only disease, accident and death are largely attributed to rational causes³⁶², but also the origins of conflict, which are grounded in a Muslim agenda of land-grabbing and political dominance already supported in colonial times³⁶³. The fixation on God may simply be an admission of helplessness, and frequent eschatological innuendo³⁶⁴ may indicate a longing for a "deus-ex-machina" ending to a situation similar to the intractable pandemonium of a Greek tragedy in which respondents feel they are unwilling “extras”.

³⁵⁸ Ref-#135/Ref-#136, and with some doubt in the Will of God: Ref-#139 - interview-based!

³⁵⁹ e.g. Ref-#43/Ref-#58/Ref-#60/Ref-#96/Ref-#116/Ref-#135/Ref-#138/Ref-#140

³⁶⁰ Ref-#96/Ref-#135

³⁶¹ Ref-#78

³⁶² Ref-#9/Ref-#11/Ref-#13 with Ref-#12 alluding to a possible spiritual understanding

³⁶³ i.a. Ref-#50/Ref-#65/Ref-#77/Ref-#80/Ref-#81/Ref-#83/Ref-#123

³⁶⁴ Ref-#58/Ref-#59/Ref-#60/Ref-#61

Identity. The emerging feature of identity is that of ethnicity, i.e. Berom³⁶⁵, with its inherent attributes of God-willed land ownership and indigeneship³⁶⁶, although in many instances it is conflated with Christianity³⁶⁷, or contextually treated even as one and the same³⁶⁸. In the respondents' understanding of the Plateau context, Beromness is the expression of pure Christianity. At least one allusion was made to the Christian characteristics of the Berom back in pagan times³⁶⁹. For the most part, the antithesis, or “Otherness” of Beromness is simply “Muslim”, although they might also be categorised as nomadic Fulani in intrinsically rural contexts³⁷⁰. They are relegated to the role of guests who have turned rogue. The Muslims are seen as followers of Mohammed, a human being, or of a dead god³⁷¹. Muslims' influence is regarded as being morally corrupting³⁷². There is little or no indication that the respondents would envision any personal outreach to Muslims. Rather, God, is seen as being on the Beroms' side in this struggle for land and resources. Repeatedly, the Beroms' predicament is likened to the Israelites' struggle for survival³⁷³. The prominence of this biblical motif is an indication that Biblical imagery has permeated the respondents' understanding of the conflict, and could be prescriptive for moral behaviour. Indeed, one respondent does cite Israel as an example for action³⁷⁴. In this, the respondents' religious expression gains a henotheistic dimension, which may be a continuation of an older religious tradition, according to which ancestors and deities were allies in ethnic struggles, whereas the respondents now draw actively on the OT to nurture this understanding

³⁶⁵ Ref-#3/Ref-#92

³⁶⁶ Ref-#48/Ref-#63/Ref-#65/Ref-#67/Ref-#78/Ref-#82/Ref-#92

³⁶⁷ Ref-#64/Ref-#91

³⁶⁸ Ref-#74/Ref-#113

³⁶⁹ Ref-#64

³⁷⁰ Ref-#74/Ref-#78

³⁷¹ Ref-#86

³⁷² Ref-#56/Ref-#57/Ref-#73

³⁷³ Ref-#73/Ref-#133/Ref-#107

³⁷⁴ Ref-#133

of God – and prayerful devotion and fasting would be the prescribed way to curry the favour of His mighty force. This might have severe implications. Most direly, it might mean that a religious identity is forged with a Christian God who is intrinsically hostile to Muslims. This would make it pointless to engage directly with “The Other” in the pursuit of peace, as one can only seek to either scatter or dominate ones enemies. Meanwhile, it is noteworthy that “Berom” tends to be is used in the context of Muslim power and land grabbing, while in descriptions of direct violence, it is almost always “Christian”.

Morality. Happily, the picture is more nuanced than that. A widely-shared Berom self-perception is one of accommodation and hospitality³⁷⁵, and there appears to be a genuine longing for peace³⁷⁶. However, respondents' actual understanding of peace remains vague. Condensed and reified, it might amount to a longing for how things were in the past or an expression of nostalgia for a time when conflict appeared less common³⁷⁷. The NT message of Christian pacifism also emerges frequently, albeit couched in terms of “vengeance belongs to God”³⁷⁸. There is a general perception of Muslim wrong-doing and evil intention³⁷⁹, which is grounded in their religious formation³⁸⁰. The one salvific hope lies with God, who, through prayer, will show the Muslims how wrong they are and lead them to repentance³⁸¹. The notion of loving one's enemy emerges only seldom³⁸², and several respondents feel that total disengagement with Muslims would be best, allegedly to maintain purity³⁸³.

³⁷⁵ e.g. Ref-#63/Ref-#67/Ref-#68

³⁷⁶ Ref-#3/Ref-#5/Ref-#27/Ref-#33/Ref-#43/Ref-#60/Ref-#109/Ref-#111/Ref-#6(appendix)/Ref-#71(appendix)

³⁷⁷ Ref-#109

³⁷⁸ e.g. Ref-#113/Ref-#129/Ref-#135/Ref-#130/Ref-#140/Ref-#127(appendix)/Ref-#110(appendix)

³⁷⁹ e.g. Ref-#77/Ref-#78/Ref-#80/Ref-#81/Ref-#83/Ref-#124/Ref-#84(appendix)

³⁸⁰ Ref-#79/Ref-#85/Ref-#86/Ref-#128

³⁸¹ Ref-#136

³⁸² Ref-#109/Ref-#130

³⁸³ Ref-#11/Ref-#73/Error: Reference source not found

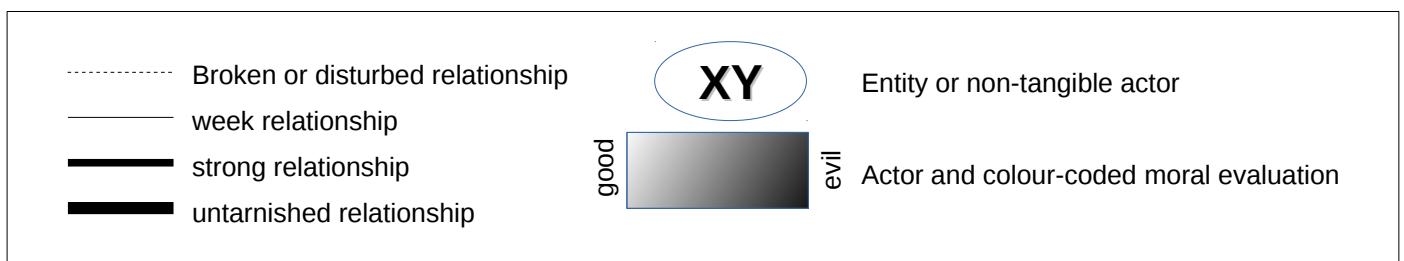
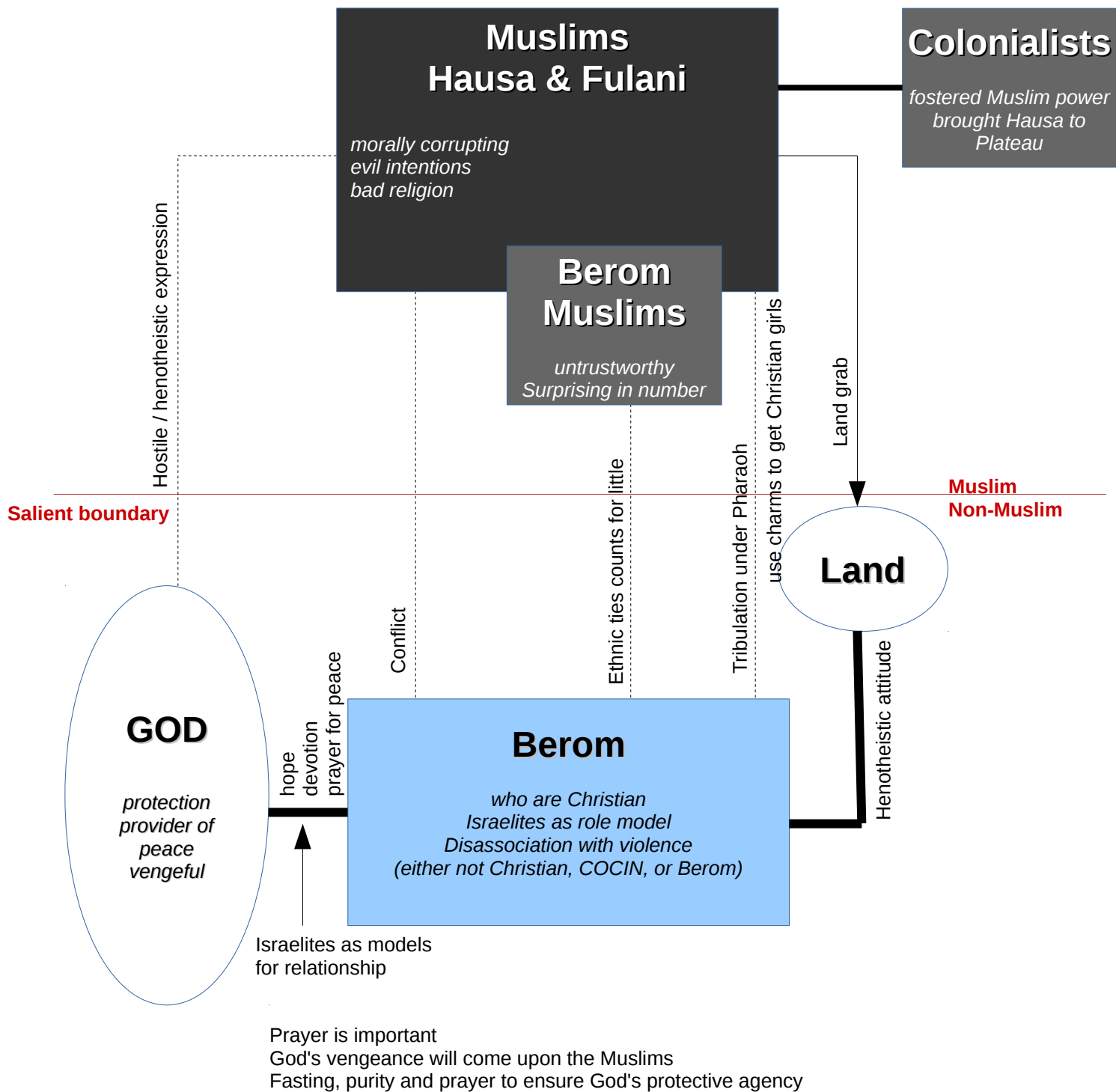


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to Berom Seniors in August 2011

There are strong indications of frustration and resignation, and the past is idealised³⁸⁴. One woman, E-2, expresses a flicker of self-doubt in an interview when she wonders aloud whether God has forsaken them³⁸⁵. At a material level, respondents, and in this context notably the former military peacekeeper E-1, have only subdued expectations for the future³⁸⁶. At a moral level, the use of weapons against Muslims is not an option they wish to entertain³⁸⁷, although a common evaluation of violence is “we cannot just fold our hands” and watch destruction unfold³⁸⁸, which exhibits a general departure from any pacifist position, as far as accepting defence as morally legitimate. Two male respondents, A-1 and A-2, hint independently that they attempted to restrain their youth during crises³⁸⁹. When specifically confronted with Christian youths burning Muslim homes, these youths are described as “provoked” and “angry”³⁹⁰. The apologetic stance is then invariably compounded by the assertion that they were either non-Christians³⁹¹, or members of a denomination other than COCIN³⁹², but certainly not Berom³⁹³. There is also outright denial of any Christian aggression³⁹⁴. It appears that group-boundaries are being adapted so that they permit disassociation from the particular allegation, be that by means of tribal, religious, or even denominational differentiation, whatever serves the purpose of maintaining innocence.

Solution. The solution to the crisis is clearly in God's hands. Human agency is nearly always reduced to prayer³⁹⁵. There are attributes

³⁸⁴ Ref-#109/Ref-#138

³⁸⁵ Ref-#139

³⁸⁶ Ref-#123

³⁸⁷ Ref-#96/Ref-#135

³⁸⁸ Ref-#116/Ref-#124

³⁸⁹ Ref-#115/Ref-#117/Ref-#114(appendix)

³⁹⁰ Ref-#121/Ref-#124

³⁹¹ Ref-#120

³⁹² Ref-#122

³⁹³ Ref-#92

³⁹⁴ Ref-#125

³⁹⁵ e.g. Ref-#96/Ref-#135/Ref-#137/Ref-#140

associated with raising prayer's effectivity, such as “sincerely from our hearts”³⁹⁶ or for God to “touch our hearts”³⁹⁷. Prayer is also mentioned in conjunction with other actions such as fasting³⁹⁸, living in purity³⁹⁹, or reminding the youth to stay close to God⁴⁰⁰. Combining this with the resistance to bearing arms, at least “officially”, God is in control, and it is to Him that respondents look for a solution. Throughout, prayer is seen principally as a utilitarian undertaking and not one which is concerned with a divine relationship for its own sake.

D.1.1.2 Discourse and thematic analysis of youths' data (Cohort 3)

Discourse. The interviewed youths appear to be members of what might in local terms be considered middle class; as one female respondent puts it, “from an average home, we don't lack and we don't have in excess”⁴⁰¹. Most indicate that they have enjoyed some form of higher education, and are every bit as comfortable to respond in English as in Berom or Hausa. Two cohort members, B-3 and E-3 (one male and one female, to whom we will refer to as “double-respondents”), are both interviewees in a one-to-one setting with the researcher, as well as part of a focus group moderated by a research assistant. This permits the comparison of the same respondent's behaviour in both settings. Consistent with their seniors' behaviour, the respondents gravitate more strongly towards expressions of piety during focus group sessions. F-3, in answering the question as to what the most important thing in his life is, replies that it is education⁴⁰², but modifies his previous statement when his peers “upstage” him with references to God⁴⁰³. Notably, the female double-

³⁹⁶ Ref-#96

³⁹⁷ Ref-#43

³⁹⁸ Ref-#135

³⁹⁹ Error: Reference source not found

⁴⁰⁰ Ref-#136/Ref-#137

⁴⁰¹ Ref-#259

⁴⁰² Ref-#160

⁴⁰³ Ref-#162

respondent E-3, herself content to extol the importance of “life”, “family” and “friends” during her interview⁴⁰⁴, again quotes “life” in the focus group⁴⁰⁵, but like everyone else, falls into an outward expression of piety⁴⁰⁶. Similarly, the other double-respondent, B-3, admits readily in the interview to having Muslim friends⁴⁰⁷, despite being considerably more critical of Muslims in his previous contact session⁴⁰⁸. In both youth focus group sessions, there are periods when the members dynamically and rapidly align their opinions to shape a joint judgement about who Muslims are⁴⁰⁹.

Gender roles are more balanced than in the cohorts of Berom seniors. While one of the two females (D-3) in the cohort participates on equitable terms with her male colleagues in one of the focus groups, the other (E-3) even dominates extended parts of the conversation, and decisively influences the morphology of the responses to the cue questions. Although the female respondents report planning traditional female occupations and roles for their future, such as homemaker or help for the needy⁴¹⁰, and unlike their male counterparts were not directly involved in violence during the conflicts⁴¹¹, they clearly find a voice in the focus group conversations, and are accepted by their male colleagues as fully-fledged conversation partners.

The role and agency of God. Despite the caveats mentioned above, God does take a central position in the youths' world-views. This starts with their understanding of why they are here, be it to serve God and

⁴⁰⁴ Ref-#165/Ref-#168

⁴⁰⁵ Ref-#161

⁴⁰⁶ Ref-#200

⁴⁰⁷ Ref-#273/Ref-#274

⁴⁰⁸ Ref-#287

⁴⁰⁹ Ref-#270/Ref-#269(appendix)

⁴¹⁰ Ref-#165/Ref-#158

⁴¹¹ Ref-#339/Ref-#341

humanity⁴¹², to represent Him⁴¹³, preach the Word of God⁴¹⁴, or to perfect themselves in His image⁴¹⁵. While the exact meaning of peace remains obscure⁴¹⁶, personal well-being is associated with the “goodness of God”, which is seen as a prerequisite for any positive moral action⁴¹⁷; B-3 expresses the importance of keeping good company⁴¹⁸ and E-3 talks about the moral force within a church that focusses her mind on God⁴¹⁹. God Himself is seen as a source of succour⁴²⁰, and as of a forgiving spirit, even towards Muslims⁴²¹. Respondents report they have seen His Hand in protecting them against Muslim attacks⁴²². He is characterised as being on the Christians' side, which is most clearly voiced by A-3⁴²³. Nevertheless, God is mentioned elsewhere as loving Muslims as well⁴²⁴.

Belonging. Compared to the senior cohort, ethnic belonging appears to be considerably less significant. The word “Berom” is seldom uttered⁴²⁵; seniors use it without prompt about three times more frequently (see Subchapter D.1.4, Annex G.8). This supports the proposition that religious belonging transcends ethnicity as the salient identity grouping for a younger generation. Even when cued, B-3 identifies himself first as a Christian, and then only as an afterthought as a Berom⁴²⁶. Both interviewees point out that their circles of friends are of mixed ethnic and

⁴¹² Ref-#144/Ref-#150

⁴¹³ Ref-#146/Ref-#147/Ref-#145(appendix)

⁴¹⁴ Ref-#148

⁴¹⁵ Ref-#147

⁴¹⁶ e.g. “absolute calmness”, Ref-#155

⁴¹⁷ Ref-#195

⁴¹⁸ Ref-#170

⁴¹⁹ Ref-#202

⁴²⁰ Ref-#195/Ref-#196

⁴²¹ Ref-#197/Ref-#206

⁴²² Ref-#207/Ref-#213/Ref-#375/Ref-#210(appendix)/Ref-#237(appendix)/Ref-#374(appendix)

⁴²³ Ref-#208

⁴²⁴ Ref-#209

⁴²⁵ Ref-#264 prompted, Ref-#265 unprompted, Ref-#266 unprompted, Ref-#273 prompted, Ref-#289 unprompted, Ref-#316/ Ref-#319, as opposed to Ref-#3/Ref-#63/Ref-#65/Ref-#67/Ref-#74/Ref-#78 and more during seniors' contact sessions

⁴²⁶ Ref-#264

denominational background⁴²⁷. Of all Berom youth only A-3 and B-3 purport to also have Muslim friends. However, the context of A-3's claim suggests that "acquaintance" would be more appropriate.

That a majority of the Berom youth were happier to speak English than Berom, with one admitting to not even understanding the questions in his ethnic tongue⁴²⁸, compounds the impression that Berom culture is not being renewed in the usual patterns of a drawn-out ethnic conflict. I construe this as a further indication that ethnicity is a weaker identity component for the youth than it is for an older generation. It is noteworthy that while being located in what would be recognised as Beromland, the youths are living and worshipping in a mixed-ethnic environment, yet do not appear defensive or proactive about their ethnic identity.

Religious and ethnic identities. In all four contact sessions Muslims are referred to as a source of evil or violence with an agenda of dominance⁴²⁹; yet no concerns are raised over ethnic divides. Apart from B-3, who reports considerable interaction with Muslims, and has a reconciliatory view towards them⁴³⁰, distrust maintains the upper hand and is underscored by their projected unpredictability⁴³¹ and an inability to tell good from bad⁴³². On one occasion, E-3 likens Muslim attitudes towards Christians to how someone would treat a chicken, feeding it one day and killing it the next, for no obvious reason from the chicken's perspective⁴³³. Even the accommodating B-3 supports the perception of Muslims as agents of danger during most of his focus group and even some of his interview⁴³⁴. This perception of evilness is reinforced in

⁴²⁷ Ref-#260/Ref-#273

⁴²⁸ Ref-#141(appendix)

⁴²⁹ Ref-#277/Ref-#278/Ref-#280/Ref-#283/Ref-#286/Ref-#290

⁴³⁰ Ref-#274

⁴³¹ Ref-#274/Ref-#288

⁴³² Ref-#277

⁴³³ Ref-#288

⁴³⁴ e.g. Ref-#286

Muslims' adherence to their religion and the ways of Mohammed⁴³⁵. Frequent reference is made to the sword logo of the Islamist Izala organisation as proof of Muslims' subliminal attitudes⁴³⁶. Ethnic differences do not appear to play any major role in this evaluation, although E-3 accredits Yoruba Muslims – from western of Nigeria – as being more liberal than the Hausa⁴³⁷, or “typical Muslims”, who are regarded as being passionate about their faith⁴³⁸. When queried, E-3 finds no barrier across the ethnic boundaries to Hausa, as long as they are Christian⁴³⁹. She regards the small number of Berom Muslims slightly more charitably and affords them a minimal amount of trust based on their blood ties⁴⁴⁰, but ultimately, they clearly fall into the Muslim (enemy) camp⁴⁴¹. Meanwhile, B-3, shocked by the swelling number of Berom Muslims, is inconclusive as to how he should judge them⁴⁴². However, as much as the discourses agree on the urgency of Muslim danger, they also converge on the view that Muslims and Christians share a common ancestry in the Abrahamic tradition⁴⁴³, a paradigm of which E-3 is the most avid proponent. While Muslims are seen as descendants of the repudiated Hagar, Christians are placed in the more illustrious tradition of Isaac. The salience of this narrative could be indicative of respondents' autochthonous ontology of ethnic identity being displaced or at least conflated with a new one: Christians are the Israelites, Muslims the Arabs. Christians are descendants of a favoured son, Muslims the perfidious and corrupted spawn of an outcast. One possible interpretation is that a new meta-ethnic identity is being forged which features emerging tribal boundaries along religious lines.

⁴³⁵ Ref-#285/Ref-#287/Ref-#288

⁴³⁶ Ref-#232/Ref-#276/Ref-#279/Ref-#286/Ref-#287

⁴³⁷ Ref-#315/Ref-#318

⁴³⁸ Ref-#280/Ref-#318

⁴³⁹ Ref-#317

⁴⁴⁰ Ref-#316

⁴⁴¹ Ref-#189

⁴⁴² Ref-#273

⁴⁴³ Ref-#205/Ref-#270/Ref-#271/Ref-#272

Accordingly, even though religious belonging clearly supersedes ethnic identity as the dominant defining feature of identity, an “ethnomorphic” understanding of interfaith relations may nevertheless be at work in the case of the youth.

This leaves the impression that Christianity is alive and well as a shell of identity which has eclipsed traditional ethnicity as a mode of self-understanding, but in its own terms has ascended to the point where it forms something like a meta-ethnicity, particularly in the case of the Berom youth. Paradoxically, this may be the expression of autochthonous modes of identity slipping through the backdoor to permeate what it means to be Christian. As a result, the Christianity experienced in the four contact sessions with youths suggests that the internalisation of a conventional Christian understanding of God and traditional Christian ethics are far from robust. Such struggles with the nature of God may in part be grounded in the lingering pragmatic attitudes and moral utilitarianism that African traditional religions hold towards their deities as agents to attain goals of a group. Jesus Himself may be scrutinised and measured on the basis of how He copes with the community's concerns in the course of this conflict.

One could thus postulate that what we have at hand is indeed an ethnic conflict, but with an evolved understanding of what ethnicity means for a younger generation: Its boundaries have been re-established along the lines of religious identity, but the terms of engagement remain similar to those inherited from a world-view of tribal identity. Who the deity of this “super-ethnicity” is and what its moral claims and terms are is however by no means settled.

Moral struggles. Considerable moral frustration is manifest amongst the respondents. For the most part, they acknowledge Muslims' humanity

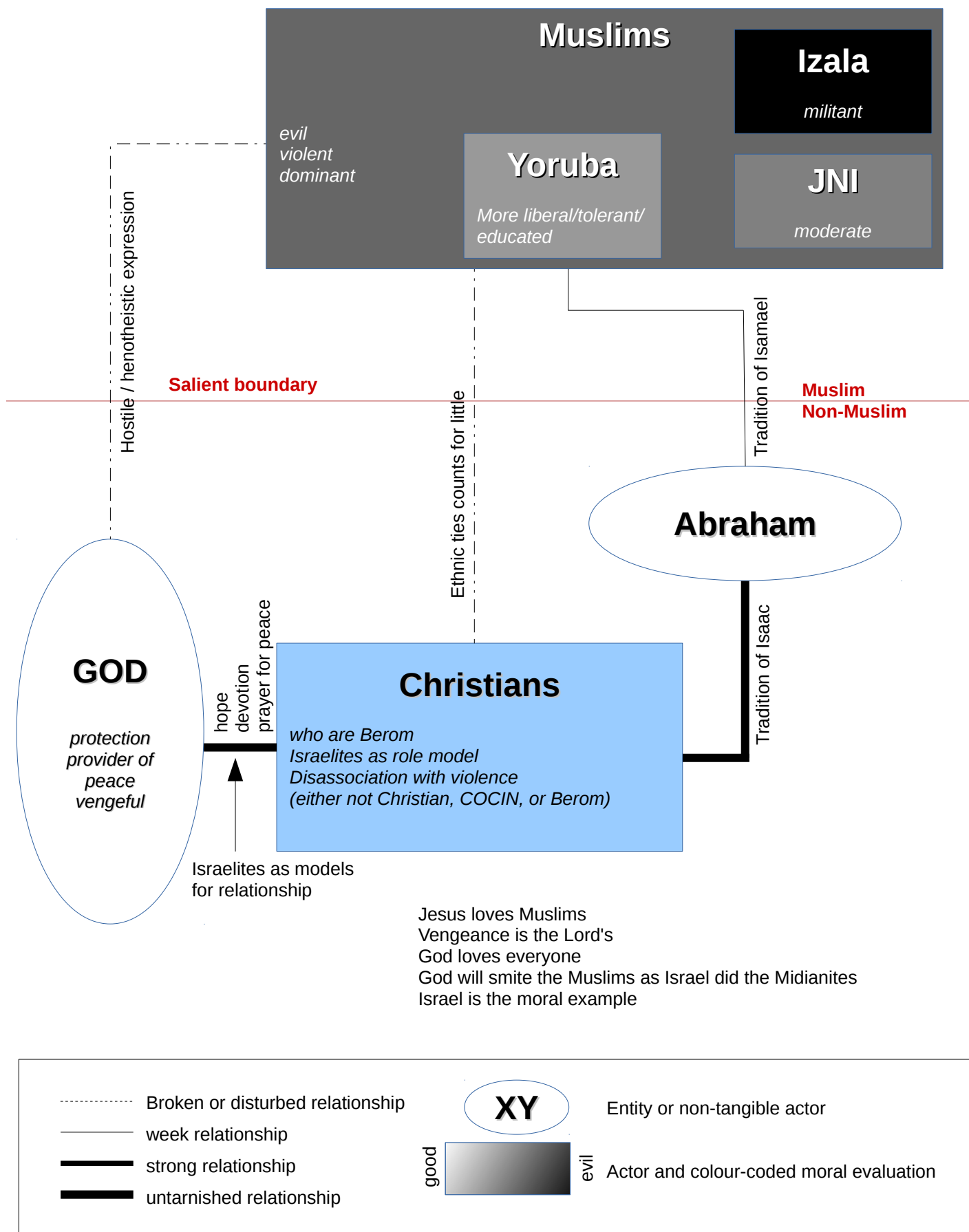


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to Berom Youths in August 2011

and that Jesus loves them as He does Christians⁴⁴⁴. Ultimately mindful of their faith's injunction that violence is not a legitimate means of acting out conflict, there is some feeling of having been dealt unfair terms for engaging with violence, as they perceive Muslims as having no moral framework which restrains them from the use of force as a means of reaching political, economic and religious dominance⁴⁴⁵. As with their seniors, they do at least pay lip service to the maxim that “vengeance is the Lord's”⁴⁴⁶, but its consequences obviously do not resonate with a majority of respondents, of which three (A-3, F-3 and G-3) hint at participation in violence⁴⁴⁷ and several others in retaliatory action⁴⁴⁸. E-3 indicates that she too would have taken part as well, had that been acceptable for her as a woman⁴⁴⁹, while B-3 reports contacting the security forces to request their intervention to end violence⁴⁵⁰. Mostly, respondents define Christian action quasi-axiomatically as defence⁴⁵¹, although B-3 does also have doubts about the spiritual implications of violence, and wonders if they, the Christians, too would be forgiven by God⁴⁵². All the same, other respondents have evidently made their own attempts to overcome the moral conundrum on their own theological terms while maintaining observance of biblical authority. Often, they gravitate towards OT imagery, such as God's support to the smiting of the Midianites at the hand of Gideon⁴⁵³, which may be the model for assuming that God takes their side in battle⁴⁵⁴. In the same vein, C-3 struggles openly with the role of God as a loving Creator and His willingness to

⁴⁴⁴ Ref-#209

⁴⁴⁵ e.g. Ref-#280/Ref-#289

⁴⁴⁶ Ref-#361/Ref-#364

⁴⁴⁷ Ref-#337/Ref-#340

⁴⁴⁸ Ref-#356/Ref-#363/Ref-#364

⁴⁴⁹ Ref-#341

⁴⁵⁰ Ref-#342

⁴⁵¹ Ref-#362/Ref-#363/Ref-#364

⁴⁵² Ref-#360

⁴⁵³ Ref-#371

⁴⁵⁴ Ref-#218

destroy the Egyptians as they pursued the Israelites⁴⁵⁵, while A-3 takes the same narratives as a justification to perpetrate attacks on Muslims⁴⁵⁶. God is characterised as one who despite a period of grace destroys wrongdoers⁴⁵⁷ and will therefore pass judgement on the Muslims⁴⁵⁸. E-3 even declares defensive action to be a duty towards God: “If they come and you fold your hands and you don't kill the person, what will you tell God? That you cannot protect yourself?”⁴⁵⁹

This is possible evidence of a theological bifurcation between a tribally driven, henotheistic understanding of God as an ally against a foreign God, Allah, and the universalist claims of a Christianity whose God offers clemency to all. Often, respondents appear to overcome, or rather, circumvent the question through “lensing”: God may be classified as universalist and omniscient when discussing conflict from a general, “aerial” perspective⁴⁶⁰, but is partial and possibly making things up as He goes along when reflecting on experience made “on the ground”⁴⁶¹.

D.1.2 Analysis of Tarok data of September 2011

D.1.2.1 Discourse and thematic analysis of seniors' data (Cohorts 4 & 5)

Discourse. Most respondents are of farming stock. Their livelihood and life experience evolve around crop cycles and weekly markets. Even the few non-farmers within the cohorts, notably a teacher and a retired civil servant, will farm on the side in order to complement their salary or pension which is often paid only erratically. Because one focus group failed due to a recording mistake, the resulting data basis is narrower

⁴⁵⁵ Ref-#199

⁴⁵⁶ Ref-#255

⁴⁵⁷ Ref-#372

⁴⁵⁸ Ref-#252

⁴⁵⁹ Ref-#221

⁴⁶⁰ e.g. Ref-#252

⁴⁶¹ e.g. Ref-#375

than intended. The two interviews are dominated by micro-level voices. Meanwhile focus group members, although speaking in varying order and to similar degrees, carefully align the thrust of their statements with one another. Given the excessive number of pious expressions being used, one can assume that it is mostly meso-level “group speak” rather than a macro-level voice that emerges from the discourses. Although the last major violence was nearly six years prior to the contact sessions, there are indications that some respondents are still traumatised⁴⁶², and that others are spoiling for a discussion of Tarok-Muslim relationships⁴⁶³.

Important issues. During the discussion on what is most important in life, all respondents note that it is “Christianity”, which as a religious system appears to be more relevant than God⁴⁶⁴. Although their statements are conversationally linked to one another, it may reveal a shared view recognising that all people in Tarokland, Muslims, Christians and pagans alike, follow God, but that it is understanding the world in a Christian context that grants life meaning. Other frequently mentioned concepts are “peace”⁴⁶⁵, and during the interviews the question of freedom⁴⁶⁶.

The Nature and agency of God. God Himself is identified as a bringer of peace⁴⁶⁷, and it is for service to Him that humans have been created⁴⁶⁸. Accordingly, it is vitally important to fear Him and maintain a harmonious relationship with Him through intercession and good moral conduct⁴⁶⁹. Particularly E-4 expounds the importance of Christianity, implying that it is a panacea for all social ills, to the effect that if all

⁴⁶² D-5: Ref-#492, B-4: Ref-#426

⁴⁶³ e.g. Ref-#405, further violence in the area did in fact break out in 2013 and 2014

⁴⁶⁴ Ref-#398/Ref-#399

⁴⁶⁵ Ref-#400

⁴⁶⁶ Ref-#404/Ref-#440

⁴⁶⁷ Ref-#415

⁴⁶⁸ Ref-#416

⁴⁶⁹ Ref-#417/Ref-#418

Tarokland were to follow Christianity, all problems would be eradicated⁴⁷⁰. Non-Christians are consequentially defined as servants of Satan⁴⁷¹, and in particular Muslims are identified as the agents of evil⁴⁷² who can be resisted only by following biblical commandments⁴⁷³. Moreover, good moral conduct will build one's status, and invoke respect and even fear in the evil-minded⁴⁷⁴. In this, we can close the circle of how the agency of God, through the system of Christianity, can bring about peace in the world, in that good moral conduct will invoke God's power to prevail over evil. Nevertheless, other religious systems are not belittled. The Tarok's traditional religion with its cult of the "Orim" remains a powerful reality⁴⁷⁵, and may even be regarded as a parallel religious system of similar influence, albeit of lesser soteriological value. B-4 sees traditional religion irretrievably on the wane⁴⁷⁶, yet whereas Berom respondents seek traces of knowledge of God in their pagan past⁴⁷⁷, there is no evidence that Tarok respondents find any enlightenment in their pre-Christian period.

Tarok identity. A feature of Tarok identity, which is repeatedly voiced by B-4, is resistance to Muslim overlords⁴⁷⁸. This may have been born out of the pre-colonial history of Fulani conquest of the region, when the Sokoto Caliphate established rule through the Emir of Wase. Following the arguments proposed by Danfulani in the case of Angwas, Tarok may have embraced Christianity in an effort to align themselves with the powerful but benevolent God introduced by Western missionaries, who represented an alternative to the Muslim Allah and an ally in throwing off the shackles of Islamic domination⁴⁷⁹. This would certainly be

⁴⁷⁰ Ref-#435

⁴⁷¹ Ref-#427

⁴⁷² Ref-#430

⁴⁷³ Ref-#428

⁴⁷⁴ Ref-#430

⁴⁷⁵ Ref-#413/Ref-#422/Ref-#425

⁴⁷⁶ Ref-#424

⁴⁷⁷ Ref-#64

⁴⁷⁸ Ref-#439/Ref-#440/Ref-#441

⁴⁷⁹ An example of this is portrayed in Daniel Wambudta, *A Study of Conversion Among*

consistent with B-4's reference to the importance of education in Tarok self-understanding⁴⁸⁰, to the point that they are willing to sponsor the schooling of non-family members⁴⁸¹. It also dovetails with the statement of B-4, a first-generation convert, that Western education taught by missionaries was first seen as slavery and construed as liberating only much later⁴⁸². Tarok self-identification with such attributes as reconciliation and honesty⁴⁸³ is thus compounded with a liberating religious system requesting such similar moral standards. When E-4 declares that 75% of Tarok are Christian and that if all were real Christians, “there would be no problem in Tarokland”⁴⁸⁴, he may well be basing this on a self-reinforcing concept of Christianity as a liberating force under a powerful, protecting God, under whose umbrella the Tarok have placed themselves and whose favour is kindled by moral conduct. In this model, Tarok identity, at least in the view of this pew-faithful cohort, is drawn to Christianity by the pull of liberating education and push of a Muslim threat.

The essence of “The Other”. The Muslims (or metaphorically “Forehead-Hitters”), the embodiment of evil, are assumed to be following a systematic agenda of domination and forceful conversion⁴⁸⁵. The Muslim claim of Islam being the religion of peace is forcefully rejected by D-5⁴⁸⁶. Incensed, she goes on to describe Muslims as “always fighting – always fighting – always fighting”⁴⁸⁷. In a heart-rending recount of her experience of one Muslim attack and a helpless woman going into labour, D-5

the Angas of Plateau State of Nigeria With Emphasis on Christianity (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1991). describing the Angas. p.176

⁴⁸⁰ Ref-#437

⁴⁸¹ Ref-#476

⁴⁸² again Ref-#437

⁴⁸³ e.g. Ref-#439

⁴⁸⁴ Ref-#435

⁴⁸⁵ e.g. Ref-#450/Ref-#452/Ref-#453/Ref-#456/Ref-#449(appendix)/Ref-#451(appendix)

⁴⁸⁶ Ref-#458

⁴⁸⁷ Ref-#459

describes the mayhem in apocalyptic terms⁴⁸⁸. Unlike Berom respondents, she offers no narrative of “good Muslims”. In short, that she construes Muslims as the incarnation of “Antitarokness” can be taken as a fairly robust conclusion.

However, enter the term “Fulani” (or “Mbororo”), the ethnic epitaph of the Fulfulde-speaking semi-nomadic ethnicity, who are overwhelmingly Muslim and who were the retainers of traditional Islamic rule in the area, and the picture becomes more complex. “Fulani” is used mostly in the context of the socio-economic relationship between this pastoral Muslim and the sedentary Tarok farmer, which while not being cordial, is nevertheless functional⁴⁸⁹. Meanwhile, “Muslim” is used in the context of strife and conflict, even though reference is made to the same people. Only twice is the term “Fulani” used in context of a conflict situation⁴⁹⁰, so the categorical difference does appear significant. C-4 even talks of collecting his cattle from Fulani before defending his community against Muslims⁴⁹¹. Nevertheless, while B-4 maintains that not all Fulani are interested in violence⁴⁹², he also claims that whoever hits his forehead on the ground cannot avoid conflict for long⁴⁹³. Accordingly, respondents are making clear categorical distinctions between ethnic and religious identities, and while common commercial interests can be established between the two ethnicities, the impetus for violence is clearly thought to lie in Islam.

But respondents' differentiation between ethnicity and religion is not as tidy as that. As with the Berom, the Ishmael-Isaac paradigm is used, albeit to underline differences rather than commonalities. C-4 draws the

⁴⁸⁸ Ref-#491

⁴⁸⁹ Ref-#442

⁴⁹⁰ Ref-#453/Ref-#491

⁴⁹¹ Ref-#490

⁴⁹² Ref-#457

⁴⁹³ Ref-#448

tradition of the conflict with Muslims from these origins⁴⁹⁴. D-5 even proposes that the violent conduct of the “tribe of Islam” is heredity due to a “genetic influence”⁴⁹⁵. If this is representative of a meta-level discourse within the respondents' group, it might give traction to an ethnic understanding of the conflict, even if not quite in the way initially expected, in that the ethnic cleavage is Muslim-Non-Muslim instead of Fulani-Tarok. Taking such a model to its ultimate conclusion, the conflict is historically predestined and possibly even God-willed: neither side in the local situation started the conflict, and maybe neither can stop it, since the conflict's existence is governed by God's will alone. At best, it might be overcome by good moral conduct and invocation of God's mercy.

Religious boundary. The religious boundary is possibly more difficult to cross than even an ethnic one, which I tested on the question of marriage. D-5 recounts how she was courted in her youth by a Muslim who would not convert, even at the behest of her father⁴⁹⁶. She goes on to express her displeasure at the idea of her own daughter marrying a Muslim, indeed to the point of being prepared to disown her if such were to occur. On the other hand, marriage to a Berom, or even a Hausa, would not pose any problem – provided he is Christian⁴⁹⁷. While D-5 does wonder whether widespread conversion to Islam might have established peace by giving Muslims what they want⁴⁹⁸, B-4 maintains that unless one converts to Islam, one is not allowed to penetrate the Muslims' inner council and is destined to remain an outsider on the periphery⁴⁹⁹.

⁴⁹⁴ Ref-#465

⁴⁹⁵ Ref-#466

⁴⁹⁶ Ref-#461

⁴⁹⁷ Ref-#462

⁴⁹⁸ Ref-#464

⁴⁹⁹ Ref-#455

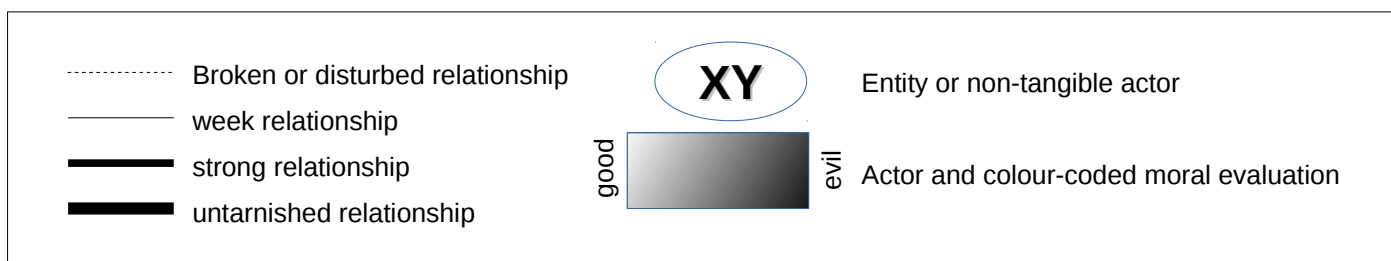
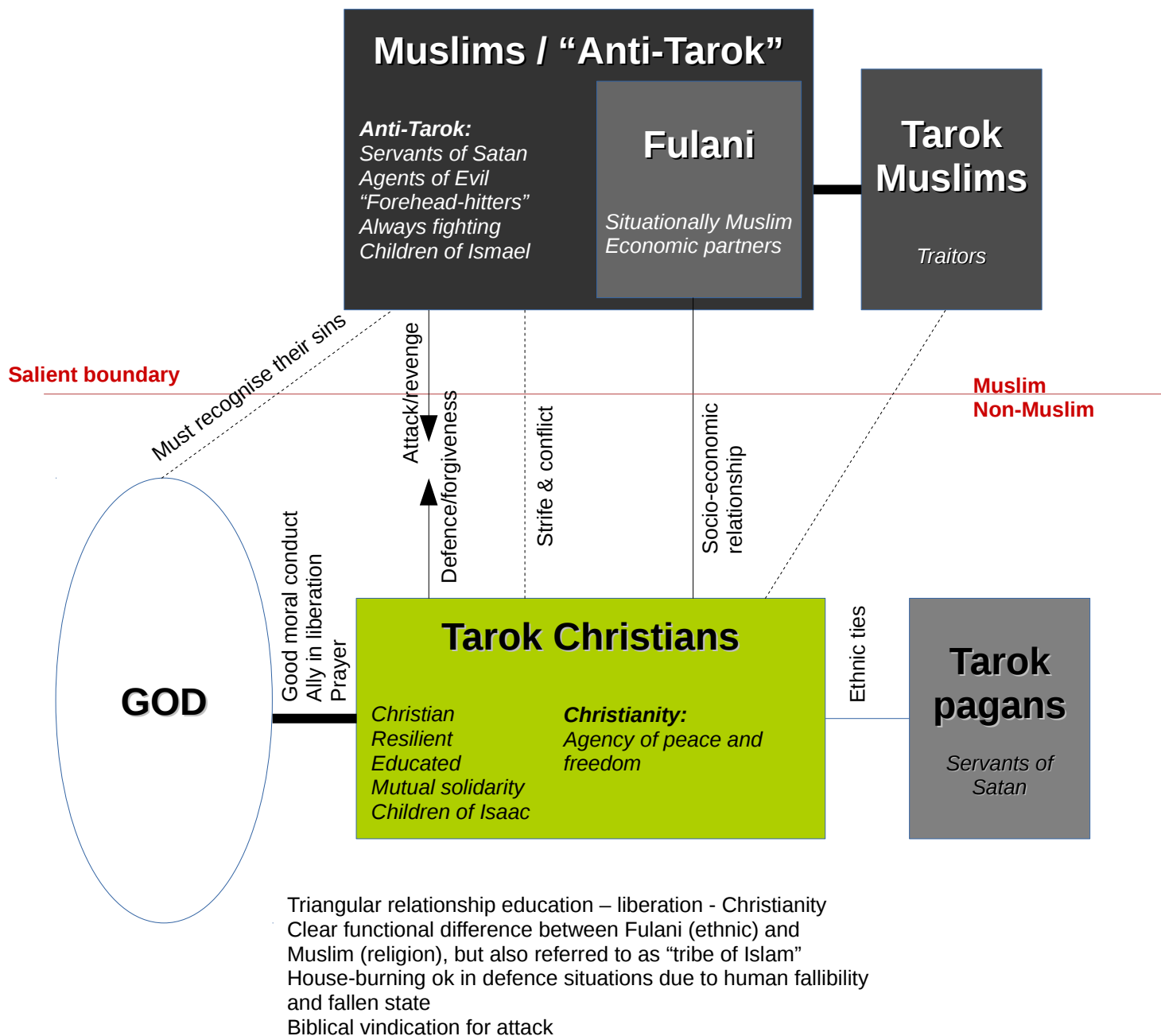


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to Tarok Seniors in September 2011

Virtue and revenge. At a moral level, virtue emerges in topics such as unity⁵⁰⁰, respect of elders⁵⁰¹ and honesty⁵⁰². Seeking reconciliation, at least with ones kinsmen is important⁵⁰³. However, the moral action of revenge emerges in many discourses too, but is less frequently couched in terms of defence than is the case in other cohort groups. It is probable that all respondents, and not only D-5, were caught up in violent clashes in 2004. For instance, D-4 speaks of killing Muslims in a defensive attack, so that the Muslims would not come again⁵⁰⁴, while A-4 provided logistical support with other women in what can only have been a coordinated assault⁵⁰⁵. D-4 does embrace the notion that Christians should not allow the sun to go down on their quarrels, and thus not retaliate, but fears that this will not be valid for one's opponents who are subject to a rather different code of conduct⁵⁰⁶. He also explicitly sees it as permissible to burn one another's houses in a conflict situation⁵⁰⁷, due to the excessive pain experienced and being “born of blood”⁵⁰⁸. The inference is that he does not think that one can be expected to live up to the moral standards of the Bible under duress. D-5 refers to the biblical principle that we should not take revenge, but then makes exemptions for situations in which one is being continually pressurised⁵⁰⁹. C-4 uses the Ishmael-Isaac/Israel examples to justify taking revenge on Muslims, indeed to the glory of God⁵¹⁰. In a fascinating theological flourish, E-4 discusses how Jesus came to complete the law of Moses, but that they (the Tarok) still return to the [harsh] law of Moses, because the law of Jesus “will come only in the third

⁵⁰⁰ Ref-#467

⁵⁰¹ Ref-#428/Ref-#471/Ref-#472

⁵⁰² opposite of stealing, Ref-#428

⁵⁰³ Ref-#479/Ref-#480/Ref-#478(appendix)

⁵⁰⁴ Ref-#488

⁵⁰⁵ Ref-#489

⁵⁰⁶ Ref-#482/Ref-#485

⁵⁰⁷ Ref-#481

⁵⁰⁸ Ref-#485

⁵⁰⁹ Ref-#483/Ref-#484

⁵¹⁰ Ref-#465/Ref-#487

generation”⁵¹¹. This legitimises wrathful behaviour in conflict situations.

While men assume that the path to dealing with the conflict is to perpetrate revenge attacks as a means of social disciplining, the women appear more reconciliatory. A-4 proposes defusing conflicts by telling the truth⁵¹², while D-5 reasons that “our weapons are in prayers”⁵¹³. A pattern of conflict thus emerges in which the Christian Tarok feel restrained by biblical moral principles of reconciliation, forgiveness and abstinence from violence, and trust in the providence and support of God. Nevertheless, their experience of violent conflict has impressed upon them the need to develop reasons for having not followed these principles, and ethical explanations as to why they also could not have been expected to. As with other cohort groups, the same respondents find the Isaac-Ishmael paradigm useful for vindicating revenge as a God-sanctioned action supported by Scripture.

D.1.2.2 Discourse and thematic analysis of youths' data (Cohorts 6 & 7)

Discourse. As with the seniors – and as expected – focus group members of both cohorts tend to align the essence of their statements to one another. Members also participate in the discussions to varying degrees; in TaRY1-F A-6 and E-6 normally speak first and B-6 very seldom, while in TaRY2-F it is rather more mixed, despite D-7 dominating the earlier part of the conversation. Meanwhile, both interviews provide rich content; C-6 recounts a palpable tale of her conflict experiences and E-7 is thoroughly open about his chequered past. Throughout all contact sessions, there is broadly less recourse to piety than amongst senior Tarok. This is a phenomenon already observed with the Berom. It probably indicates that the youth are less guarded and exhibit more

⁵¹¹ Ref-#486

⁵¹² Ref-#480

⁵¹³ Ref-#493

individualist expression than their parents, but they may also be a little less religious in their outlook.

Life. What is certain is that schooling⁵¹⁴ is regarded as key to their future, and peace⁵¹⁵ as the most important thing in life. E-7, who is also planning a political career⁵¹⁶, conflates the two, pointing out that he will not be able to implement his plans for further training in a climate of strife⁵¹⁷. In this, both cohorts recognise the dividends of peace.

And death. For the most part, “sickness”, “stumbling” and “hitting of toe” (illness and accidents) have non-spiritual causes⁵¹⁸. Keeping your car in working order, eating the proper foods and so on are the usual ways to avoid them⁵¹⁹. Nevertheless, A-7 does also claim that sickness can be caused by an enemy's bad wishes, or by immoral conduct⁵²⁰. Death is widely regarded as the moment one meets one's Creator. Turning to the subject of death, C-7 sees it as the moment in which you reap what you have sown⁵²¹, while B-7 notes that as a Christian, one avoids judgement⁵²². In discourses independent of each other, both D-7 and E-7 opine that it is God who has actively taken life when one deceases⁵²³.

Nature and agency of God. If there is anything remarkable about the Tarok youth, it is that they seldom speak at length about God. Yet this does not mean that He is not firmly anchored in their world-view. Cohort 7 sees God Himself as protector⁵²⁴, while C-6 finds that God has supported her in all important things in life and that her prayers are

⁵¹⁴ TaRY1-F – Ref-#494/Ref-#495/Ref-#497

⁵¹⁵ TaRY2-F – Ref-#498/Ref-#499

⁵¹⁶ Ref-#500/Ref-#501

⁵¹⁷ Ref-#502

⁵¹⁸ Ref-#517

⁵¹⁹ Ref-#516/Ref-#518(appendix)

⁵²⁰ Ref-#521

⁵²¹ Ref-#522

⁵²² Ref-#524

⁵²³ Ref-#523/Ref-#525

⁵²⁴ as jointly constructed by the group in Ref-#535

answered⁵²⁵. A-7 sees His providence in her life too, also through money, which should take care of matters which are not of the soul⁵²⁶. Several respondents see the relationship with God as best maintained by prayer, cemented by an awareness that Jesus suffered and died for the sake of His believers⁵²⁷.

Traditional religion. On the topic of Tarok traditional religion, there is less evidence than with their seniors that the youth detect an alternative path to Christianity. In C-6's view, traditional belief is contentless, and she pities its adherents in that they will not receive life eternal⁵²⁸. On the other hand, both A-7 and E-7, on thematic prompting, do recognise that some festivities and rituals correspond to ones found in Christianity. Independently, they note that both traditions' funeral rituals make reference to the narrow and to the broad path⁵²⁹. It is not certain whether these commonalities are inherently common features of independent origins, or have been established through religious osmosis. It does however emerge that traditionalists are not viewed as outright enemies, which suggests that the animosity respondents feel towards Muslims is grounded in that particular relationship rather than in attitudes towards other religions in general.

Tarok identity. When conversation turns to the question of Tarok self-understanding, several respondents struggle to explain what a Tarok is. C-6, who is obviously not well travelled, sees "Tarok" as fairly self-evident, and only on further reflection indicates that they are good people, and any deviating view should be corrected⁵³⁰. C-7 and D7 depict Taroks as self-sacrificing and conflict-averse⁵³¹. A-7 adds that they are

⁵²⁵ Ref-#541

⁵²⁶ Ref-#538

⁵²⁷ Ref-#533/Ref-#534/Ref-#537

⁵²⁸ Ref-#565

⁵²⁹ Ref-#543/Ref-#547, see also Lamle., p.45 who explains that the choice is one in the afterlife, not in the here and now.

⁵³⁰ Ref-#548/Ref-#549

⁵³¹ Ref-#552/Ref-#553

generous and peace-loving⁵³². Although not explicitly mentioned, Tarok virtues are compounded with those of Christianity, i.a. entailing respect and obedience, forgiveness and self-control⁵³³.

Of Muslims and Fulanis. Tarok youth paint a very similar image of Muslims and Fulanis to that provided by their seniors. Both interviewees, C-6 and B-7, attribute Fulanis' perceived love of conflict to a religion which rewards violence with the promise of eternal life⁵³⁴. Rather like the senior D-5 from the same church, he also claims that this is behaviour handed down from their ancestors, thereby revealing a quasi-tribal perception of the Fulani⁵³⁵. D-7, B-7, and in separate discourses, C-6 and E-6 repeat the sentiment that Muslims are driven to dominate⁵³⁶. B-7 adds that as with the devil, Muslim kindness does not come without an obligation of repayment in some form; on the contrary, it is perfidious and designed to bring people into the Muslim sphere of influence⁵³⁷. As with seniors, when the term "Fulani" is used, it is in context of the functional relationship between Tarok and their nomadic neighbours⁵³⁸. C-6 sees the tribal and occupational differences as a God-given order, but at a trust-level, she sees Fulani as being no better than Muslims⁵³⁹. However, A-7 points to a time when it may have been different. She speaks of when Tarok had their cattle looked after by Fulani, and even lent their children to assist them⁵⁴⁰.

Nevertheless, as things stand now, the boundary between Christians and Muslims is nearly impermeable. While one recommended attitude towards Muslims is to pray for them in the hope that they will recognise

⁵³² Ref-#554

⁵³³ Ref-#555/Ref-#557/Ref-#558

⁵³⁴ Ref-#559/Ref-#563

⁵³⁵ Ref-#559

⁵³⁶ Ref-#570/Ref-#571/Ref-#592/Ref-#569(appendix)

⁵³⁷ Ref-#572

⁵³⁸ e.g. C-7: Ref-#567

⁵³⁹ Ref-#566

⁵⁴⁰ Ref-#568

their sins and come to Christ⁵⁴¹, the very idea of marrying a Muslim is met by E-7 with dumbfounded incredulity⁵⁴². On the other hand, marriage to a Christian non-Tarok, even a Hausa, would be acceptable⁵⁴³. Meanwhile, conversion to Islam is essentially a cancellation of one's community membership: C-6 declares that converts are “nothing before me”⁵⁴⁴, while E-7 identifies the small group of Tarok converts as those who led the Muslims to attack them, and thus are guilty of treason⁵⁴⁵.

Morality and defence. Responding to the question of being prepared to sacrifice one's life for a cause, the TaRY1-F members (Cohort 7) are hesitant, indicating it would be challenging⁵⁴⁶, whereas TaRY2-F members (Cohort 6) are more sanguine; several claim that they would do so if it would secure peace⁵⁴⁷. A-7 actually professes to have put this claim into action during the crisis when he took part in a retaliatory raid⁵⁴⁸. There are several references to violent behaviour towards Muslims. A-6 recounts providing logistical support to sustain her menfolk in battle by preparing gruel with other women⁵⁴⁹. E-6 admits to participating in house-burning and livestock plunder, and likens the reprisal to a hunt, in which they sought to snare their own share⁵⁵⁰. In a protracted discourse, E-7 recounts how he took part in premeditated retaliatory action on Muslims during which “many” of them were killed⁵⁵¹. Particularly the narrative with E-7, who recalls satisfaction and even joy after returning home from the attack, makes disturbing reading. Nevertheless, some respondents profess to being against seeking revenge and attacking Muslims, and

⁵⁴¹ Ref-#617

⁵⁴² Ref-#573

⁵⁴³ Ref-#573

⁵⁴⁴ Ref-#563

⁵⁴⁵ Ref-#564

⁵⁴⁶ Ref-#588/Ref-#589

⁵⁴⁷ Ref-#584/Ref-#585/Ref-#590/Ref-#586(appendix)

⁵⁴⁸ Ref-#591

⁵⁴⁹ Ref-#595

⁵⁵⁰ Ref-#596

⁵⁵¹ Ref-#601

acknowledge this as a Christian principle⁵⁵². D-6 notably claims the Bible restrains the urge for retaliation⁵⁵³. Respondents legitimise Tarok-led violence, either because it was exercised in context of defence⁵⁵⁴, social disciplining⁵⁵⁵, or because the Muslims' deeds were so heinous and overpowering to the minds of humans, that no other course of action was bearable⁵⁵⁶. It is of course possible that these explanations are actual ethical statements which guided the decisions of the respondents' communities in the urgency of the circumstances; it is however more likely that the reprisals were carried out instinctively and we have here a set of *post-hoc* vindications which are used to legitimise violent action and can be called upon in a future emergency. Given the closeness in narratives between the two generations, (e.g. A-4 and A-6 recount the same event of cooking gruel for their warriors), it is evident that the entire community condoned and took part in reprisal actions, which contrasts with the more generation-selective violence found in Bukuru. The nature of the attacks may explain this in that entire villages were torched, which immediately drew everyone into the heart of the conflict. Another aspect is that the lower population density and difficult access to this rural corner will have weakened the reach of security forces and lengthened their response time, heightening the communities' sense of vulnerability and the urgency of self-reliance. This also moves the context logic away from violence within a resilient and robust political structure towards the parameters of civil war.

Solutions. When asked about possible solutions to the crisis, the usual suspects, prayer and fasting, are actually mentioned only once⁵⁵⁷. Both B-6

⁵⁵² Ref-#605/Ref-#607

⁵⁵³ Ref-#607/Ref-#609

⁵⁵⁴ Ref-#593

⁵⁵⁵ lest "somebody may just forget on the grounds that he has been forgiven", Ref-#606, and also Ref-#608 - which of course begs the question of what forgiveness actually means

⁵⁵⁶ E-6, Ref-#592

⁵⁵⁷ Ref-#619

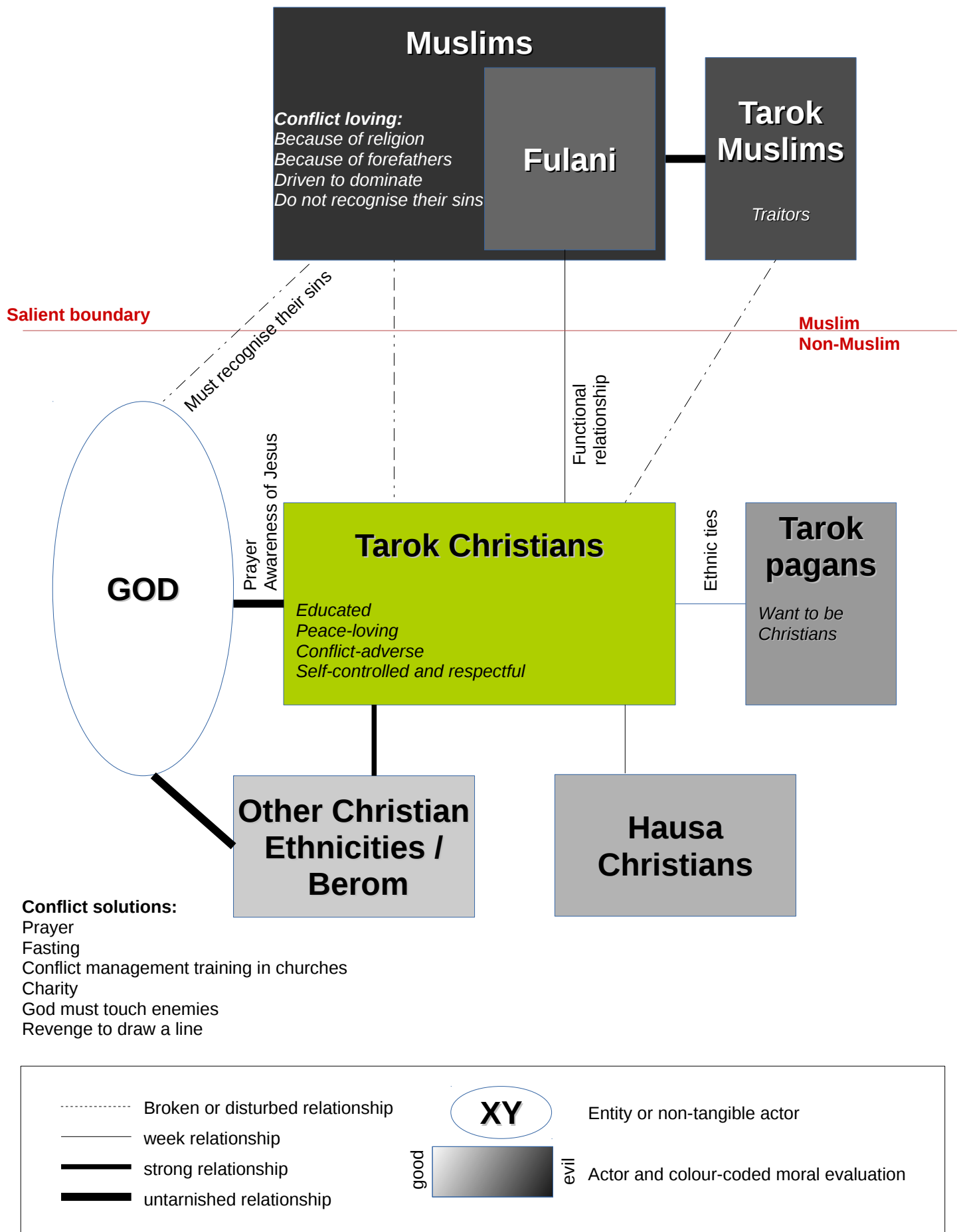


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to Tarok Youths in September 2011

and E-7 specifically ask for God to touch their enemies and show them their wrongs⁵⁵⁸. B-6 and D-6 suggest active teaching of conflict management within the Church⁵⁵⁹, while E-6 proposes motivating the slothful “children of irresponsibility” whom he identifies as particularly active in the perpetration of violence to more gainful employment⁵⁶⁰. E-7 also points to the role of the government in bringing about peace and the Church in providing charity⁵⁶¹. Nevertheless, the impression lingers that respondents see no way of resolving the situation by peaceful means, even allowing for revenge to be applied as a disciplinary measure to chasten Muslims to police themselves and remain acquiescent. It also elucidates where respondents see the blame lying and whom God should unreservedly support.

D.1.3 Analysis of Berom Youth follow-up data of June 2012 (Cohort 3)

Discourse features. In this second cycle of Berom youth contact sessions, I myself moderated both interviews and focus groups. It was possible to deepen the trust that had been established during the first cycle and delve deeper into various issues. A strong indicator is the degree of controversy which emerges during the focus group discussion. While no outright arguments *per se* erupt, it becomes clear that two very different narratives are at work. On the one hand, there is the view that Muslims, corrupted by their religion, are operating as a unified front to subjugate and force-convert Christians to Islam, while on the other a more heterogeneous view of Muslims is held, in which although such elements do exist in the Muslim community, there is also an equally large proportion of morally good and peace-loving Muslims. Compared with the

⁵⁵⁸ Ref-#616/Ref-#617

⁵⁵⁹ Ref-#616/Ref-#620 - which also include defence

⁵⁶⁰ Ref-#621

⁵⁶¹ Ref-#624/Ref-#625

contact sessions held ten months previously, there is a general sense of urgency and, to some degree, of radicalisation which has no doubt been fostered by the acute threat of bombings. Indeed, focus group participants F-3 and A-3 express fear of going to church⁵⁶². Although E-3 then claims that she is not afraid⁵⁶³, forcing B-3 to swallow his own admission of fear⁵⁶⁴, she afterwards confesses during the interview to in fact of being afraid to the point of doubting God's existence⁵⁶⁵. Talk of bombings during the previous sessions ten months earlier had taken place in a very general sort of way; although the UN headquarters in Abuja had just been bombed, Boko Haram was still a remote threat. At that time, F-3 had still claimed confidently that nobody was going to scare him⁵⁶⁶. Perhaps not surprisingly, eschatological thinking has since become more immanent. G-3 declares that the world is going to end⁵⁶⁷. Later, B-3 and E-3 express their expectation that Muslims will perish when Jesus comes, although B-3 does not expect it immediately⁵⁶⁸, thus echoing his position of 10 months earlier that “the Muslims' time will come”⁵⁶⁹.

Boko Haram. The striking phenomenon driving these discursive developments is of course the rise of Boko Haram, which had not featured once in the previous contact sessions. I expected the topic to arise, and so studiously avoided prompting it. In the event, Boko Haram did come to dominate large swathes of the dialogues in a way which would have been unthinkable only a year earlier. Two basic views condense out of the discussions. On the one hand, B-3, F-3, and despite her fairly militant attitude, also E-3 recognise that Boko Haram is hotly contested within

⁵⁶² Ref-#243/Ref-#244

⁵⁶³ Ref-#245

⁵⁶⁴ Ref-#246

⁵⁶⁵ Ref-#247

⁵⁶⁶ Ref-#234

⁵⁶⁷ Ref-#253

⁵⁶⁸ Ref-#254

⁵⁶⁹ Ref-#252

Muslim circles and that many Muslims are threatened by them too⁵⁷⁰. On the other hand, A-3 and G-3 together construct the argument, that the group is run by Muslims “as a cover-up for their mess”⁵⁷¹. A-3, in his separate interview calls them “a rebel group which they [Muslims] use to destroy places of worship”⁵⁷². This betrays a perception that Muslim opponents are not limited to a discrete group in Plateau State, but are clearly part of a larger, single-minded effort to subjugate and dominate Christians. What had previously been a very different and remote conflict particular to the Northeast of Nigeria has now been seamlessly accommodated in some respondents' understanding of what drives the conflict in Plateau State. Boko Haram has come to be seen as a vehicle for Muslim dominance and its actions as signature of the aims and goals of their Muslim neighbours⁵⁷³.

One consensus the respondents reach is that Boko Haram is a religious phenomenon. Although F-3 suggests that they are separate from the Muslims with their own religion⁵⁷⁴, the others conclude that the group is driven by jihad and their wish to establish an Islamic state⁵⁷⁵. My question as to the political or economic reasons for the phenomenon are squarely rebuffed with the argument that if these were salient, Boko Haram would be attacking state institutions in Abuja.⁵⁷⁶ Rhetorically, G-3 asks at the end of the session what Boko Haram means, and whether mosques have educated members too, in order to illustrate that if it were really about Western education, they would be attacking mosques as well⁵⁷⁷. In reality, many educated Muslims have died at their hand.

⁵⁷⁰ Ref-#295

⁵⁷¹ Ref-#296

⁵⁷² Ref-#300

⁵⁷³ see also Ref-#298

⁵⁷⁴ Ref-#299

⁵⁷⁵ Ref-#297

⁵⁷⁶ Ref-#297

⁵⁷⁷ Ref-#301

The agency of God. In the same vein, in the 10-month period between contact sessions and in light of severe affliction, the respondents' perception of God's agency may also have undergone a shift. The triumphalism has subsided: God remains important in the current situation⁵⁷⁸, but, the once-voiced idea that He will blow confusion among the enemies⁵⁷⁹ is more muted. E-3 does suggest that enemies will fight one another like in the days of Joshaphat, but conditions it on "if we are faithful"⁵⁸⁰. She also sees COCIN's 2012 theme "Be doers of the Word" as the entry point for having God fight the battle for them, citing Noah as an example of righteousness for whose sake God preserved his generation⁵⁸¹. Her utterance is amazingly consistent with her previous views⁵⁸², but lacks the former conviction and confidence. This is further supported in the interview setting when in a very personal moment she admits to wondering whether God exists in light of the growing violence before reconfirming that He has been protecting them⁵⁸³. This may be a sign that the previous perception of a crisis robbing respondents of their lives' prospects is being amalgamated with an existential fear and a deeper crisis of faith. So although respondents still expect God to take their side in this conflict, He now appears to be on probation. On the basis of previously detected utilitarian attitudes amongst the respondents, one might surmise that where God is unable or unwilling to transform a situation, their community could turn to other agencies or to their own means.

Attitudes towards Muslims. As in the past, F-3 and especially B-3 vocally support the notion that there are peace-loving Muslims who do

⁵⁷⁸ Ref-#222

⁵⁷⁹ Ref-#218, uttered by G-3

⁵⁸⁰ Ref-#228

⁵⁸¹ Ref-#226

⁵⁸² Ref-#152/Ref-#335

⁵⁸³ Ref-#247

not seek violence, although there are troublemakers too⁵⁸⁴. G-3 recounts being caught up in violence and being temporarily rescued by a Muslim. He thanks God for his escape, however without attributing any positive agency to the Muslim⁵⁸⁵. A-3 says he agrees that there are good Muslims, but maintains that there is no way of telling them apart from those who are evil⁵⁸⁶. He recounts fighting Muslims during a recent crisis, adding “you fight or you run for your dear life”, so he fought, finding no alternative other than to kill. B-3 openly disagrees, pointing out that he was helped by Muslims⁵⁸⁷. E-3 recalls her expectation of her menfolk to defend and “if possible” kill Muslims, adding that at times she had felt bad if innocent Muslims were killed, but “not nowadays”⁵⁸⁸. Leaving lip service aside, the cohort continues to be split between those maintaining a differentiated picture of a heterogeneous Muslim society, and those who see Muslim as single-mindedly working towards the subjugation and domination of Christians. However, a hardening trend is discernible under the duress of a deteriorating security situation and an escalation of threats. Meanwhile, there is no meaningful shift in the perception of the rural conflict with Fulani. Only E-3 mentions them in context of recent killings in her native village and characterises them as ungrateful for what has been done for them and accuses them of being party to a coordinated pan-Muslim effort against Christians⁵⁸⁹. This is the closest she comes to echoing the land-occupancy issue raised by seniors in her church, nevertheless without connecting it to the word “Berom”. She is also the only respondent in the cohort to refer to her village⁵⁹⁰, suggesting that the rest are less rooted in an extra-urban context and less concerned about the conflict with Fulani herdsmen.

⁵⁸⁴ Ref-#306/Ref-#347/Ref-#348

⁵⁸⁵ Ref-#346

⁵⁸⁶ Ref-#281

⁵⁸⁷ Ref-#347

⁵⁸⁸ Ref-#349

⁵⁸⁹ Ref-#321/Ref-#322

⁵⁹⁰ Ref-#320/Ref-#321

Defence vs. attack. During possibly the most disturbing contact session of all, an interview (BeUYplus-J1), A-3 first proclaims the transformational experience that he had in Christ⁵⁹¹, but then goes on to describe how he, with others, attacked and slaughtered Muslims in their houses, “both old, young, and to some extent women”⁵⁹². Similar to B-7 in Tarokland, he even remembers a sense of joy and excitement about killing Muslims. When asked how he acts out his faith, he replies, “if not that Christ is on our side, we could have been destroyed long before now”. When pushed further on alternative non-violent interpretations of Jesus' agency, he takes recourse to the fact that Israel fought wars, and of all people, David sought God's advice before going into battle. Accordingly, it would be wrong to “fold my hands” and leave the battle to Jesus⁵⁹³. A-3's response to my challenge to differentiate attack and defence suggests that he understands the conceptual difference, but equalises axiomatically his own actions with “defence”⁵⁹⁴. Even my effort during the focus group session to reproduce a perspective on how the Muslims, besieged in their houses, might perceive the situation leads A-3 to state that they would see it as Christian defence. When B-3 is posed with the same challenge, he is able to separate himself from a subjective perspective in differentiating the two⁵⁹⁵, but also says he would kill immediately in defence of his church⁵⁹⁶. G-3 and E-3 claim that they have never seen or heard of Christians who have attacked Muslims⁵⁹⁷. When discussion turns to how to respond to the Boko Haram suicide attacks, A-3 proposes that Christians should “attack back” by attacking mosques, just like Israel and Gaza. After being further challenged by E-3 and myself, he finally concedes that it would lead to a state of chaos, which is in fact what Boko

⁵⁹¹ Ref-#216

⁵⁹² Ref-#350

⁵⁹³ Ref-#350

⁵⁹⁴ Ref-#365

⁵⁹⁵ Ref-#366

⁵⁹⁶ Ref-#368

⁵⁹⁷ Ref-#367/Ref-#370

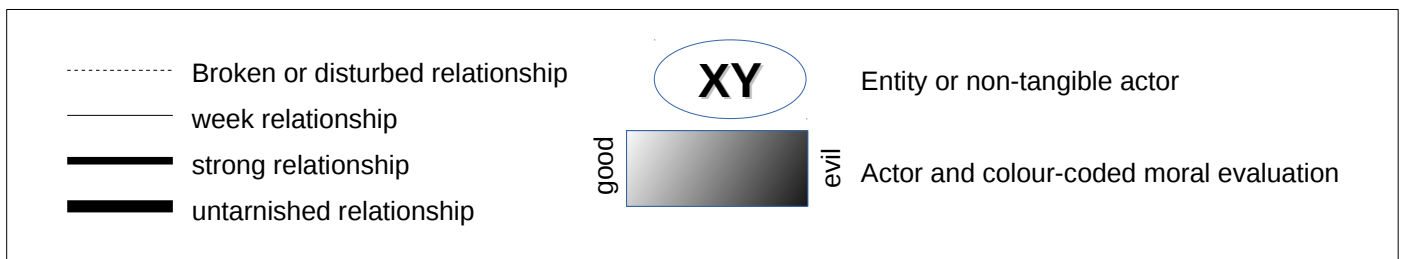
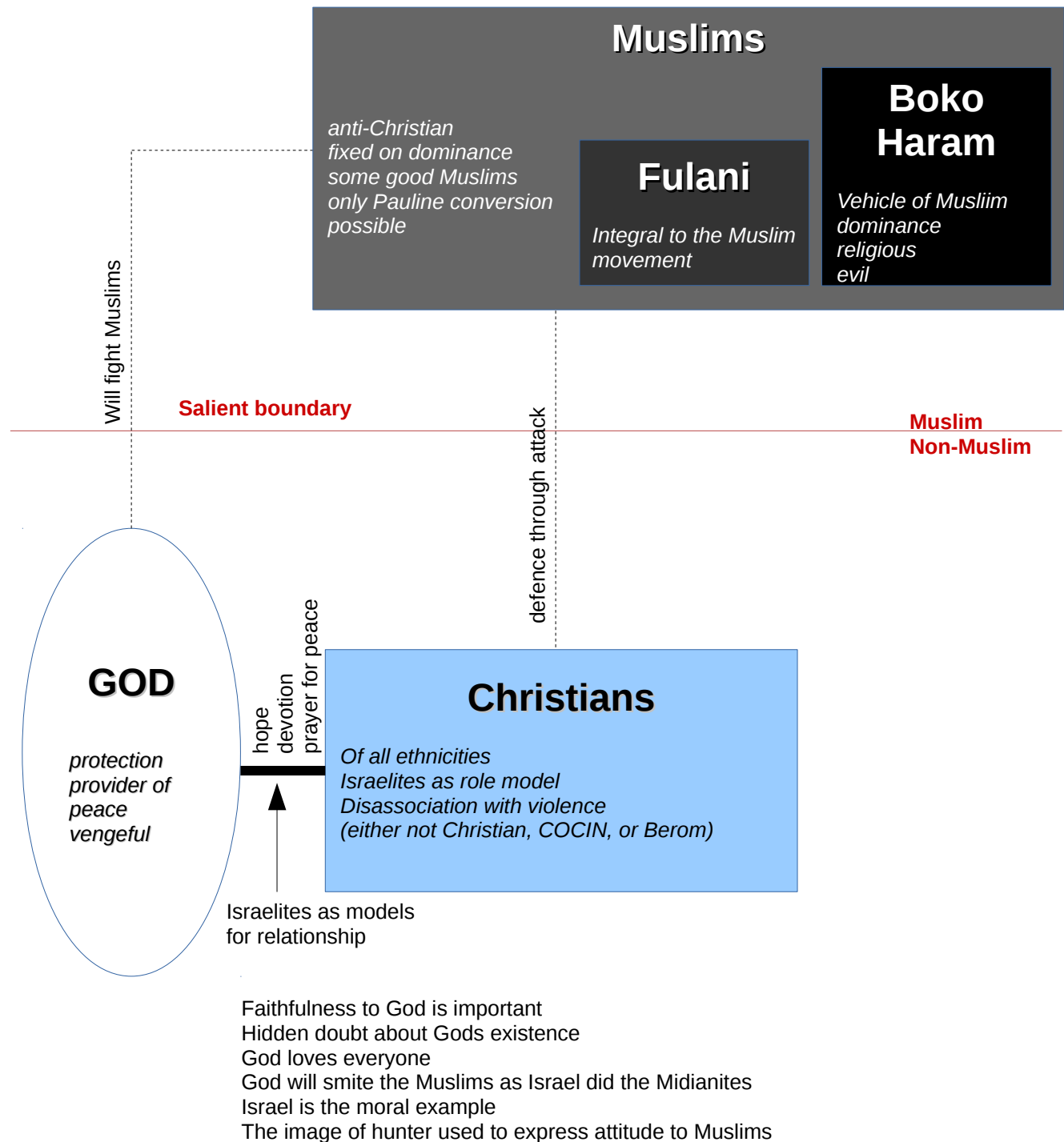


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to Berom Youths in June 2012

Haram wants⁵⁹⁸. This does not stop him from returning to the same position later in the discussion, since Boko Haram “hunts churches just the way a hunter hunts in the bush”⁵⁹⁹.

This very hard position is possibly born of two instances. On the one hand there is the existential threat and frustration of having to cope with an invisible enemy who can strike at any moment, on the other, an inability or unwillingness to differentiate between various currents within the Muslim community; instead he conflates their concerns and actions with those of Boko Haram into a single-minded front against Christians.

Solutions. When prompted on what could bring about peace, respondents almost predictably mention prayer⁶⁰⁰. Their list does however also include the broadcast of Christian peace programmes and peace seminars⁶⁰¹. While the effects of these remains vague, B-3 refreshingly proclaims that peace can be brought about only by *practising* peace, and that Muslims could not successfully preach against Christian peacemakers⁶⁰². As to why Muslims might turn to Christianity by means other than through the force of prayer, B-3 points to the merits of the “spiritual upgrade” they might experience, which he illustrates with a conventional mobile phone versus a modern smartphone⁶⁰³. A-3 proposes that one should show the good Muslim love, except that there is no way of telling the good from the bad⁶⁰⁴, which leaves Muslims with only a Pauline “Damacus-Road” hope⁶⁰⁵. E-3 claims that Christians do continue to show Muslims love by mingling with them and buying from them in the market⁶⁰⁶. Finally, A-3 concedes that there are Muslims who have not

⁵⁹⁸ Ref-#352

⁵⁹⁹ Ref-#355 followed by Ref-#365 in BeUYplus-F

⁶⁰⁰ Ref-#380

⁶⁰¹ Ref-#388

⁶⁰² Ref-#392

⁶⁰³ Ref-#307

⁶⁰⁴ Ref-#314

⁶⁰⁵ Ref-#308

⁶⁰⁶ Ref-#310

experienced good things with Christians, but in a breathtaking paradox suggests that a Muslim converted to Christianity could come to church and overcome his ill-feelings by understanding that he was attacked when he was not yet born again⁶⁰⁷.

In summary, I am left with the impression of advanced cleavage where the boundary markers between Muslim and Christian communities have become nearly intractable. Various conflict narratives have been woven into a single existential threat. Indeed, Boko Haram may have come quite close to succeeding in its conjectured aim to provoke a Christian backlash on mosques. That this has not happened may indeed be due to the Church's restraining doctrine on revenge. Yet there is plenty of reason for concern. There is a fundamental unwillingness to concede Christian wrong-doing, to the point that many respondents inadvertently define defence as Christian action and attack as Muslim action. God is instrumental to their struggle, and the basic assumption is that He is on their side and against the Muslims. There is little evidence of critical introspection.

D.1.4 Word count analysis

In line with the methodological approach described in Subchapter B.5.3.6, I carried out a word frequency analysis on 21 different words. The words' occurrences were weighted differently depending on whether they were directly prompted, conversationally conditioned, or uttered spontaneously. Appendix G.8 offers a detailed description of the applied analysis. As a word of caution, it must be emphasised that the conversation matrix, the semi-structured nature of the contact sessions, and of course the small number of events do not permit any strict statistical analysis, but only a discussion of tentative trends. For this reason, no advanced statistical analysis tools have been applied.

⁶⁰⁷ Ref-#309

A review of some of the keywords reveals some interesting trends which corroborate well with the non-statistical observations already made above. *God* receives a lot of attention throughout the body of contact sessions. Focus groups and older generations appear to use the word more frequently than the younger ones. Meanwhile, reference to one's *own tribe*, i.e. the term “Berom” or “Tarok” is uttered more often by seniors in focus groups and in rural contexts. This may be due to the fact that the Christian community, or at least the circle of respondents' contacts, is more homogeneous amongst seniors and in religious contexts. Their “us” may represent a social network with a particularly strong congruity of ethnic and religious identities, meaning the terms “Christian” and “Berom/Tarok” can be used nearly interchangeably to underline allegiance and membership, particularly in focus group contexts where respondents speak at least as much to one another as they do to the moderator. In the event, the word count for [*own religion*] does not always bear this out. Its use does not adhere to any particular pattern across the cohorts, but does spike in the interview held with Berom youths in June 2012, under the duress of acute religious conflict. Meanwhile, the frequency of the word *God* does follow a pattern similar to that of *own tribe*. This could be a sign that while ethnic identity is established by natal belonging, religious identity is accredited by a strong relationship with God. Interestingly, the seniors of both the Berom and Tarok are more likely to mention *Jesus* than are the youth in 2011, although this changes in 2012. Similarly, prayer which appears to be a very much more important practice amongst seniors in 2011 has gained considerably in importance in the utterances of the Berom youth by June 2012, indicating that this is their source of succour in a desperate situation.

The word *land* is uttered significantly more often by seniors than youths. A greater traditional attachment to land might predicate this, and a

further cause may be that a younger generation is less likely to own land than their elders. Somewhat surprisingly, Berom, if anything, are more likely to take reference to it than Tarok. The defence of Beromland against Muslim incursion does in fact appear to be a salient narrative amongst senior Berom. For Tarok land appears to be less contested in its ownership, despite conflicts.

	BeS	BeY	TaS	TaY	BeY+	Be	Ta
01 God	754	425	455	337	394	556	390
02 land	144	22	94	18	24	70	52
03 [own place of worship]	103	100	43	154	222	101	105
04 [own scripture]	90	74	117	39	57	80	73
05 [other scripture]	12	18			25	15	
06 Boko Haram					139		
07 [own religion]	180	279	287	190	461	240	233
08 [own tribe]	130	37	242	192	16	74	214
09 [other religion]	240	311	328	208	486	283	261
10 [other tribe]	6	39	49	69	35	26	60
11 [own scriptural tribe]	30		31		27	12	14
12 [own rel. Figure]	136	106	139	96	141	118	115
13 [other rel. Figure]	16	10		7	24	12	4
14 tribe\$	24	3	40	14	8	11	26
15 indigene							
16 settler	21				8	8	
17 pray\$	205	76	65	119	118	127	95
18 Justice/righteous\$				7	16		4
19 peace	193	71	123	211	253	120	172
20 fear	69	33	195	78	102	47	130
21 fight\$	121	76	92	41	210	94	63

*Table showing relative word-count frequencies by cohort
(see Appendix G.8 for a more comprehensive tabular analysis)*

The use of the word “Church” (*[own place of worship]*), is with the exception of senior Tarok, used more frequently than *land*. The word's usage experiences a considerable surge amongst Berom youth in light of the particularly acute threat to places of worship in June 2012. In the same period, religious polarisation appears to have gained considerable weight in the discourses. Both *Christian\$* and *Muslim/Islam* are used more frequently, and usage of *Boko Haram* surfaces for the first time in any of the Plateau dialogues.

The use of the word *tribe* is quite rare across the board. The words *indigene* and *settler* are hardly ever used, although some passages describe people in these roles. This comes as a surprise, given the importance that much of the literature attributes to these terms.

D.1.5 Synopsis and discussion of findings

Discourse. As surmised, respondents do indeed behave differently, depending on whether they are speaking in an interview or focus group setting. Focus groups offer dynamic discourses with opportunities to bounce ideas off one another, and even, as in the case of Cohort 3, for controversy to evolve. However, it is in the interview situation that respondents speak more frequently in their own voice, which allows more sensitive topics and convictions to be explored. This finding is indicative of an immense degree of social control within groups and underpins the importance of the methodology's concern with anonymity. What the comparison demonstrates is that recognised piety is an important social good, and in direct exposure to one another, respondents are keen to burnish their credentials. It becomes obvious that public expressions of piety,⁶⁰⁸ despite faith in God doubtless being a major factor in all of the respondents' lives, cannot necessarily be taken at face value.

Context. The well-established fact of the difference between Berom and Tarok conflict contexts surfaces clearly in the discourses, and supports the credibility of previous accounts. The differences in experience and behaviour expressed between senior and youth Berom⁶⁰⁹ echo the findings of Scacco⁶¹⁰ that it was mainly networks of youth peer groups who were involved in Jos's 2001 outbreaks of violence. This points to a younger generation “going out” to “defend” against Muslim aggression in the

⁶⁰⁸ Ref-#24, Ref-#26, Ref-#27, p.277

⁶⁰⁹ Ref-#114, Ref-#115, Ref-#117, p.282 vs. Ref-#337, Ref-#340, p.290 and Ref-#349, p.282

⁶¹⁰ In Scacco., p.152ff the focus is on youth networks

various ways they deem fit. Meanwhile, both age classes amongst the Tarok offer similar accounts,⁶¹¹ suggesting that as undefended rural communities, they were engulfed by violence,⁶¹² but then collectively planned and carried out reprisals, this being particularly traceable in A-4's and A-6's matching accounts of preparing gruel for their fighting menfolk. This collective experience reinforces a common horizon⁶¹³ between the two Tarok generations in terms of their moral thinking. Meanwhile, although older Berom do vindicate the choices and actions of their youths, they are also openly uneasy about them.⁶¹⁴

Conflict merging. Respondents' world-views are, obviously, shaped by the world they experience. A Berom youth with little or no ties to rural areas seems unconcerned about the rural conflicts between sedentary Berom and Fulani herdsmen. Older urban Berom and one youth who frequently visits her village can relate to this conflict and graft it into their understanding of the urban conflict they are experiencing.⁶¹⁵ The differences between contact sessions with Berom youths between 2011 and 2012 illustrate the dynamics of how quickly conflicts of distinct substance can be merged; one year Boko Haram is a remote phenomenon with little impact on their expressed perception of Muslims, but the following year various respondents merge them seamlessly into their understanding of the pre-existing conflict,⁶¹⁶ even though Boko Haram emerged in a very different area and set of circumstances and shares few concerns with most Muslims of Jos. Nevertheless, the acute threat posed by Boko Haram, which has little actual rooting in Plateau State, is

⁶¹¹ Ref-#488/Ref-#489, p.298 (seniors) vs. Ref-#591/Ref-#595 /Ref-#596/ Ref-#601, p.303 (youths)

⁶¹² Higazi, 'Social Mobilisation And Collective Violence: Vigilantes And Militias In The Lowlands Of Plateau State, Central Nigeria.', p.117-119, 121 and 123 implicates all generations in vigilantes' response

⁶¹³ p.304

⁶¹⁴ Ref-#121/Ref-#124, p.282

⁶¹⁵ Ref-#74/Ref-#78, p.279 (senior) vs. e.g. Ref-#319/Ref-#320 (E-3)

⁶¹⁶ See p.308 - Ref-#296/Ref-#300/Ref-#298

construed by some members as the expression of the agenda pursued by their Muslim neighbours. This conflation of two distinct threats represents a potentially toxic evolution of Berom understanding of who Muslims are. The Muslim cause is perceived as being broader and more united than ever before: Even though rumour in past crises, notably the events of December 2008, already had it that Muslims had travelled in from other states with sophisticated firearms despite security forces frisking travellers for weapons,⁶¹⁷ the immanence of the Boko Haram threat heightens the sense of a coordinated malice which is bent on not simply dominating, but on destroying Christians.⁶¹⁸ There is considerable danger that the inability or unwillingness of some members of the Christian community to tell the conflicts apart may yet provoke sustained mayhem should mosques be indiscriminately attacked as they attempt to lash out at an invisible enemy. This has not happened in the period between the interviews and completion of this research, but the danger is not banished.

In Tarokland, the conflict is confined largely to its rural context, although even here the historical backdrop to the conflict permits respondents to see it as part of a wider Muslim endeavour to dominate,⁶¹⁹ despite forces external to the area being far less immanent than in Jos.

Categories, appellations and identities. While the categorical differences of “Fulani” versus “Muslim” and “Berom” or “Tarok” versus “Christian” are distinct in meaning to the respondents, they may be applied differently for the same or similar groups of people, depending on the contextual use of the words. E.g. the same people may be described as “Fulani” or “Muslim” on the basis of what they do and how they relate to the speaker in particular circumstances. How appellations are applied,

⁶¹⁷ Such theories were circulated in the aftermath of the violence.

⁶¹⁸ See Ref-#301

⁶¹⁹ Ref-#559/Ref-#563, p.302

particularly by the Tarok, where “Muslim” is used in a context of animosity and “Fulani” in context of intercommunal association, even when the same or similar groups are concerned, exhibits a degree of pragmatic functionality. It also exposes religious allegiance as the essential faultline.⁶²⁰ Their own ethnic category, Tarok, stands apart from these other two categories, which means that it can be used as a strong identity-founding concept. Its demographic congruence with Christian allegiance, allows “Christian” to be used readily as an attribute to “Tarok”.⁶²¹ In this very rural area with only relatively low rates of migration through other ethnicities, and few conversions to Islam, the situational denominator of “Untarok” is essentially “Muslim”, and on the basis of past experiences, even “Anti-Tarok”.⁶²² The frequent social contacts and shared interests that the two rural groups maintain may be responsible for the Fulani being only situationally classified as Muslims and not categorically as the “wholly Other”, unlike Muslims inside the township of Wase.

While similar distinctions may at one time have been prevalent amongst the Berom when the urban area was considerably smaller and ethnically less mixed, a younger generation's memory is dominated by living in a multi-ethnic, peri-urban context. Although the categories of “indigene” and “settler” and competition for resources may have shaped the conflict, there can be no doubt that here too religious allegiance has come to be the primary faultline. On the one hand, settlers are by no means exclusively Muslim; on the other, nor are the “Unberom”. It appears that the similarities of world-view between various Christian groups, regardless of ethnicity and status allows them to forge a common identity which is distinctly Christian and non-Muslim.⁶²³ On this basis, “Christian” is not

⁶²⁰ Ref-#442/Ref-#447/Ref-#453/Ref-#491/Ref-#490, p.295

⁶²¹ Ref-#435, p.294 (seniors) and Ref-#557/Ref-#558, p.302 (youths)

⁶²² p.295

⁶²³ e.g. through Christian school friends, Ref-#260,/Ref-#273, p.286

simply an attribute of “Berom”, but an identity in its own right. Berom identity is subsumed into a broader Christian identity. Indeed, references to a Berom self-understanding had all but disappeared in the second round of contact sessions in June 2012.

Muslim essence. In the Berom context, “Muslim” is the antithesis of “Christian”, while amongst the Tarok it is the antithesis of the Tarok themselves. Yet “Muslim” in the Berom context emerges as a more heterogeneous concept due to respondents' varied experiences and perceptions of Muslims.⁶²⁴ It is probable that inter-group contact is more difficult to avoid in an urban context and results in a broader range of sub-identities. This does not prevent some Berom individuals from condemning Muslims in the strongest of terms,⁶²⁵ but it does impede a blanket consensus on a characterisation of Muslim agency as intrinsically evil. Nevertheless, all respondents perceive the presence of Islam with its apparent goal to enslave and even destroy them as an existential threat. Muslims are seen as forming a common front against Nigerian Christians with the goal of establishing total control.⁶²⁶ Islamic divisions are not easily seen by the Christian community which is itself dogged by a severely fractured denominational landscape. Muslim prayer observance, which is carried out publicly and according to rituals which bear military uniformity can produce a false impression of unity and power. Muslim rhetoric emphasises the *Umah* and Islamic solidarity. Outside observers often fail to discern individual convictions and divisions within the group. Therefore, as soon as one finds oneself struggling with one group of Muslims, the conclusion is near that the struggle is with all Muslims.

⁶²⁴ Especially Berom youth, see p.286

⁶²⁵ e.g. Ref-#286/Ref-#232/Ref-#276/Ref-#279/Ref-#286/Ref-#287, p.286 or Ref-#296, p.308

⁶²⁶ e.g. Ref-#80/Ref-#81/Ref-#83, p.278 (Be seniors); Ref-#296/Ref-#300, p.308; Ref-#322, p.310 (Be youth); Ref-#449/Ref-#450/Ref-#451/Ref-#452/Ref-#453/Ref-#456, p.294 (Ta seniors); Ref-#569/Ref-#570/Ref-#571,/Ref-#592, p.302 (Tarok youth)

The Christian ethnicity. The indigene-settler paradigm of conflict which various observers have laboured on over the last years (Subchapters A.1.2 and A.1.3), while remaining useful in describing the conflict's becoming, does not gain much traction in any of the dialogues with Christians. In only one contact session is “indigeneship” mentioned.⁶²⁷ While land contestation remains an issue in Berom seniors' perception of conflict, the generation of youth, who are implicated in the violence, show less interest in land control. Similarly, the Tarok do not report any seizures of land. Rather, both Tarok and Berom youths fear domination and forced conversion by Muslims.⁶²⁸ Amongst Berom youth, and to some extent amongst all Tarok respondents, the salient boundary is that of religion which, as seen, features “ethnomorphic” features in the way it is acted out. It is reinforced by OT imagery, particularly the Isaac-Ishmael paradigm which gives precedence to an ethnic understanding of religious traditions.⁶²⁹ It is well documented that ethnic myths in Nigeria often evolve to fit the concepts of prevalent religions⁶³⁰. This fluidity of self-understanding may reveal an ability to rapidly revise former collective myths, a topic which was not explored deeply in the interviews.

This “ethnomorphic” interpretation of interreligious relationships would represent a departure from the classic understanding of ethnicity, which can be defined as a belonging based on a common ancestry⁶³¹.

⁶²⁷ Ref-#78/Ref-#82/Ref-#92 (Be1S-J)

⁶²⁸ e.g. Ref-#280 (Berom); Ref-#449/Ref-#450/Ref-#451/Ref-#452/Ref-#453/Ref-#456, p.294 (Tarok)

⁶²⁹ e.g. Ref-#270/Ref-#271, p.287 (Be); Ref-#465/Ref-#466 (Ta), p.296

⁶³⁰ e.g. Barkindo., p.78 on Kirdi tribes incorporating that ethnic founders came from Mekka

⁶³¹ The definition of „ethnicity“ or „ethnic belonging“ is possibly as contentious as that of religion. However, as the nature of ethnicity is only of tangential importance to the nature of our enquiry, I am content to the definition of Peoples and Bailey, which has gained some currency: „In essence, an ethnic group is a named social category of people based on perceptions of shared social experience or ancestry. Members of the ethnic group see themselves as sharing cultural traditions and history that distinguish them from other groups. Ethnic group identity has a strong psychological or emotional component that divides the people of the world into opposing categories of 'us' and 'them'", James Peoples and Garrick Bailey, *Humanity : An Introduction to Cultural*

Consequently, the dominant notion of a common genetic ancestry is replaced by one of a shared *spiritual* ancestry, which unlike the former could presumably be gained or shed through religious conversion. Thus, at least in theory, group belonging would be a choice of the individual. Whether it is this simple in practice, is rather more difficult to say. Certainly one Tarok respondent talks of hereditary behavioural features amongst Muslims.⁶³² Where religion gains such a quasi-ethnic identity in itself, incentives arise to stabilise the membership of the group, and in practice, it may become as difficult to cross a religious boundary as it is a traditional ethnic boundary. For instance, conversational evidence suggests indeed that it is becoming more acceptable to marry across tribal boundaries than across religious ones.⁶³³ Any convert would quickly have to find a home in his new religious group. Where relationships with his former group are uneasy, establishing trust may remain a prolonged challenge, whereas his former group will rapidly sever ties. Subsequently, there is a lot to dissuade conversions. It is with these concerns in mind that I appraised the possibilities of conversions from one religion to another, particularly in the case of the Berom youth. According to two of their contact session narratives, there is little indication that conversion is driven by human agency, but rather by direct intervention of God; the merits of Christianity are seen as self-explanatory.⁶³⁴ The narratives do not reveal that any of the group members had entertained self-critical debate or enquiry into why Muslims should convert to Christianity. My efforts to explore this topic consciously in the second round of Berom youth contact sessions reveal that there is usually no real expectation of conversion, because this is perceived as being governed practically exclusively by direct and radical divine intervention.⁶³⁵ Further, there is

Anthropology, 9th edn (Belmont CA, USA: Wadsworth, 2012)., p.389

⁶³² Ref-#466, p.296

⁶³³ e.g. Ref-#462, p.296

⁶³⁴ e.g. Ref-#271/Ref-#307/Ref-#308, p.313

⁶³⁵ e.g. Ref-#308/Ref-#309

also no evidence that any respondents have been part of any serious missionary effort. Findings indicate instead that missionary outreach is at best random and unreflected, and may not reach far beyond the Christian broadcasts mentioned in the contact sessions, vague references to dialogue⁶³⁶ or the practice of preaching Christian messages through loudspeakers in the vicinity of mosques around prayer times (although this was not substantiated or discussed during the interviews). This lack of concern is illustrated by one respondent's claim that it is only through God's direct intervention (akin to a Pauline Damascus Road experience) that Muslims might be saved.⁶³⁷ Such a lack of missionary concern amongst an otherwise very evangelical youth could be an indication that an ethnomorphic understanding of religion as a given fact of life may already be quite entrenched.

Henotheism. Particularly amongst Berom cohorts, and based on an ethnomorphic perception of religion as an identity factor, there is wide evidence of a henotheistic or monolatric approach being taken towards Muslims. Jesus is often seen as an agent for asserting one's right and has so become party to the conflict.⁶³⁸ This reinforces a perception of Jesus not simply being against sin, but thanks to the personification of evil in Muslims, also against Muslims *per se*.

This brings us to the question of who God might be. A rather murky and inconsistent image of God's agency emerges across the cohort groups. On the one hand, an all-powerful God is understood to be the master of events. All things are driven by God. Actions are identified as being from God based on their fruits.⁶³⁹ Yet the way events unfold is indicative also of God's relationship with the community. Humans can only hope to alter

⁶³⁶ e.g. Ref-#387/Ref-#388 (appendix)

⁶³⁷ e.g. Ref-#308, p.313 (Be); e.g. Ref-#463 (Ta)

⁶³⁸ See pp.279/291 and e.g. Ref-#86/Ref-#208/Ref-#252/Ref-#254/Ref-#350

⁶³⁹ e.g. Ref-#40/Ref-#50/Ref-#96/Ref-#127/Ref-#163/Ref-#195/Ref-#200/Ref-#201/Ref-#205/Ref-#207/Ref-#210 (Be); Ref-#415/Ref-#566 (Ta) [with a caveat, as the devil can also pervert God's intentions: Ref-#55/Ref-#60/Ref-#114/Ref-#189/Ref-#230/Ref-#238]

this through intercession and good moral conduct.⁶⁴⁰ In essence, respondents are working on the official understanding of a God-controlled world.

What does this mean? As seen, a persistent understanding prevails that He is essentially on the Christians' side of conflict. Nevertheless, a Christian understanding exists to the effect that He is omnipotent and concerned for the fate of all humans. Reconciliation of these two conflicting notions can be achieved most easily by denying recognition of the humanity of ones Muslim opponents. In some cases this may have already happened.⁶⁴¹

However, some respondents may also doubt His omnipotence. That any significant improvement of the situation appears to be continuously deferred appears to have informed the sentiment of two female Berom respondents who are in doubt about His will to end the conflict and possibly about His very existence.⁶⁴² Remembering that a popular theory of initial conversion to Christianity was the wish to align oneself with a powerful, salvific God,⁶⁴³ it is not impossible that disappointment will drive adherents spiritually elsewhere, assuming the same utilitarian cultural traits still prevail. However, assuming that the model of Christianity itself constituting a quasi-ethnicity holds true, it is difficult to predict how any of these developments might unfold. Would the Christian ethnicity decay into its constituent parts, i.e. probably the former ethnic units, or would new groupings emerge, if the ethnic boundaries are already substantially blurred? Or would the Christian unit as a whole look for an entirely new understanding of God? Either way, the Church should be concerned. The source material collected in

⁶⁴⁰ Ref-#96/Ref-#116/Ref-#136/Ref-#138/Ref-#140/Ref-#158/Ref-#254 (Be); Ref-#493/Ref-#534/Ref-#616 (Ta)

⁶⁴¹ e.g. Ref-#278/Ref-#351

⁶⁴² Ref-#139/Ref-#247

⁶⁴³ p.293

this study presents enough evidence to claim that the understanding of God is quite fluid, particularly among a younger urban generation.

Moral thinking in conflict. Respondents of both age groups and ethnicities appear to be caught between the theological principle that “vengeance belongs to the Lord” and the perceived necessity not only to ward off an immediate attack, but retaliate in kind. The justifications for this range from the apologetic (“fury”, human weakness “born of the blood”), through the need to exact social discipline in an effort to deter, right up to the extremes of the moral obligation to preserve one's generation and crush the enemies of God.⁶⁴⁴ Particularly Berom respondents use narratives of the OT to establish a biblical precedence for their more militant positions.⁶⁴⁵ An affinity to OT imagery, much of which is itself based on a henotheistic narrative, is an already thoroughly described phenomenon in African theology.⁶⁴⁶ This phenomenon, possibly established and reinforced by the world-view of African traditional belief systems, may be rearing its head. Morally, believers feel vindicated in that their views are solidly founded on the Christian Bible.

Yet what I also find in much of the gathered material is an obstinate unwillingness to reflect on the essence of attack and defence and critically consider one's own behaviour from an outside perspective. Alas, several respondents have unwittingly revealed that defence is axiomatically what they do, while attack is the action of their opponents.⁶⁴⁷ In this, their

⁶⁴⁴ Berom: p.280 (seniors); p.290 (youth); Tarok: p.298 (seniors); p.304 (youths)

⁶⁴⁵ Seniors: Ref-#73/Ref-#133, p.279; youths: Ref-#218/Ref-#199/Ref-#255/Ref-#350/Ref-#371, pp.290, 311

⁶⁴⁶ e.g. Laurenti Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation : Transforming the Church in Africa* (Maryknoll NY, United States: Orbis Books, 2004)., pp.89-102; exploring the African relationship to the OT; Phillip Tovey, *Inculturation of Christian Worship : Exploring the Eucharist* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2004)., p.105, citing J.S. Pobee, ‘African Spirituality’, in *A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, ed. by G.S. Wakefield (London, UK: SCM Press, 1983). , pp.5-8 that in case of the Kimbanguists that there is an affinity between the OT and the emerging Africanised Church, „perhaps because there is a common tribal motif“.

⁶⁴⁷ e.g. Berom: Ref-#362/Ref-#365, pp.290, 311; Tarok: Ref-#488/Ref-#593, pp.298, 304

world-view has become deeply subjectivistic and their moral outlook a utilitarian concept which is limited to the goals of their own group identity. The will of God and the interests of the group, i.e. Christians, are inadvertently collapsed into one, and there is hence little impetus to think outside this framework to the concerns of others.

In the same vein, there is little discussion of love, which in its Christian form conditions the ability and will to think beyond ones own interests. On this basis, there is something seriously amiss in the doctrinal constitution of most respondents' faith.

Emerging practical concerns. These findings should come as considerable concern to to the Church, and at a doctrinal and practical level challenges them on the following points:

1. There is a paradigm shift within the Bible between the OT and the NT. As Christians, while we understand the NT in light of the OT, it is this new testament which is the foundation for our understanding of God and our action in the world. However, church members readily quarry the OT for vindications of their actions and thereby lose the NT's perspective of an all-encompassing and immanent God. Based on the consistency and prevalence of certain OT-based concepts, even in rural areas where the media broadcast of information is very limited, one must suspect that the church clergy have provided a helping hand in this. Here the Church must develop a clearer doctrinal position on how it wishes to navigate OT texts.
2. Church members struggle immensely in the face of existential threats to their lives. There is no conscious reflection as to what constitutes attack and what defence. The Church may do well to develop a casuistry to help its members navigate violent conflicts and set limits on certain forms of behaviour.

3. The pain suffered by members of the Church in Africa is immense, and many struggle to reconcile events with the idea of a loving and powerful God. The Church must provide answers at some level. Of course, this is an immense theological undertaking which is not yet completed⁶⁴⁸, and should feed into a wider debate.
4. The Christian understanding of God is under threat. Grafted into a henotheistic world-view, He risks losing His universality as a God of all mankind and is potentially bound into a utilitarian “ethnic” struggle by those identifying with Christianity. Without fundamental correction, this is liable to undermine the entire project of Christianity in the local context.

⁶⁴⁸ Vergl. Walls., pp.171-175

Chapter D.2 Evaluation of Peripheral Data Set Query

D.2.1 Focus of query

Unlike the evaluation of the Core Data Set, the Peripheral Data Set was processed on the basis of a closed set of queries emerging from the discussion of the Core Data Set's features. This approach was intended to narrow down the investigation to the question of how findings amongst Plateau State Christians relate to perceptions in Adamawa State or across the religious divide to Muslims. Accordingly, the Peripheral Data Set was queried on the basis of 10 salient topics structured as 23 thematic codes which also formed the coding structure used to order the data and discuss the material in this chapter. The individual codes are listed under Appendix G.5.4.

This topical order follows that already employed under Subchapter C.3.1.1, which is also employed to discuss the content of the Peripheral Data Set's source material in the remainder of this chapter. The data are presented in lots defined by ethnic grouping, but with no generational classification. A first reason for this is that the Kamwe and Fali lots are smaller than those of the Plateau tribes, and that some of the Hausa contact sessions were composed of members of mixed age groups; a second intention is to present and discuss the data in unit sizes which are economical and not excessively repetitive.

D.2.2 Analysis of Kamwe data of September 2011 (Cohorts 8 and 9)

Self-understanding. Although hailing from the plain-dwelling Kamwe, several respondents poignantly celebrate their people's colline origins in the Mandara Mountains by reciting their genitive narratives. These are even retold in the focus groups moderated by a Kamwe research assistant, and thus probably without much concern for projecting them on

me as an outsider⁶⁴⁹. The settlement of Michika and the allegedly uninhabited plains is part of these narratives, as is the entanglement with Muslim Fulani coming from Yola in the south and Borno Kanuri residing in the north. Accordingly, to them the soil belongs to the Kamwe, and there is a shared sense of ethnic strength which has enabled their presence to spread⁶⁵⁰. Kamwe linguistic identity also appears to be alive and well, with the youth readily communicating in their ethnic tongue; but there is indication that its use is policed, in that one senior member was reprimanded by another for using Hausa words⁶⁵¹.

Christianity is a prominent part of respondents' self-understanding, and they observe that it is the dominant religion in the Michika area⁶⁵². While they clearly subscribe to a Christian concept of God⁶⁵³, one woman indicates that they might have been Muslim, had the Fulani given them access to Islam⁶⁵⁴. I conclude that, while affiliated with Christianity, the notion of “Kamwe” as an ethnic identity trait does also have a distinct life of its own which is present in both generations.

The nature of “The Other”. There is a near singularity of identity between “The Others” and “Muslims”. “Fulani” is seldom mentioned other than in reference to their language. Even these few incidences serve to describe either a pastoral existence⁶⁵⁵ or the historic rein by the Emirate of Yola⁶⁵⁶ from which the “Kirdi”, to which the Kamwe belong, were unshackled only by White missionaries⁶⁵⁷. Nevertheless, the terms “Fulani” and “Muslim” are linked, and Islam is seen as the Fulanis' vehicle to destroying livelihoods and abducting Christian daughters⁶⁵⁸.

⁶⁴⁹ Ref-#637/Ref-#640

⁶⁵⁰ Ref-#641/Ref-#642

⁶⁵¹ Ref-#638

⁶⁵² Ref-#643

⁶⁵³ Ref-#629/Ref-#631/Ref-#632/Ref-#636

⁶⁵⁴ Ref-#647

⁶⁵⁵ Ref-#640

⁶⁵⁶ Ref-#637

⁶⁵⁷ Ref-#647/Ref-#673/Ref-#723

⁶⁵⁸ Ref-#647, a practice notoriously revived by Boko Haram

Even though a good number of respondents have Muslim relations, the term “Muslim” is often equated to a force of evil, and even with the devil⁶⁵⁹. This manifests itself in a strong inclination towards violence⁶⁶⁰ and an in insatiable lust for power⁶⁶¹. However, respondents who report Muslim relatives or family do not usually appear to support this extreme view.

Respondents insinuate that the Muslim agenda is one of political and religious control. F-9 suggests that they will force everyone to follow Islam⁶⁶², while B-9, in the same contact session, claims that they want to make Kamwe areas part of Hausaland, “so that we all become their brothers”⁶⁶³. In this I identify the contours of a nascent narrative similar to that among Plateau State Christians describing a unified Muslim front masterminded by Fulani or Hausa seeking to dominate smaller, non-Muslim peoples. There are indeed indications that Kamwes converting to Islam lose their status as kinsmen. E-8, who has Muslim relatives, claims that they separate themselves from their families⁶⁶⁴, and states that he would report a Muslim moving into a house next door⁶⁶⁵. Similarly, A-8 reports that someone in Islam cannot be one's relative and that converts become strangers⁶⁶⁶.

At a time when Plateau State inhabitants had barely registered Boko Haram as a force to be reckoned with, the group and its methods are already strongly permeating the Kamwe's perception of Islam. B-9 depicts Muslims as not only violent, but as fanatical⁶⁶⁷. While E-8 is puzzled that someone would blow himself up for the sake of religion⁶⁶⁸, B-9 in a

⁶⁵⁹ Ref-#648/Ref-#649

⁶⁶⁰ Ref-#650/Ref-#660/Ref-#661

⁶⁶¹ Ref-#650

⁶⁶² Ref-#664

⁶⁶³ Ref-#663

⁶⁶⁴ Ref-#669

⁶⁶⁵ Ref-#670

⁶⁶⁶ Ref-#761/Ref-#762

⁶⁶⁷ Ref-#668

⁶⁶⁸ Ref-#666/Ref-#667

separate contact session describes the promise of heavenly reward as an incentive to pursue violence⁶⁶⁹. Describing it in his own religious terms, B-8 makes reference to the Isaac-Ishmael narrative to explain Muslims' behaviour⁶⁷⁰. The younger B-9 claims that Mohammed understood the message of the Bible, but he merged it with his own writings to establish a new religion⁶⁷¹. Meanwhile, in a keen display of independent thought, E-8 forwards the fascinating, albeit rather dubious theory that Muslim evil-mindedness springs from their scriptures being written from right to left⁶⁷². Nevertheless, respondents do not portray all as being bad in Islam. The reverence that children have for their parents is widely lauded by senior Kamwe as an exemplary feature of Muslim morality⁶⁷³.

Understanding of God / respondents' world-view. God is described variously as Father⁶⁷⁴, Creator⁶⁷⁵, Protector⁶⁷⁶ and a source of peace⁶⁷⁷. The devil, often personified as Satan⁶⁷⁸, features prominently in the narratives as a dark counterforce, locked in a cosmic struggle with God and claiming people for his own⁶⁷⁹. Respondents appear to construe this struggle in dualistic terms. Exemplary moral conduct and devotion to God are the essential operative means to curry peace and protection⁶⁸⁰. Both generations ascribe equally to this world-view.

Respondents frequently employ biblical paradigms to frame their relationships with God. On several occasions OT imagery is used to elucidate their circumstances. This happens twice with reference to the

⁶⁶⁹ Ref-#668

⁶⁷⁰ Ref-#662

⁶⁷¹ Ref-#653

⁶⁷² Ref-#651

⁶⁷³ Ref-#654/Ref-#656/Ref-#658/Ref-#655(appendix)

⁶⁷⁴ Ref-#680

⁶⁷⁵ Ref-#629/Ref-#679/Ref-#684

⁶⁷⁶ Ref-#680

⁶⁷⁷ Ref-#683

⁶⁷⁸ Ref-#631/Ref-#679/Ref-#694/Ref-#681(appendix)

⁶⁷⁹ Ref-#631/Ref-#679/Ref-#681(appendix)

⁶⁸⁰ Ref-#686/Ref-#687/Ref-#701/Ref-#725

tribulations of Israel under Pharaoh⁶⁸¹. Further mention goes to the travails of Daniel in Babylonian captivity and the life of David, who as a sinner nevertheless gained the favour of God⁶⁸². When asked about their role models, youths nominated Job, Daniel and Joshua, the last on the basis of his strength and courage⁶⁸³. Such references to examples of subjugation and persecution are different from the combative and triumphant ones chosen by the Berom and may reflect the Kamwe's experience of historical domination by Fulani overlords and their search for succour from a powerful, non-Muslim deity.

This perception of a capricious God could be due to a deep-set spiritual understanding of how the world works. While B-8 and C-8 regard Satan as the cause of accidents⁶⁸⁴, E-8 sees them as ultimately caused by God⁶⁸⁵. This very spiritual understanding of what afflicts the world is underpinned further by a magical understanding of its mechanics. The senior E-8 acknowledges the destructive power of the uttered word when wielded by experienced and respected elders, be this a curse or callous imprecation. Even simply ignoring their word of caution might lead to catastrophe⁶⁸⁶. Both generations see witchcraft as a reality, and Muslim boys are particularly reputed to seduce Christian girls with charms⁶⁸⁷. Proximity to God through prayer is seen as the only protection against such forces.

Drivers of peace and conflict. Many respondents put a high premium on peace, with the youth understanding it as a prerequisite for freedom⁶⁸⁸ and progress⁶⁸⁹. The practice of prayer is seen as vital to ensuring peace⁶⁹⁰,

⁶⁸¹ Ref-#693/Ref-#717

⁶⁸² Ref-#690/Ref-#692

⁶⁸³ Ref-#709

⁶⁸⁴ Ref-#694

⁶⁸⁵ Ref-#695

⁶⁸⁶ Ref-#698

⁶⁸⁷ Ref-#696/Ref-#697

⁶⁸⁸ Ref-#711/Ref-#713

⁶⁸⁹ Ref-#711/Ref-#714

⁶⁹⁰ Ref-#692/Ref-#715/Ref-#716

which can further be enhanced by working together⁶⁹¹. More than any others, Muslims are seen to foment trouble, driven not only, as discussed above, by religious zeal and the desire to dominate, but also by jealousy of Christian wealth⁶⁹². However, given that the recent violence had erupted in the aftermath of the 2011 presidential elections, particularly youth respondents appear to be keenly aware of the political dimension of the violence⁶⁹³ in which all Christians, not just Kamwe, were portrayed collectively as Muslims' political opponents⁶⁹⁴.

Marriage and inter-religious relationships. Most respondents admit to having Muslim relatives. While none report forced conversions to Islam beyond the manipulation of young women with charms⁶⁹⁵, the Muslim community is portrayed as attracting people, particularly women and the gullibly greedy through coercion or the promise of material gain⁶⁹⁶. The pursuit of wealth as a pull factor for conversion sits uneasily with the previously discussed position that Muslims provoke violence out of jealousy of Christian wealth. Although the Kamwe youth are adamant about refusing to marry a Muslim if she or he does not convert, even if this entails disobeying their own parents⁶⁹⁷, at least one youth (D-9) and one senior (A-8) report past relationships with Muslim girls which went beyond a casual flirt⁶⁹⁸. In both narratives, when offered the hand of the girl in marriage in return for becoming Muslim, their responses were not a categorical No, but a measured decline on the grounds that either his father would not permit it on the basis of his being the only son at home or on the conditionality that he need not convert to Islam. It remains

⁶⁹¹ youth focus group Ref-#717/Ref-#718/Ref-#720(appendix)

⁶⁹² Ref-#724

⁶⁹³ Ref-#724/Ref-#725/Ref-#727/Ref-#650/Ref-#732

⁶⁹⁴ Ref-#731

⁶⁹⁵ Ref-#696/Ref-#697

⁶⁹⁶ Ref-#734/Ref-#745/Ref-#746/Ref-#747/Ref-#748/Ref-#749. This is notable in that it surfaces long before the prominence of Boko Haram's bride-raiding practices.

⁶⁹⁷ Ref-#738/Ref-#739/Ref-#741

⁶⁹⁸ Ref-#734/Ref-#736

unclear if they are relating their true feelings at the time or the social verbiage designed to avoid hardtalk and hurt feelings. Nevertheless, testing interviewee E-8's willingness to let his off-spring marry across ethnic and religious boundaries reveals that he would rather see a family member marry a Marghi, Arab or White than a Muslim⁶⁹⁹. Meanwhile, F-9 responds that she would prefer marrying a Marghi boy to a Muslim⁷⁰⁰.

Overall, attitudes towards Muslims do however appear to differ. Respondents with Muslim family members appear on the whole to be more acquiescent towards Muslims in general⁷⁰¹, while their peers adopt a markedly suspicious attitude and warn against trusting even Kamwe Muslims in any respect or accepting them as relatives⁷⁰². Nevertheless, this categorisation is not "cut and dried", given that E-8, who has hosted his Muslim daughter⁷⁰³, launches into two diatribes against Muslims⁷⁰⁴. Interaction with Muslims is repeatedly classed as difficult, and their conversion to Christianity can be accomplished solely through God's intervention⁷⁰⁵.

Moral attitudes in conflict situations. Although nobody overtly approves of unbridled violence against Muslims, attitudes to violence emerge in two distinct flavours. There are those who state that something would have to "happen" in order to take up a fight against Muslims⁷⁰⁶, and those who say they would not respond in kind even when provoked⁷⁰⁷. However, B-9 who declares he would not fight because this is how the Word of God commanded it⁷⁰⁸, still admits to having been involved in recent fighting because "a brother came and knocked on the door" to say

⁶⁹⁹ Ref-#740

⁷⁰⁰ Ref-#738. Note: Marghi-Kamwe relationship have been traditionally uneasy.

⁷⁰¹ e.g. Ref-#752/Ref-#753

⁷⁰² Ref-#648/Ref-#761/Ref-#762

⁷⁰³ Ref-#745

⁷⁰⁴ eg. Ref-#651/Ref-#735

⁷⁰⁵ Ref-#765

⁷⁰⁶ Ref-#766, F-8 and B-8 in Ref-#767

⁷⁰⁷ D-8 and A-8 in Ref-#767, F-9 and B-9 in Ref-#770, E-8 in Ref-#769(appendix)

⁷⁰⁸ Ref-#770

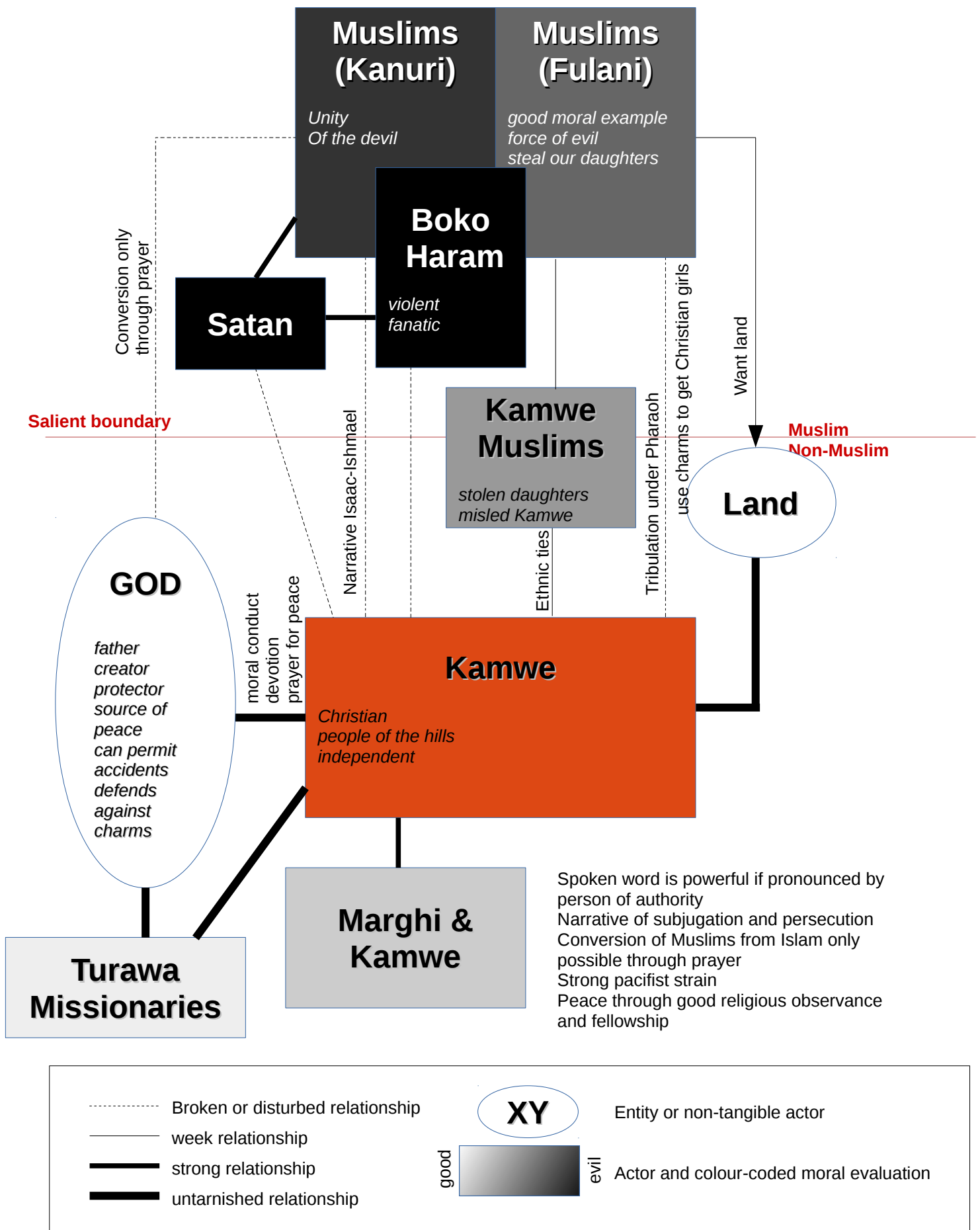


Diagram of actor map of world-view according to the Kamwe in September 2011

that if he slept, people would burn him inside his house⁷⁰⁹. Accordingly, the principled answer does not always work through to moral action in the concrete situation and may be overruled by fear or competing concerns such as kinship solidarity. The dilemma appears to be gnawing at B-9's conscience who at the end of the interview asks for my opinion on the faith of Michika's Christians. Meanwhile, E-8 who had spoken very negatively about Muslims comes out against fighting them, perhaps mindful that his daughter is one. D-8 and A-8 also argue against fighting, in their case because of kinship and intermarriage⁷¹⁰.

Overall, respondents appear more reserved about the idea of combat than their peers in Plateau State. There are several possible explanations for this. Firstly, it could be that there has been less violent conflict in the living memory of most respondents and society has thus not suffered the cleavages of Plateau; secondly, there is the kinship issue and frequent intermarriage which, as expected, appear to temper respondents' disposition to engage in violence; thirdly, there is the heritage of the EYN which as a Brethren denomination is rooted in pacifist theology and cultivates many of its key tenets as a church, despite its osmotic theological relationship with other Nigerian denominations. The relative frequency of intermarriage has prevented any perceptual singularity of Islam and ethnic enemies. Ultimately, however, the faultline of religion clearly appears to trump that of ethnicity to the point that the ethnic unity of the Kamwe may be in doubt.

D.2.3 Analysis of Fali-Kirya data of September 2011 (Cohorts 10 and 11)

Self-understanding. The contact sessions do not reveal a great depth in respondents' self-understanding. However, several do express the

⁷⁰⁹ Ref-#771

⁷¹⁰ Ref-#767

importance of having a God-given purpose in life⁷¹¹, be that to bear children⁷¹², to “keep the Word of God”⁷¹³ or to serve God⁷¹⁴. Grounded in their faith, respondents in both youth narratives attribute high importance to Christianity and Jesus Christ⁷¹⁵. Honouring God's purpose in life emerges an important element of respondents' self-images.

The nature of “The Other”. Respondents' definitions of “The Other” are from the outset very much focussed on Muslims, of which there are reportedly few in the close vicinity⁷¹⁶. The views expressed in all contact sessions broadly follow those uttered in other Christian cohorts. B-11, a young male, maintains that Muslims dislike Christians and obstruct them⁷¹⁷. Meanwhile, in the interview session, his colleague E-11 claims that Muslims “are killing our brothers”⁷¹⁸ and showing “practical hatred between us and them” quite as their leaders enjoin them to do⁷¹⁹. His female interview partner, F-11, attributes Muslims' poor behaviour to jealousy of Christians and to a wish to prevent them from getting ahead⁷²⁰.

While the focus group member B-11 lauds Muslims for their unity in contrast to Christians⁷²¹, he nevertheless inculcates Muslims on their poor behaviour which he suspects originates from their reading of the Qu'ran, of which he admits to having no first-hand knowledge⁷²². In the interview session, F-11 acknowledges that they take their religion seriously “they don't play with it”, but describes them as arrogant in their attitudes and resistant to correction⁷²³. She also characterises them as intent on turning

⁷¹¹ Ref-#777

⁷¹² Ref-#773

⁷¹³ Ref-#774

⁷¹⁴ Ref-#774/Ref-#778/Ref-#780

⁷¹⁵ Ref-#825/Ref-#845

⁷¹⁶ Ref-#783

⁷¹⁷ Ref-#785

⁷¹⁸ Ref-#789

⁷¹⁹ Ref-#800

⁷²⁰ Ref-#793/Ref-#794

⁷²¹ Ref-#784

⁷²² Ref-#790

⁷²³ Ref-#797

Christians into Muslims⁷²⁴ and expresses her sentiment that local Fali Muslims are acquiescent only because their small number enjoins them from acting otherwise⁷²⁵. E-11 casts even pagans in a contrastingly favourable light on the basis of their assumed desire to belong or convert to Christianity⁷²⁶.

The younger Fali cohort members, who for the sake of their education have regular contact with urban areas, evidently categorise Muslims as a salient, but non-ethnic identity group. Meanwhile, one must suppose that the elderly respondent, C-10, has had little opportunity or reason to ever travel outwith her immediate vicinity particularly in her formative years, although she did recently spend some time with her son in Kano. This may explain why she appears to regard the terms “Muslim” and “Fulani” as functionally synonymous⁷²⁷, and describes them as the purveyors of political domination⁷²⁸ before the advent of Christianity⁷²⁹. On these terms, she follows the same narrative as her Tarok counterparts. Interestingly however, she does also contrast the urban Muslims, with whom conflict mostly occurs, with the peaceful relationship her community maintains with neighbouring tribes such as the Kamwe and Marghi⁷³⁰. Speculatively, her evaluation may be based on hear-say or her short stay in Kano with her son.

Understanding of God / respondents' world-views. In a group of three statements, C-11, D-11 and F-11 all characterise God as Creator and provider of good health and livelihood⁷³¹. D-11 explains “because of that, He is the One I love most”, while F-11 states “I sit and thank Him by way of prayers, because it is by way of prayers that we can

⁷²⁴ Ref-#787

⁷²⁵ Ref-#800

⁷²⁶ Ref-#799

⁷²⁷ Ref-#801

⁷²⁸ Ref-#803

⁷²⁹ Ref-#802

⁷³⁰ Ref-#804

⁷³¹ Ref-#807/Ref-#808/Ref-#809

communicate with God”. C-11 and D-11's statements are directly interlinked in a focus group, and F-11 makes hers in the concurrently held interview; the three statements are nevertheless surprisingly similar in content. This suggests that the three are relating a group orthodoxy more than any personal conviction born of experience.

B-11 and F-11, again in separate contact sessions, make similar statements about the nature of death⁷³². While B-1 describes the Church as the vehicle for communicating the truth, F-11 talks of “the knowledge of the Bible”. However, the knowledge and truth that both respondents describe is that of judgement. F-11 declares “you will be judged according to the life you live on earth” while B-11 frames the same idea in the rather more muscular terms of “you should try to fight to see that you go to the right place”. Both statements suggest a communal moral framework and theology based on works righteousness, which is clearly a departure from the reformed theology which the EYN denomination formally endorses. Taken on these terms, the pew members' relationship to Jesus is not one built on His clemency, but appears rather to be a contact point to petition an almighty god. Further utterances of E-11 and B-11 indicate that following Christ is understood predominantly as a practice of moral fortitude, without any immediate soteriological perspective⁷³³.

Interestingly, the older respondent C-10 appears surprisingly unconcerned by spiritual matters, declaring that “there is nothing I can do when God's time comes”, and despite admitting to not being baptised and not really participating in church activities, defends her good moral conduct as if to assume that this should suffice to stand in God's favour on the day of judgement⁷³⁴. How C-10 constructs her religious identity

⁷³² Ref-#810 and Ref-#811 respectively

⁷³³ Ref-#821/Ref-#825/Ref-#845

⁷³⁴ Ref-#812/Ref-#813

remains unclear. She plainly stands closer to the traditions of her ancestors than the youth, but given her utterances discussed above on interfaith relationships, positions herself quite close to the Christian Fali populations. She appears to be content in herself at a stage in life where she does not have any great personal ambitions whose fulfilment the youth think Jesus could facilitate.

As a discussion with E-11 reveals, the force of witchcraft remains strong in the world-view of a younger generation, when he talks about what he calls “secret societies” and how sorcery is used to attack opponents and pursue vendettas⁷³⁵. Although C-10 does appear to recognise the existence of witchcraft, she feels untouched by it on the grounds that it does not run in her family. Death, she states, will reach her only at God's appointed time⁷³⁶, and hence cannot be influenced by the magical machinations of others.

Drivers of peace and conflict. B-11's conviction of Christian discipleship which exhibits moral attitudes such as accepting suffering under duress may temper a penchant to retaliate⁷³⁷. Yet it is C-10 who provides the most practical proposals on how to build trust and peace, be that by sharing food and places with others⁷³⁸ or by telling stories of good moral content⁷³⁹. Notably, however, none of the respondents speak of drivers of peace or conflict in any conscious way. Although negative imagery of Muslims abounds, the community does not appear to have been affected by any first-hand conflict with them. C-10 makes several statements to the effect that the current period is significantly more peaceful than the past⁷⁴⁰.

⁷³⁵ Ref-#816/Ref-#817/Ref-#818

⁷³⁶ Ref-#820

⁷³⁷ Ref-#845

⁷³⁸ Ref-#826/Ref-#830

⁷³⁹ Ref-#828

⁷⁴⁰ Ref-#827/Ref-#829(appendix)

Marriage and inter-religious relationships. E-11 is indignant at the very notion of marrying a Muslim⁷⁴¹. His female colleague F-11 adds that the idea invokes fear in her. Her sentiment is probably shaped by the frequency of stories of Christian women being married to Muslims. E-11 elaborates this by explaining that in the Islamic concept, it is the men who secure the salvation of their wives. F-11 deduces that she would therefore not be allowed to practice her religion⁷⁴². C-10 reports that her daughter was once courted by a Muslim, but that the suitor had been rebuffed by her father⁷⁴³. C-10's own reason for not marrying a Muslim is that she herself would not be able to fit in with the domestic demands of the Fulanis' pastoral lifestyle⁷⁴⁴. In this, she reinforces the supposition that her characterisation of "Muslim" is conflated with, and indeed predominantly shaped by her understanding of Fulanis.

In summary, we can assume that the attitudes of the younger generation towards marriage are very similar to that of their peers in other ethnic groups. Those of an older one may be more mixed due to the relatively young history of Christianity in the community.

Moral attitudes in conflict situations. Religious observance and prayer are seen as the means to secure peace. C-11 suggests that church fellowship is the route to attaining community reconciliation and God's blessings⁷⁴⁵. According to the interview participants, encounters with a (hypothetical) Muslim neighbour should be governed by love and willingness to explain the Bible to them⁷⁴⁶, but it is ultimately prayer and God's will which will change the Muslim's attitude⁷⁴⁷.

⁷⁴¹ Ref-#831

⁷⁴² Ref-#832

⁷⁴³ Ref-#834

⁷⁴⁴ Ref-#835

⁷⁴⁵ Ref-#837

⁷⁴⁶ F-11, Ref-#841

⁷⁴⁷ e.g. "prayers are the only thing I can do for this Muslim", Ref-#840 and Ref-#839/Ref-#841

In the focus group, on discussing violent crisis situations with Muslims, B-11 and C-11 put a lot of faith in the security forces to re-establish peace and state that reporting the violence should be the course of action rather than immediate retaliation. D-11 then retorts that she would respond to property destruction with a weapon, if she had one. A-11 counters that a mature Christian should turn the other cheek: “If you take revenge, I that I will do my own will not be more than taking it to God in prayer first.”⁷⁴⁸ Upon this, B-11 modulates his original statement slightly, calling for patience rather than killing someone or burning a mosque, as Jesus “did not take any measures, except prayers”⁷⁴⁹. In recording these attitudes, no gender-specific patterns emerge in participants' attitudes to dealing with violence.

The interview participants are clearly more hawkish in their attitudes, deeming the killing of Muslims as permissible in war situations or when attacked. Boko Haram is cited as a legitimate target, as it “is not peace that they are coming here for, so we are supposed to kill them”⁷⁵⁰. In contrast, the senior respondent C-10, without offering any theological explanation, declares, “There is nothing as bad as fighting, it is of no use. It hurts peoples' hearts.” On the basis of her other utterances, I infer that this statement is based on a trove of experience of better and worse times for her community. Of course, the younger cohort at the time of the contact sessions has had little or no first-hand experience of serious violent conflict, and feels broadly comfortable with the more pacifist positions suggested by the EYN church. Nevertheless, Boko Haram is already close enough to be a tenable threat.

⁷⁴⁸ Ref-#844

⁷⁴⁹ Ref-#845

⁷⁵⁰ Ref-#846

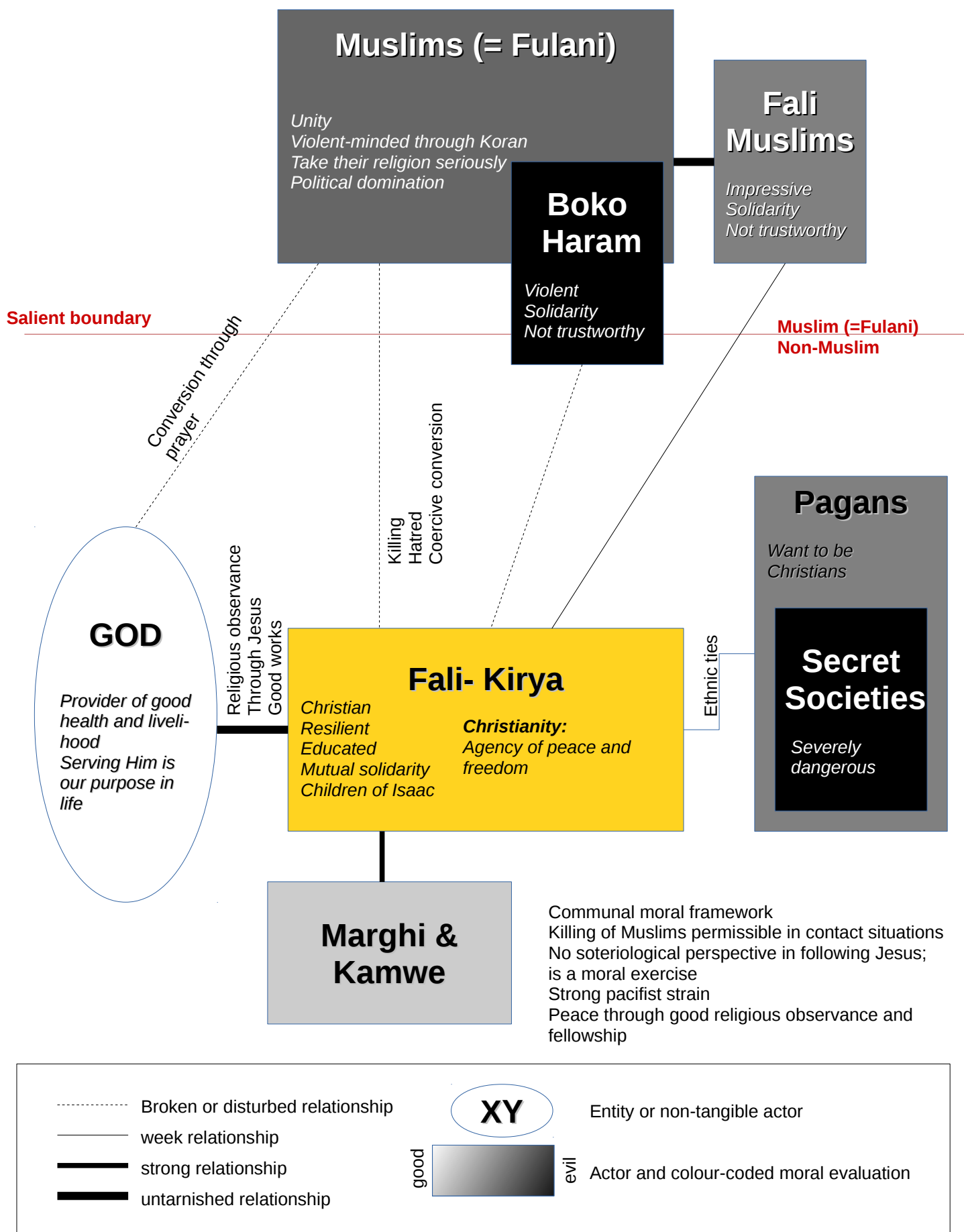


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to the Fali-Kirya in September 2011

D.2.4 Analysis of Muslim data of June 2012 (Cohorts 12 to 15)

Self-understanding. Respondents identify strongly with Islam as a religion of peace and mercy⁷⁵¹. C-12 claims Islam has protected Nigeria from total chaos, and if the nation accepted its rule no-one would lose his life⁷⁵². In discussing political power relations, a substantial feeling of victimhood is vented: A-15 finds that Muslims are rapidly slammed as malefactors (or “violators”) for their religion⁷⁵³. E-13 fears those of other religions, as his religion has told him “they will not love us unless we love what they love”⁷⁵⁴, while his colleague D-13 claims that Muslims have been sold out by their leaders⁷⁵⁵. C-12 and B-12 contrast the Muslims' attitudes with those of Christians, who would gladly wipe them out or are daily plotting attacks and pondering ways to harm Muslims⁷⁵⁶.

An overriding element of self-understanding is the Hausa-Fulani/Muslim birthright to Jos. D-15 sees the city as belonging to the Muslims, and especially the Fulani-Hausa⁷⁵⁷, while E-15 speaks only of the Hausa-Fulani and the jealousy of the other tribes who purport to be the city's true owners⁷⁵⁸. In two startlingly similar narratives from separate focus groups, A-13 and A-14 both paint the picture of a Muslim town under God and built on Islam⁷⁵⁹. While A-13 focusses on the commercial prowess of the Muslims, A-14 exhibits an interest in the political economy of the conflict, which purportedly features 50 tribes with only one (presumably the Berom) causing trouble.⁷⁶⁰ Indeed, he continues, it is the “Muslim

⁷⁵¹ Ref-#848/Ref-#849/Ref-#850(appendix)

⁷⁵² Ref-#848

⁷⁵³ Ref-#852

⁷⁵⁴ Ref-#853

⁷⁵⁵ Ref-#851

⁷⁵⁶ Ref-#854/Ref-#855/Ref-#855

⁷⁵⁷ Ref-#856

⁷⁵⁸ Ref-#857

⁷⁵⁹ Ref-#858/Ref-#859

⁷⁶⁰ Ref-#859

tribes”, i.e. the Hausa and Fulani, that were first to settle in the city. In this, A-14 conflates ethnicity with the religious identity of his people.

The nature of “The Other”. Perceptions of Christians are to a large part contrasted with what respondents regard as Muslim qualities. In two separate contact sessions B-12 and E-13 both talk about the inherently Islamic traits of justice and righteousness which are sorely lacking in Christians, although E-13 contradicts himself by first stating, “there cannot be found good people among them” and then that there are good and bad Christians just as there are good and bad Muslims, leaving the listener puzzled as to whether or not there are good Christians⁷⁶¹. D-13 defines a Christian as a person who does not accept God, “or he accepts God, but accepts two”⁷⁶². This suspicion of polytheism is repeated also by B-15, when he describes the Trinity⁷⁶³.

Respondents seem to be split on the question as to whether Christians have a religion or not. C-13 asserts that Christianity is “opinion” but not “religion”⁷⁶⁴. E-14, in a different group, makes the same assertion – until he is interrupted and corrected by the moderator⁷⁶⁵. On the other hand, C-14 recognises Christians as having a religion, but not holding to it⁷⁶⁶; similarly, A-14 differentiates Christians from pagans on the basis of having a religion, but asks rhetorically whether this should not lead them to regard Muslims as friends⁷⁶⁷. Here we might surmise a subsumed characterisation of Christians as hypocrites, but there might also be a misconceived expectation of reciprocity and indeed symmetry between the Qu'ran and the Bible⁷⁶⁸, which may spring from the *Ahali Kitab* debate on

⁷⁶¹ Ref-#861/Ref-#862

⁷⁶² Ref-#864

⁷⁶³ Ref-#872, with B-12 in Ref-#941 declaring that there is not mistake greater than the Trinity

⁷⁶⁴ Ref-#865

⁷⁶⁵ Ref-#866

⁷⁶⁶ Ref-#868

⁷⁶⁷ Ref-#867

⁷⁶⁸ e.g. D-14 in Ref-#869

how the People of the Book, to which Christians and Jews belong, relate to one another.

Indeed, the term is frequently used in conjunction with Christians, and here again there appear to be various currents of thinking on how it relates to them. There are respondents who do appear to identify their Christian counterparts as *Ahali Kitab*, although there is the caveat that they must follow their scripture to secure the title⁷⁶⁹. Another line claims that the time of the *Ahali Kitab* has passed⁷⁷⁰, and that these have been merged into the fold of Qu'ranic believers in an earlier age⁷⁷¹. E-16 supports the assumption that if read properly, the Bible would lead the true Christian to Islam⁷⁷². The corollary of these theological positions is that very little space is left for a categorical distinction between pagans and Christians, and in many references, a singularity of the two must be inferred⁷⁷³. This understanding is not entirely universal or consistent, as A-15's three-way categorisation illustrates⁷⁷⁴. Nevertheless, the impression ultimately lingers that "Christian" is a chiefly subset of "pagan" rather than any favoured category in its own right.

Tribal descriptions of "The Other" are relatively rare. C-12 explicitly mentions the Berom in negative terms, characterising them as being schooled and brought up by the Fulani, and thus with no aboriginal right to the land of Jos. They are the only ones benefiting from the conflict⁷⁷⁵. Meanwhile, D-14, likening the Berom to "yam sellers", asserts that they too are not happy about the conflict, as it is against their own economic interests.⁷⁷⁶ Beyond this, the only salient reference to tribes is one of

⁷⁶⁹ E-16 in Ref-#870/Ref-#871(appendix) and Ref-#907

⁷⁷⁰ A-13 in Ref-#943, A-15 in Ref-#944

⁷⁷¹ B-12 in Ref-#941

⁷⁷² A-13 in Ref-#953, E-16 in Ref-#960

⁷⁷³ D-14 in Ref-#880 and Ref-#897, B-13 in Ref-#901, C-12 in Ref-#909, C-13 in Ref-#913, A-13 in Ref-#943 and Ref-#953

⁷⁷⁴ Ref-#963(appendix)

⁷⁷⁵ Ref-#876

⁷⁷⁶ Ref-#877

“Christian tribes” who cannot agree with one another and have competing versions of the Bible⁷⁷⁷. The term “tribe” is used in a sense which would place its contextual meaning closer to “denomination” than “ethnicity”.

Understanding of God / respondents' world-view. Compared to the Christian cohorts, remarkably little is said in the conversations which would permit an analysis of God's nature or agency. The most prevalent characterisation is of God as a creator⁷⁷⁸. The point of this creation is human devotion in worship and service. Given that true religion came through the Prophet, this establishes Islam as the only true means of rendering these services unto God. Islam is thereby brought into a direct relationship with this act of creation. Yet E-13 twice claims that God gives nations the leaders they deserve, who are then called upon to serve their people justly, and that God can be expected to guarantee this only if the people are upright and moral in their dealings⁷⁷⁹. Indeed, truthfulness and promise-keeping⁷⁸⁰ are essential moral values to be sought in leaders.

Drivers of peace and conflict. Several respondents report being caught up in past violence, and being met by the guns of the security forces. C-12, appalled, recalls that Muslims were forced to look on as Christians erected barricades⁷⁸¹. Other respondents see Christians as either colluding with the state against Muslims, or indeed *running* the state. Considering crime, B-12 makes the allegation that many troublemakers are arrested, but not charged, especially if “big men” support their actions⁷⁸². Similarly, Christians show favouritism towards co-religionists and fail to indict them for their misdemeanours or crimes⁷⁸³. To illustrate the extent of the problem, B-16 quotes Radio France

⁷⁷⁷ C-14 in Ref-#868

⁷⁷⁸ Ref-#879/Ref-#880/Ref-#881/Ref-#878(appendix)

⁷⁷⁹ Ref-#883/Ref-#887/Ref-#892

⁷⁸⁰ A-12/B-12 in Ref-#885/Ref-#886

⁷⁸¹ Ref-#909, see also Ref-#908

⁷⁸² Ref-#912

⁷⁸³ B-13, Ref-#861

International as stating that the Christian Controller General had smuggled substantial quantities of weapons into Jos⁷⁸⁴. A-12 claims that "big men" politicians are stoking the violence for their own political gain⁷⁸⁵, and E-13 alleges that tribal and religious identities have been exploited towards this end⁷⁸⁶. Other complaints are that Muslim-dominated wards are systematically prevented from receiving basic rights and services⁷⁸⁷ and are disadvantaged in infrastructural investments⁷⁸⁸. A-15 concludes that the Christian powers are driving the conflict and that their agenda is to establish a pan-African Christian country comprising the Nigerian Middle Belt.

Peace is something which is held in high regard as a crucial ingredient to a good life⁷⁸⁹. Particularly C-12 does not tire of extolling the merits of a peace dividend⁷⁹⁰ and the futility of wealth or any other pleasure without peace. E-16, B-16 and B-15 equate peace with justice⁷⁹¹, although closer inspection suggests that peace follows from access to justice by rights holders. Examples are cited of duty-bearing authorities not giving Muslims equal opportunities for employment or the rule of law preventing them from seeking solutions to disagreements through a fair course of justice. It is hence the government which, by being even-handed and having pity on the peoples of the Plateau regardless of tribe and religion, has the strong role in ensuring the peace dividend⁷⁹².

Coming to the question of securing peace, C-12 emphasises the patience of his coreligionists which has cushioned the failings of the political class⁷⁹³. A-12 underlines the patience of the Muslims with a similar

⁷⁸⁴ Ref-#915

⁷⁸⁵ Ref-#916

⁷⁸⁶ Ref-#917

⁷⁸⁷ D-15, Ref-#919

⁷⁸⁸ A-15, Ref-#920; B-15, Ref-#871

⁷⁸⁹ C-12, Ref-#888; D-13, Ref-#890

⁷⁹⁰ Ref-#894/Ref-#895/Ref-#896

⁷⁹¹ Ref-#892/Ref-#893/Ref-#902

⁷⁹² Ref-#897

⁷⁹³ Ref-#854/Ref-#891

conviction by listing the churches in Muslim-majority areas which have not been torched⁷⁹⁴. D-14 sees it as up to the Christian governor to seek peace with Muslim leaders⁷⁹⁵; in a different session, B-15 emphasises the preparedness of Muslims to talk peace with non-Muslims⁷⁹⁶. None of the respondents adopts a militant position calling for violent action.

A recurring pattern throughout the various discussions is the thematic intertwining of peace and justice as a God-willed quality of Islam, and peace and justice as the hallmark of good governance. Christian (or pagan) leadership is seen to have failed in its responsibility of good and fair stewardship, particularly through favouritism and the exclusion of Muslims from rights and opportunities. The moral superiority of Islam is seen as the means by which this deficiency can be corrected. It is here that a theological framework for a Muslim claim on political leadership begins to emerge. As if to confirm this line of thinking, C-13 asserts that if the governor is Christian, his deputy should be Muslim⁷⁹⁷; D-16 maintains that both the "Bogom of Jos" [the "Bogom" being the traditional Berom leader] and the Governor of Plateau are Christian, but at least one or the other should be a Muslim. He goes on to claim, that things would not improve as long as these individuals live⁷⁹⁸.

Boko Haram attracts no open support from respondents, who appear to be unanimously opposed to the movement due to its attacks on Muslims. B-13 is frightened by it, but does not know who they are⁷⁹⁹. E-14 observes that Christians and Muslims are equally affected⁸⁰⁰, while B-15 makes the accurate observation that since many churches have been bombed, Christians could come to see Muslims and Boko Haram as one and the

⁷⁹⁴ Ref-#920

⁷⁹⁵ Ref-#899

⁷⁹⁶ Ref-#905

⁷⁹⁷ Ref-#913

⁷⁹⁸ Ref-#873

⁷⁹⁹ Ref-#924

⁸⁰⁰ Ref-#925

same⁸⁰¹. However, right across the contact sessions, various respondents allege that the government either tolerates Boko Haram or is even the driving force behind the movement. C-14 maintains that the government knows who Boko Haram is⁸⁰²; D-15 and B-16 claim the government is not really willing to crush the movement⁸⁰³, and B-16 bemoans the reputational damage inflicted on Muslims due to nefarious groups pursuing their own criminal indulgences in the name of Boko Haram and Islam. More sinisterly, he claims that these are often Christians dressed as Muslims. B-14 goes as far as stating that Boko Haram is actually Christian, since so far only Christians masquerading as Muslims have been caught⁸⁰⁴. In a further utterance he sets out the idea that Christians not only run the government, but are instigating Boko Haram⁸⁰⁵. A corollary is that the government could control the movement, if they so wished. As proof of this, B-14 cites the Nigerian President Jonathan Goodluck as claiming to eat with them⁸⁰⁶. This is a further allusion to the idea of Boko Haram being a state-sponsored organisation.

It is startling that the narrative of a Christian or government-sponsored Boko Haram emerges in all Muslim cohorts. A worryingly broad phenomenon of denial appears to be at work across the Muslim community. The reported actions of the government against Boko Haram before or since these interviews would give little indication that the movement is in any way state-sponsored.

Marriage and inter-religious relationships. Opinion is split on whether Muslims should be allowed to marry Christians. Particularly

⁸⁰¹ Ref-#934

⁸⁰² Ref-#930

⁸⁰³ Ref-#931/Ref-#929

⁸⁰⁴ Ref-#927/Ref-#928/Ref-#929

⁸⁰⁵ Ref-#929/Ref-#932

⁸⁰⁶ Ref-#933, probably misquoting Goodluck, who actually meant that Boko Haram had infiltrated the state (The Punch, 9th January 2012, available at <http://www.punchng.com/news/boko-haram-has-infiltrated-my-govt-jonathan/>, accessed 18th October 2014), itself a contentious remark given the group's radical rejection of the authorities.

senior members of HaU1 are decidedly against it, amassing arguments from the principled to the practical. A-13, B-13 and A-15 from other cohorts would find common ground with them. At the principled end of the spectrum, one assertion is that God either flatly forbids marriage with infidels⁸⁰⁷ or marginalises intermarriage on the same grounds as the previously rehearsed characterisation of the *Ahali Kitab*.⁸⁰⁸ Others forward practical concerns, such as the need to tend to one's own women, particularly divorcees and widows, who may need to remarry, or place the fiat to marry *Ahali Kitab* in the situative context of the days before Muslims were numerous⁸⁰⁹. B-12 agonises over how children are raised and what foods would be cooked – and the theological dilemma of where to bury a Christian wife who dies in pregnancy given that the child is by default a Muslim⁸¹⁰.

However, there is also little enthusiasm on the side of those who would endorse intermarriage. Several respondents raise the same concerns as those opposing it⁸¹¹ and a caveat is that the marriage should not lead the husband to convert⁸¹². While these conclusions are interesting in themselves, it is at this point that the Muslims' female voice is most sorely missed in the scope of the study.

When the contact sessions come round to what would incent Christians to turn to Islam, there is a remarkably broad consensus: almost all respondents identify Muslims' good moral example as the decisive impetus⁸¹³. E-13 explains that truth, friendliness and compassion go beyond preaching⁸¹⁴, while A-13 contends that it is when others see that “Muslims do not play with their religion”, but hold it in high esteem, so

⁸⁰⁷ C-12, Ref-#937, Ref-#938

⁸⁰⁸ Ref-#941/Ref-#942/Ref-#943/Ref-#944

⁸⁰⁹ Ref-#939/Ref-#950/Ref-#949(appendix)

⁸¹⁰ Ref-#941

⁸¹¹ Ref-#945/Ref-#948/Ref-#949

⁸¹² Ref-#946/Ref-#947

⁸¹³ Ref-#951/Ref-#952/Ref-#954/Ref-#956/Ref-#957/Ref-#950

⁸¹⁴ Ref-#955

unlike the Christians, that they might be moved to convert⁸¹⁵. This is a radical departure from the broad Christian stance which regards the will of God as the sole *modus operandi* for conversion to which only their prayers can contribute. Particularly the absence of God in the Muslim narrative presents a huge surprise.

Respondents can be very condemning of Christians too. A-16 and E-16 state essentially that if a Christian were to work with his scripture properly, he would already have turned to Islam⁸¹⁶. This becomes a circular argument in that since they have not become Muslims, they are obviously not reading their scriptures properly. C-15 meanwhile diagnoses Christian unwillingness to convert as being due to enmity entering their hearts⁸¹⁷.

Moral attitudes in conflict situations. Throughout the contact sessions, the question was tested as to whether it is permissible to kill Christians under any circumstances. As opposed to many Christian respondents who obviously struggle with the pacifist slant of their own religion in face of existential threats of violence, their Muslim counterparts are reticent about exercising violence even against infidels when no conflict situation is at hand, but are unequivocally very firm about the lawful recourse to kill in war⁸¹⁸.

D.2.5 Word count analysis

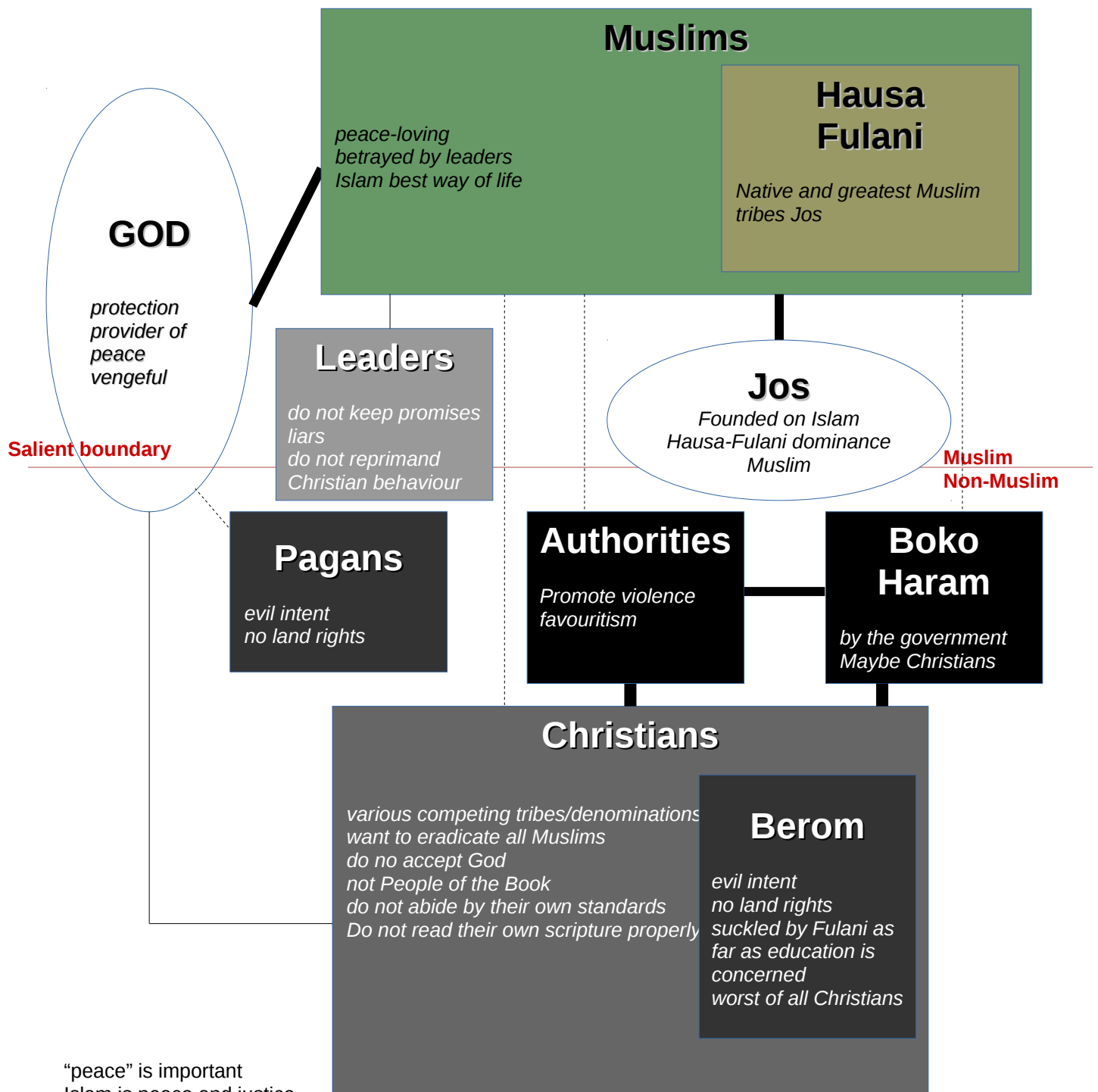
The same word count categories were applied to the discourses of the peripheral data set as to the primary. Of course, in the case of the Muslims, word-count comparisons were reversed, i.e. *Jesus* was

⁸¹⁵ Ref-#953

⁸¹⁶ Ref-#959/Ref-#960

⁸¹⁷ Ref-#958

⁸¹⁸ Ref-#964/Ref-#966/Ref-#967/Ref-#965(appendix)/Ref-#969(appendix)/Ref-#970(appendix)



“peace” is important
Islam is peace and justice
conversion through good moral example to Christians
→ God is not the sole agent for conversion
The Prophet is the supreme moral example
The image of hunter used to express attitude to Muslims

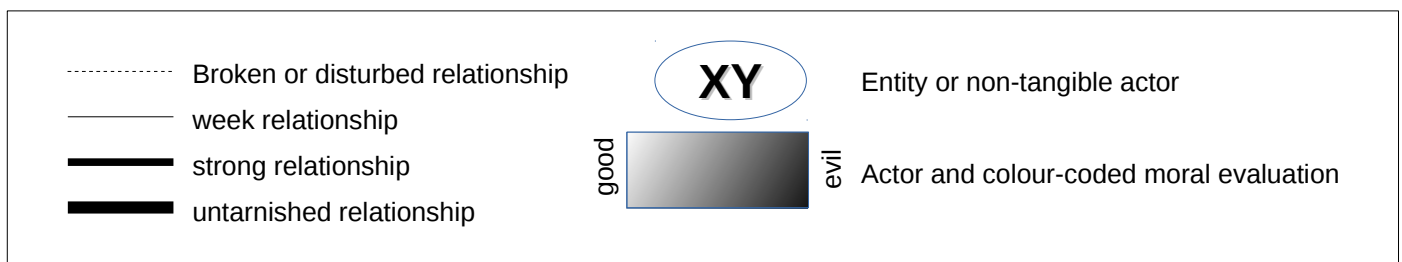


Diagram with actor map of world-view according to Jos Muslims in June 2012

interchanged with *Mohammed*, *church* with *mosque*, *Bible* with *Qu'ran*, and so on.

The difference of keyword use between Plateau and Adamawa Christians is surprisingly small. Considerably greater differences emerge between Christians and Muslims, which may indicate that religion is more important than ethnicity or locality in determining discourse topics, even when confronted with the same general question.

On the whole, *God* is referenced by Muslims and Christians to a similar degree, although colloquially Muslims utter the word quite often in the context of set phrases. However, Muslims refer to their own religious identity (*Muslim*) about four times more often than Christians do.

Land is used most by Kamwe and Berom. Indeed, Kamwe discourses are permeated by the concept of land which was colonised and then protected against Fulani incursion. The Muslims of Jos north appear more preoccupied by the question of controlling the municipality than the surrounding land.

In another surprise, Christians use the word *church* far more often than Muslims the word *mosque*. Perhaps congruently, Christians utilise the word *prayer* far more frequently than Muslims do. Conversely, Muslims appear to be more concerned by the issues of *righteousness* and *justice* than Christians are. Connecting this to the supposition that Muslims make reference to their religious identity significantly more frequently than do Christians could be indicative of an attitude by which Islam is rather more effective as a lifestyle and moral conduct than the establishment of a relationship with God.

As of 2011, Kamwe and Fali experienced direct exposure to Boko Haram in their region, and this shows in the word count. It must however be noted that frequent reference is also taken to the group without it being

named directly. Notably in Kirdi cultures, the utterance of names has strong spiritual connotations, and as in the same way as the chosen name for a new-born child is never pronounced until the day of its name-giving ceremony, it is likely that Boko Haram is mentioned directly only with caution. By contrast, the 2012 Muslim cohorts embrace the opportunity to talk about Boko Haram and use the word frequently. This may indicate either less fear of using names, or it might, despite many utterances to the contrary, hint that they perceive the group as less threatening than their Christian counterparts do.

	Be	Ta	Ka	Fa	Ha
01 God	556	390	547	536	432
02 land	70	52	92	48	48
03 [own place of worship]	101	105	108	113	23
04 [own scripture]	80	73	71	48	46
05 [other scripture]	15		42	109	44
06 Boko Haram			5	32	164
07 [own religion]	240	233	248	335	980
08 [own tribe]	74	214	72	64	88
09 [other religion]	283	261	317	480	387
10 [other tribe]	26	60	75	56	8
11 [own scriptural tribe]	12	14	20		6
12 [own rel. Figure]	118	115	141	210	68
13 [other rel. Figure]	12	4	34	16	26
14 tribe\$	11	26	22		58
15 indigene					3
16 settler	8				3
17 pray\$	127	95	140	197	39
18 Justice/righteous\$		4	20	32	128
19 peace	120	172	206	137	302
20 fear	47	130	36	56	91
21 fight\$	94	63	108	161	53

*Table shows relative word-count frequencies by ethnicity (Berom: 2011 sessions only)
(see Appendix G.8 for a more comprehensive tabular analysis)*

The use of the word *peace* is more prevalent among Muslims than Christians. This is notable, since the desire to overcome violence is shared by respondents of both faiths. The frequency of the word's use by Muslims might be grounded in their characterisation of Islam as a religion of

peace, leading them to use the word more often either to burnish their credentials of piety, or because this in fact reflects a genuine central concern of their faith.

The use of the term *tribe*⁸¹⁹ occurs somewhat more frequently amongst Muslims than Christians, but not often enough to suggest that ethnicity is a significantly greater concern for Muslims than for Christians.

One of the greatest surprises is that as with the Berom and Tarok, the terms *indigene* and *settler* are seldom used amongst the Hausa. Less surprisingly, the Kamwe and Fali never apply it. However, while the territorial claims of the Kirdi ethnicities appear to be uncontested, the Hausa see themselves in a struggle with the Berom for the control of Jos, and in doing so stake a claim of being the aboriginal settlers in a virgin area. Nevertheless, this is obviously not enough to establish an understanding of a conflict built entirely on an indigene-settler dichotomy, and the fact that the terms are hardly ever used even by those living in the wider area of Jos suggests that it would be inept to do so.

D.2.6 Discussion of the salient findings

Discourse. In all ethnic groups the narrower data base of the Peripheral Data Set means that despite the emergence of some interesting trends, the conclusions are not as firm as is the case with the Core Data Set. This is particularly true of the Fali, where the failure of the senior focus group means that there is only a single interview to represent an older generation. While the Fali and Kamwe youth are evidently quite free in expressing their own opinions, some views emerging in dialogues between focus groups and interviews are surprisingly similar, which suggests that positions are often reached collectively.⁸¹⁹ Nevertheless, both Christian ethnicities exhibit high variations in opinion when compared with the

⁸¹⁹ Particularly Fali-Kirya, e.g. Ref-#807/Ref-#808/Ref-#809/Ref-#810/Ref-#811

Hausa, where no significant controversy could be detected between young and old, and where I must surmise that a high degree of social control is being exerted on respondents. This means that many utterances have to be classed as meta-level speech (see coding). This finding casts doubt on whether individual convictions are being uttered at all and lends credibility to an assertion by Murray Last's that the Hausa are a gerontocratic and as such deeply conservative society⁸²⁰. The evaluation of the Hausa data does lay bear how badly the female voice is lacking in their discourses, although one must recognise that it would be nearly inconceivable to bring together men and women of devout Hausa Muslim background in a mixed focus group. Even arranging for all-women groups would have been beyond my means given the prevailing security situation at the time of the contact sessions.

Context. A notable feature of Kamwe and Fali contact sessions is the presence of Boko Haram as a topic at a time when it was entirely absent in the Plateau contact sessions.⁸²¹ Here Boko Haram has been a major force in the wider area for two years, and although the security situation is yet to take another turn for the worse in the months ahead, people are obviously attempting to come to grips with it as an external threat. The group's behaviour is clearly colouring respondents' image of Muslims, albeit to a lesser extent than with the Berom youth ten months hence in an acute security situation. The Muslims cohorts choose to reject entirely the idea of Boko Haram being inherent to their own religion, and instead frame it as a conspirational movement either concocted either by Christians or the government.⁸²²

⁸²⁰ Murray Last, 'Towards a Political History of Youth in Muslim Northern Nigeria, 1750 - 2000', in *Vanguard or Vandals, Youth : Politics and Conflict in Africa*, ed. by Jon Abbink and Inke Van Kessel (Leiden, NL: Koninklijke Brill, 2005), p.37f

⁸²¹ pp.331, 343

⁸²² p. 350. Frans Wijzen, *Religious Discourse, Social Cohesion and Conflict : Studying Muslim-Christian Relations* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG, 2013), pp.86-88 on Muslim-Christian relations in Tanzania detects a similar Muslim preception of negative discrimination by the government, but records a stronger categorical differentiation

Muslims express a very coherent world-view across all cohorts and age groups. Differences in generational attitudes are nuanced among the Kamwe, but pronounced among the Fali, where they are accentuated (or at least exhibited) by the youths' unwillingness to speak Fali-Kirya, and the senior's inability to speak anything else. This suggests that this small language group, unlike the Tarok, may struggle to maintain its cultural singularity in the face of encroaching modernity.

Categories, appellations and identities. Both Kamwe generations exhibit a strong ethnic identity which is distinct from their Christian one.⁸²³ Like the Tarok, their relationship to the Fulani and their Muslim religion is tainted by a historical struggle against domination, while Christianity is associated with political liberation.⁸²⁴ There is a strong notion of solidarity with non-Kamwe Christians,⁸²⁵ yet no evidence of the Christian superethnicity exhibited by the Berom youth. Instead, their uneasy relationship to Kamwe Muslims occurs in the interaction between the divider of religion and the connector of ethnicity, a dynamic which does not arise in the more religiously homogeneous tribes. By contrast, the Fali-Kirya youth, as members of a predominantly Christian subgroup of a larger, religiously mixed and predominantly Muslim ethnicity, exhibit no visible solidarity with other Fali groups in the course of the contact sessions, and their allegiances with other Christians within the EYN denomination appear to be strongest.⁸²⁶ The perception which all groups do however share is one of Muslims' desire for domination.⁸²⁷

The Hausa contact sessions in Jos, by contrast, suggest that their *religious* self-understanding is the salient identity feature, but that the hyphenated ethnic identity of Hausa-Fulani enjoys a hegemony amongst

between „Christian“ and „government“.

⁸²³ p.330

⁸²⁴ e.g. Ref-#673/Ref-#723, p.330f

⁸²⁵ e.g. Ref-#740/Ref-#738, p.335

⁸²⁶ e.g. Ref-#804

⁸²⁷ pp.286/290/310 (Be); 294/302 (Ta); 331 (Ka); 339 (Fa)

the Muslims of Jos.⁸²⁸ While Christians are seen as their opposing block in their struggle for political control, they single out the Berom as the ethnicity driving the conflict.⁸²⁹ An influential force in the Muslim discourse appears to argue that Christians should be denied the status of the *Ahali Kitab*, and are thus equated with pagans.⁸³⁰

Inter-marriage and conversion. As with the Berom and Tarok, the Kirdi respondents strongly repudiate the notion of marrying a Muslim.⁸³¹ This appears to be grounded in identity and a perceived loss of freedom to practice ones religion. In practice, however, particularly the Kamwe seem more prone to intermarry than any other Christian cohort. Muslims are more divided on the issue, with some advancing ethical or practical reasons against intermarriage.⁸³² However, as long as Christian women are afforded the *Ahali Kitab* status, there is little evidence of a strong theological argument against it.

Muslims' concept of what conditions conversion is a radical – and surprising – departure from the Christian cohorts' concept that conversion can be invoked only by God and prayerful intercession. Conversion to Islam is attained by positive Muslim behaviour and the creation of an appealing image of the Muslim religion. God's agency in the conversion process remains unmentioned.⁸³³

The relationship between theology and world-view. What respondents of both religions share is the motif of good moral conduct invoking God's favour, but the great surprise is the absence of God in the Muslims' narratives, who is seldom mentioned beyond idiomatic verbiage

⁸²⁸ e.g. Ref-#856/Ref-#857, p.345

⁸²⁹ e.g. Ref-#859, p.345; Ref-#876, p.347

⁸³⁰ p.347

⁸³¹ e.g. Ref-#738/Ref-#739/Ref-#740/Ref-#741, p.334 (Ka); Ref-#831/Ref-#832/Ref-#834/Ref-#835, p.342 (Fa)

⁸³² Ref-#696/Ref-#697, p.334 (Ka) vs. Ref-#937/Ref-#938/Ref-#939/Ref-#940/Ref-#941/Ref-#942/Ref-#943/Ref-#944, p.352 (Ha)

⁸³³ Ref-#765, p.335 (Ka) vs. Ref-#951/Ref-#952/Ref-#954/Ref-#956/Ref-#957, p.352 (Ha)

when compared with the abundance of references to God's nature and agency made by Christians. Broadly speaking, Muslims perceive a more direct relationship between action and the changing of hearts and minds (e.g. proselytising) than Christians who see its influence mediated through a prayerful devotion to God.⁸³⁴ This may be exemplified in Christian youths' apparent – and worrying – penchant for treating Jesus as an entry point to divine power in order to achieve life's ambitions, but as One who has otherwise lost much soteriological meaning, salvation being awarded purely on a behavioural basis. Conceivably, Christian scripture is being drawn into the hermeneutical perspective of traditional religion, something compounded by the still prevalent concept of witchcraft harboured widely by Christian respondents of both generations, particularly in Adamawa.⁸³⁵

Historical experience may have a bearing on scriptural meaning. Kamwe respondents are particularly drawn to the role models of the OT associated with suffering and resistance, such as Job or Daniel,⁸³⁶ perhaps reflecting their struggle against the powerful Emirate of Yola. The Berom instead gravitate towards the triumphant Israelites defeating the Egyptians or Gideon overpowering the Midianites,⁸³⁷ reflecting their successful resistance to Hausa-Fulani incursions. The Muslims for their part cite various behavioural examples of the Prophet as recounted in *Al Hadith* as inspiration for action which furthers their self-understanding and objectives.⁸³⁸

The Hausa respondents of all groups are mostly in lockstep in painting the image of a corrupt and subversive state run by pagan Christians and contrasting the peaceful qualities of Islam which have sustained the

⁸³⁴ Ref-#715/Ref-#716 (Ka); Ref-#839/Ref-#840/Ref-#841/Ref-#845 (Fa) vs. Ref-#951/Ref-#952/Ref-#954/Ref-#956/Ref-#957, p.352 (Ha)

⁸³⁵ Ref-#698/Ref-#696/Ref-#697, p.333 (Ka); Ref-#816, Ref-#817, Ref-#818, p.341 (Fa)

⁸³⁶ Ref-#709, p.333

⁸³⁷ Ref-#199/Ref-#218/Ref-#371, p.290

⁸³⁸ Ref-#951/Ref-#952

nation. This frequently appears to be the basis for the demand for more political posts to be filled by Muslims. With the theological argument for political Islam not far behind, this does go some way to vindicating the recurring Christian view of a Muslim claim on power.

While both religious groups are outwardly condemning of unprovoked attack,⁸³⁹ no Muslim appears to doubt their God-given right to exact retribution when facing violence.⁸⁴⁰ By contrast, several Christians respondents express inhibitions about fighting back.⁸⁴¹ Muslims indeed appear to be in possession of a clearer set of rules than Christians, allowing them to respond to violence with less hesitation. This suggests a possible asymmetry in attitudes to conflict, and may or may not establish a greater propensity to violence amongst Muslims. However, no evidence was collected in this study which would support this view.

⁸³⁹ e.g. Christian, pp.335/342 ; Muslim: p.353

⁸⁴⁰ Ref-#964/Ref-#965/Ref-#966/Ref-#967/Ref-#969/Ref-#970, p.353

⁸⁴¹ e.g. Kamwe: Ref-#767/Ref-#769/Ref-#770; Fali: Ref-#844/Ref-#845

Chapter D.3 Conclusions and discussion: content mapping, cross comparisons and formal insights

D.3.1 General aspects of discussion

Concluding the interpretative stage of our practical theological enquiry, this chapter will now marshal the various insights gleaned from the examined data and attempt to map out in broad strokes how research subjects have responded to the identity-based conflicts unfolding around them. In terms of our problem statement, the result should be a concept of how the pew faithful might build world-views, construct their identities and respond morally to conflict (Subchapter A.1.6); in terms of the pastoral cycle, this is the pivotal moment between the interpretative and normative stages, i.e. where the question as to *why* something is going on is answered in preparation to discerning what *ought* to be going on (Subchapter A.2.3.1). The core cohort groups, i.e. Berom and Tarok, will remain my focus, but the findings will be discussed in consideration with those drawn from the peripheral cohort groups. Although I will proceed from world-view through identities to ethics, we must remain mindful that these are not discrete and easily separable units of a whole, but topics which are interrelated and fluid. While recognising the unique ways individuals might relate to these topics, the main focus will be on salient perspectives, i.e. the commonalities and major currents within and between the various groups. In such terms, some generalisations are permissible.

At a discursive level, it indeed emerges that people respond differently depending on whether they are in a focus group setting or interview situation. As expected, an interviewee does indeed tend to offer greater insights into her personal views, feelings and convictions than will a focus group member seeking to maintain his public face which often results in

group alignment and, in such a Christian context, a heightened expression of piety. However, the group is generally less dependent on the moderator, with members more able to express their shared perspectives authentically. This supports the position of Jones who states that both individual and group dynamics are necessary for a comprehensive understanding of personal motivations, traits and vulnerabilities.⁸⁴²

Other comparatives have e.g. demonstrated distinct differences between age groups, although these are not uniformly evident in all ethnic groups and environmental situations (urban and rural). The following sub-chapters will outline them in more detail.

	P-X	K-X	S X	Y X	F X	J X	U X	R X
01 God	493	545	593	447	579	435	646	418
02 land	63	82	99	47	65	72	90	51
03 [own place of worship]	103	109	82	120	73	141	121	107
04 [own scripture]	78	66	89	64	96	49	90	68
05 [other scripture]	10	58	12	32	31	17	28	21
06 Boko Haram		11		5		7	2	6
07 [own religion]	237	268	209	273	226	285	283	253
08 [own tribe]	127	70	144	87	102	121	86	185
09 [other religion]	274	355	298	296	232	391	343	304
10 [other tribe]	39	70	54	44	47	49	49	60
11 [own scriptural tribe]	13	15	22	7	18	8	17	11
12 [own rel. Figure]	117	157	140	120	167	90	146	134
13 [other rel. Figure]	9	30	15	15	10	21	23	6
14 tribe\$	17	17	24	11	10	24	17	21
15 indigene								
16 settler	5		9			8	7	
17 pray\$	115	153	137	118	106	156	153	115
18 Justice/righteous\$	1	23	3	11	12	2	8	10
19 peace	139	189	161	148	105	214	172	165
20 fear	78	41	98	46	89	43	51	115
21 fight\$	83	121	128	69	85	103	115	83

Table showing relative word-count frequencies by category

(see Appendix G.8 for a more comprehensive tabular analysis)

P: P=Plateau, K=Kirdi, S=Senior, Y=Youth, F=Focus group, J=Interview, U=Urban, R= Rural

⁸⁴² James W. Jones, 'Religion and Violence from a Psychological Perspective', in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, ed. by Mark Juergenmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 385–96., p.393

D.3.2 World-view: The struggle in context of its cosmic understanding and its relevance for identity formation and ethical thinking

Concepts of the good life and well-being. Most younger respondents invited to formulate their life goals and expectations offer very civic responses, focussing on such desires as furthering their education, establishing economic independence and starting families. Religiously couched, life's purpose is to serve God, which, when spelt out, is for the most part equivalent to pursuing these fairly mundane goals within the bosom of the Christian community.⁸⁴³ There is a high premium on peace which is repeatedly mentioned as being a key prerequisite for building a prosperous life.⁸⁴⁴

Many older respondents are preoccupied by the threats to their wider community. With most of her life behind her, the typical senior appears to take a broader view of her society than the more personalised concerns of the youth. While she appears to share the hopes of younger correspondents for peaceful prosperity, her concerns are for a continued well-being of her entire group, often expressed in ethnic terms.⁸⁴⁵

Across the board, there are no indications of particular callings to a life of dedicated ministry, martyrdom or conquest. In this, manifestations of violence appear to be largely opportunistic or born of a situation rather than underpinned by any religious conviction.

Cosmic agency and mechanics. God is the primary cosmic agent, regardless of religion. "God" is used considerably more often than "Jesus" or "Mohammed".⁸⁴⁶ God clearly determines the course of conflicts, the well-being of individuals and groups, and how history unfolds.⁸⁴⁷ While both

⁸⁴³ e.g. pp.283/300/338

⁸⁴⁴ pp.292/300/333

⁸⁴⁵ pp. 282/e.g. Ref-#6/Ref-#56/Ref-#58/Ref-#114/Ref-#115/Ref-#117 (Be); Ref-#404/Ref-#491 (Ta); Ref-#610 (Be); Ref-#826/Ref-#829

⁸⁴⁶ See table p.364

⁸⁴⁷ Particularly in as a solution to crisis: pp.282 (BeS), 304 (TaY), 313 (BeY), 333 (Ka)

Christians and Muslims hope for God to act on their behalf, their approaches to soliciting God's support appear to be fundamentally different. Christians maintain direct contact with God through prayer, putting the relational aspect at the centre. Muslims, despite having their daily routine structured around set prayer times, make more frequent reference to the redeeming ways of Islam than to the power of prayer *per se*.⁸⁴⁸ Nevertheless, God remains remote for both groups. For many Christians Jesus appears primarily to be a “petition point” in a bid to secure life's goals and build a prosperous community.⁸⁴⁹ The soteriological dimension of Jesus is this-worldly directed.

For Christians the devil is a reality which manifests itself as an agent locked in a dualistic struggle with God for the souls of humans and is intent on bringing ruin into their lives.⁸⁵⁰ Particularly amongst non-Berom Christians, respondents regard witchcraft and magic as devices which he readily uses to this end.⁸⁵¹ However, it is Muslims who are widely cited by Tarok and Kamwe as the devil's this-worldly reification, while Fali-Kirya respondents single out pagan secret societies as the devil's own.⁸⁵² The Muslims' use of charms to influence gullible Kamwe girls and lure them away from the Christian community is seen as a particular threat.⁸⁵³ While Fulani herders' belief in divination, charms and witchcraft is well documented in academic literature⁸⁵⁴, these do not surface as a great

⁸⁴⁸ pp.355/361

⁸⁴⁹ E.g. Fali, p.340

⁸⁵⁰ pp.332 (Ka)

⁸⁵¹ pp.361

⁸⁵² pp.302 (Ta), 331 (Ka), 341 (Fa)

⁸⁵³ pp.333/334

⁸⁵⁴ e.g. Higazi, ‘Social Mobilisation And Collective Violence: Vigilantes And Militias In The Lowlands Of Plateau State, Central Nigeria.’, p.123; Murray Last, ‘A Note on Attitudes to The Supernatural in The Sokoto Jihad’, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 4 (1967), 3–13.; see also Umar Habila Dadem Danfulani, ‘Religious Conflict on the Jos Plateau : The Interplay between Christianity and Traditional Religion During the Early Missionary Period’, *Swedish Missiological Themes*, 1 (2001)., p.35; Umar Habila Dadem Danfulani, ‘Exorcising Witchcraft : The Return of The Gods in New Religious Movements on The Jos Plateau and The Benue Regions of Nigeria’, *Journal of African Affairs*, 98 (1999), pp. 167–93., p.167

threat to respondents in Plateau State. Berom Christians, and in particularly the youth, seldom refer to magic or witchcraft at all, even when conversationally conditioned. This would support the core assumption (Subchapter A.4.6) that young, educated Nigerians in large urban areas imbued with the world-view of modernity are less grounded in traditional African ontologies than their counterparts in more conservative rural and peripheral areas where they remain more prevalent (Kamwe Michika being only a small and peripheral urban area).

The Sacred. Conversations suggest that the ways of Islam and the community of Muslims (*Umah*) as prescribed by the Qu'ran and ordained by God have considerable sacral importance amongst Muslims. For many Christians it may be the prayerful relationship with God which forms a similar sacral entity requiring global respect.⁸⁵⁵ By extension, comments made by Berom youth when under immediate threat from Boko Haram in June 2012 suggest that the church building is important as a zone in which to “enter into the presence of God”, be that alone or as a community, and in this function gains a particular role as a sacral space.⁸⁵⁶

Threats. In varying degrees, all Christian cohorts view Muslims as the primary challenge to their well-being, and all except the Fali (without direct experience of interreligious violence) associate them with evil.⁸⁵⁷ Some Tarok and Kamwe regard them very directly as an ontological source of evil or the as devil's hands in this world, although probably a majority would prefer to see them as misguided humans. Berom respondents, whose cosmos is the most Westernised, seem least likely to

⁸⁵⁵ e.g. Ref-#55/Ref-#96/Ref-#136/Ref-#137 (Be); Ref-#533/Ref-#534/Ref-#537 (Ta); Ref-#715/Ref-#716 (Ka); Ref-#839/Ref-#840/Ref-#841 (Fa)

⁸⁵⁶ Reference to the word Church in 2012: p.316, e.g. Ref-#202/Ref-#297/Ref-#352/Ref-#368

⁸⁵⁷ pp.279/286 (Be), 302/294 (Ta), 331 (Ka)

intrinsically associate Muslims with evil, although their discourses are not entirely free from such implications.⁸⁵⁸

Muslims on their part regard the state as a malevolent force controlled by Christians and particularly the Berom. In its current constitution it neglects the Muslim community and indeed actively deprives it of basic rights to land and services. Its security forces collude strongly with Christians against Muslims of all hue.⁸⁵⁹

Other prevalent threats are disease and accident. For the most part respondents explain these in mundane terms, with insufficient foresight or carelessness being the main causes. However, many rural respondents might also connect them to machinations of the spiritual world and persons of spiritual authority. The Kamwe senior who attributes great force to the uttered word of a respected elder pronouncing a malediction, even unintentionally, bears testimony to this.⁸⁶⁰ Although similar allusions do appear amongst the urban Berom, they are considerably more muted. Interestingly, Muslims are never directly implicated in disease and accidents at a personal level, and are regarded chiefly as a threat to society as a whole. The sole exception to this rule is the aforementioned power attributed to them to seduce Christian girls with charms.⁸⁶¹

Cosmic struggle. Many respondents have recently experienced moments of existential fear. Juergenmeyer points out that “conflicts in contemporary social life can appear so dramatic, intense and consequential as to have ultimate meaning”⁸⁶². Indeed, references to a cosmic struggle between good and evil abound, and often with

⁸⁵⁸ Ref-#189/Ref-#205

⁸⁵⁹ p.400

⁸⁶⁰ pp.333, Ref-#698

⁸⁶¹ pp.333/366, Ref-#696/Ref-#697

⁸⁶² Juergenmeyer and Sheikh., p.634

eschatological connotations.⁸⁶³ Several Berom and Tarok seniors report thinking that they thought they were confronting the end times in face of severe violence; Berom and Kamwe youth utter similar recollections, albeit to a lesser extent.⁸⁶⁴

Such references point to two things. Firstly, respondents perceive a strong connection between Muslim agency and cosmic forces of darkness, which given the trauma of some of the situations, is difficult to dispel at a later stage. Secondly, as repeatedly observed, many respondents identify with the roles of biblical nations and individuals to explain their situation (something to which I will return in more detail). In these, regardless of where it had its genesis, the conflict straddles alternate realities, taking it out of the realm of purely material concerns and infusing it with a religious dimension, which corroborates well with an enquiry by John Hall into religious violence from a sociological perspective⁸⁶⁵. As I proceed, I will characterise this religious dimension more fully.

D.3.3 Categories and identities

D.3.3.1 Internal and external identity formation and discussion of commonality and differentiation.

Following the discussion in Subchapter A.2.3, I will stake out the key features of endo- and exogenic dynamics of identity formation which are in constant interaction and can never be cleanly separated from one another.

Interplay of ethnic and religious identities. Two prominent identity features, which appear to permeate all Christian respondents' self-

⁸⁶³ p. 278, Ref-#58/Ref-#59/Ref-#60/Ref-#61

⁸⁶⁴ e.g. Ref-#252 (Be), Ref-#689 (Ka, see Appendix)

⁸⁶⁵ John R. Hall., p.372: „An apocalyptic war cannot be understood simply as a surrogate for deeper material interests, more than it can be understood in cultural and ideological terms.“

understanding, are the labels *ethnicity* and *religion*. Here I have detected considerable evidence of an identity shift between the generations of church-going Berom. While land and tribe are still very important to an older generation which identifies as both Berom and Christians, its children, who live and relate to a mixed-ethnic urban community, see the church as their locus of belonging and Christianity as their primary identity trait.⁸⁶⁶ Here, this younger generation has extended its internal self-understanding beyond ethnic identity to include Christians of other ethnicities. This could be characterised as a constructed commonality between them and their church-going peers, but equally as a perceived external differentiation from Muslims. This becomes particularly accentuated by the time of the second cycle of Berom youth interviews, by which point the threat to Christians had led to a marked diffusion of ethnic boundaries in favour of religious ones.

On the other side of the equation, the Hausa-Fulani of Jos North, appear to have built an internal identity model based on both religion and ethnicity: They are the autochthonous Islamic tribe of the Muslims' City of Jos of whom all other tribes are jealous.⁸⁶⁷ Here we have both the idea of the *Umma* and an ethnocentric political understanding at work. Externally, their identity is shaped by a strong sense of being beleaguered by "Christian tribes", and especially the Berom.⁸⁶⁸ While there is no direct conflation at work, ethnicity and religion do represent two superimposed dividers⁸⁶⁹ which deepen mistrust. Although joint economic interests are mentioned,⁸⁷⁰ cleavage appears to have deepened to

⁸⁶⁶ E.g. pp.285/311/316

⁸⁶⁷ Ref-#857

⁸⁶⁸ p.348, e.g. Ref-#868

⁸⁶⁹ The use of „dividers“ and „connectors“ are terms used by Mary Anderson in context of conflict theory. However, the same terms can be useful to this discussion of identity formation. Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm : How Aid Can Support Peace - Or War* (Boulder, USA: Rienner, 1999)., ch.3/p.69

⁸⁷⁰ p.347, Ref-#877

a point where professional and commercial commonalities can no longer overcome the religious divide on any scale.

Meanwhile, respondents in ethnically more homogeneous communities (Tarok, Kamwe) tend to cast chosen identities situationally. Generally, the ethnic identity still appears to be salient, although religious orientation is integral to their ethnic identity too, and as such part of their internal identity formation. In the case of the Tarok, both Christian practice and the particular ethnic flavour of traditional religion are regarded as inherently Tarok. From the perspective of the respondents, Christianity represents the true trait of the Tarok, while pagan practice is recognised as a legitimate, albeit corrupted feature of Tarokness.⁸⁷¹ At this level, internal ethnic boundary formation takes prominence over religion, despite ontological understandings which probably vary more than those between Christians and Muslims in the area.

Turning now to the external, ethnicity also trumps when the conversational lens is trained on commercial relationships, i.e. cattle rearing. In this context, Tarok and, to a lesser extent, Kamwe have a tendency to describe themselves as Tarok or Kamwe, and their counterparts as Fulani rather than Muslim.⁸⁷² Ethnicity is thus a description of economic and social functionality. Yet religion quickly replaces ethnicity as the denominator when the lens is focussed on inter-communal conflict. The same Fulani become Muslim and the respondents tend to drop their tribal identity for the Christian label. This suggests that religion, particularly Islam, is a strong divider, whereas, joint economic interests are a connector, despite periodic spats over the use of land and competing livelihood interests. It also demonstrates that ethnic identity has not been altered in the same way as it has among Berom youth respondents. As such, it remains the salient divider along whose

⁸⁷¹ e.g. pp.293/294

⁸⁷² pp.295/302/319 (Ta); 330

lines kataphatic and apophatic identity formation takes place (Subchapter A.3.3). However, one conclusion I draw is that while “Christian” becomes an inherent quality of the true Tarok (e.g. as opposed to the pagan Tarok), “Muslim” in the essence of Taroks' local context stands for everything destructive to their community and way of life, and is equitable to “Antitarok”.⁸⁷³ Following from the narratives, Taroks who have embraced Islam can no longer be considered true Tarok;⁸⁷⁴ a Tarok's conversion to Islam rips right through the bonds of shared language and kinship, and drags him into the embrace of a malevolent out-group.

The cleavage along religious lines is not as strong among Kamwe. They would not class a Muslim Kamwe as an oxymoron; however, there are clear signs that Christianity has become a stronger connector than that of being an ethnic Kamwe.⁸⁷⁵ Meanwhile the Fali-Kirya, appear to have traditionally established good relationships with neighbouring sedentary tribes, unlike the pastoral Fulani, and amongst the youth it is a Christian identity that appears to be taking precedence over ethnic identity. This may perhaps be the result of the vulnerability of this extremely small linguistic group.⁸⁷⁶ A broad conclusion is that all studied cohorts, regardless of environment and location, are subject to the same overall forces where the process of religious identity formation is gaining ground on ethnic self-understandings, albeit to varying degrees.

Muslim dominance. One powerful external identity-building perception shared by all Christians is that Muslims seek political and economic dominance over them.⁸⁷⁷ This is doubtless grounded in histories of Fulani and Hausa conquest, with peoples like the Berom resisting Muslim rule, whereas the Tarok and to some extent the Kamwe, being subjected to it.

⁸⁷³ p.321

⁸⁷⁴ e.g. p.320

⁸⁷⁵ pp.330/359

⁸⁷⁶ See pp.339/359

⁸⁷⁷ See pp.278/286/290/308/319/322/359 (Be); 294/302/319/322/359 (Ta); 331f/359 (Ka); 339/359 (Fa)

Current events are construed as a continuation of a struggle born of an inherent Islamic attitude towards non-believers and are shared by all Muslims across Nigeria.

This model is compounded by the notion of “Christian tribes” which are built around the idea of interethnic affinity. These alliances strengthen the idea of a Christian commonality in face of a pan-Muslim threat affecting not only respondents' ethnicity and region, but the entire country. Berom, Tarok and Kamwe self-understandings are narratives imbued in resistance to Hausa/Fulani dominance. With the awareness of inter-ethnic commonalities in this struggle, these ethnocentric narratives appear to be giving way to the idea of a united Christian response to the perceived Muslim threat. The understanding of this threat is compounded by frequent references to the evil which Muslims are supposedly intent on visiting on Christians, be this by appropriating houses and land, seducing girls or burning churches. Muslim kindness in itself is explained in terms of seduction for which Muslims will later exact a price by thrusting a relationship of dependency upon the gullible recipients.⁸⁷⁸

The Jos Hausa-Fulani on their part see the Christian collective as conniving to control the state in order to deprive them of their historic rights.⁸⁷⁹ Several respondents allege that Christians are hypocrites or polytheists and do not read their Scripture properly.⁸⁸⁰ A recurrent view is that if Christians were to follow their own sacred texts, they would have become Muslims.⁸⁸¹ This finding chimes well with an observation made by Okpalanozie that Muslims find it surprising that Jews and Christians even still exist today, and that true discipleship of Jesus entails conversion to Islam⁸⁸². Sequentially, some Hausa-Fulani respondents

⁸⁷⁸ e.g. p.302 (Ta)

⁸⁷⁹ p.349

⁸⁸⁰ pp.400/347/353

⁸⁸¹ p.353

⁸⁸² Okpalanozie., p.64f

question whether the People-of-the-Book (*Ahali Kitab*) model is not actually one applicable only to the Mohammedian period, and fundamentally reject the idea that Plateau Christians could fit such a category.⁸⁸³ Although not a consensus, there appears nevertheless to be a widespread view in the Muslim community to the effect that there is no ontological difference between Plateau Christians and pagans.⁸⁸⁴ Compound this with the view that only the observance of Islam can resolve Nigeria's political problems,⁸⁸⁵ and it becomes defensible to claim that Political Islam cannot be far behind. This can only stoke the Christian notion of a unified Muslim front intent on destroying their communities and well-being. These fundamental differences in the two groups' world-views and constructed identities illustrate just how deep the intercommunal cleavage is, and how far it reaches beyond mere political and economic concerns.

The gestalt of religious imagery. Both Berom and Kamwe youth respondents make frequent reference to OT imagery, although in rather different ways. While the Berom refer to stories of triumphant battle and conquest, such as those of Gideon and David, the Kamwe cite examples of resilience in tribulation like Daniel and Job.⁸⁸⁶ In both cases, these characters are being integrated and formatively recast in the respondents' personal and group identities.

There are two likely explanations for this. The first can almost certainly be found in the different historical experiences in respect to Hausa-Fulani conquest. For the Berom whose resistance against Muslim incursion was successful, victorious struggle is the biblical connecting factor, while for the Kamwe who were at least partly subjugated, it is appropriate scriptural examples of valiant resistance. Both Berom and Kamwe

⁸⁸³ p.347

⁸⁸⁴ p.347

⁸⁸⁵ e.g. p.345/Ref-#848

⁸⁸⁶ pp.333/290/361

illustrate how religious narratives are being merged with their own, and how the biblical self-understanding of Israel is being integrated into the historic identities of the two ethnicities, albeit in different ways. As Barkindo's discussion of world-views of some Mandara tribes illustrates, there are precedents in Nigeria for the merging of religious and ethnic histories.⁸⁸⁷

The second explanation may represent the theological differences present in the traditions of the COCIN and EYN denominations in face of current intercommunity conflict. Particularly the EYN which prides itself in being a “peace church” in Brethren tradition is more likely to reject violent and triumphalist imagery than COCIN. However, there are two indicators which might reduce the credibility of such a difference. On the one hand, there is a theological and pastoral “osmosis” in which EYN has to a large extent accommodated fashions and teachings of neighbouring protestant denominations through the TEKAN communion. This has resulted in the assimilation of administrative structures, vestments and worship patterns. On the other hand, Kamwe respondents are only marginally more critical of violence as a means to resist perceived Muslim aggression than Berom.

What is however common to both COCIN and EYN respondents is recourse to the Isaac-Ishmael paradigm which surfaces repeatedly in conversations with and among Berom, Tarok and Kamwe respondents (Fali conversations did not turn on this aspect). Muslims are cast in the role of the reviled and banished Ishmael, while Christians place themselves in the line of Isaac with its promise of divine favour and privilege.⁸⁸⁸ This immediately casts identities in the ethnic terms of the OT and has profound implications for the diagnosis of the conflict as one

⁸⁸⁷ Barkindo., p.78, in discussing how Muslim narratives of Mecca are incorporated into the genesis stories of the Mandara Peoples.

⁸⁸⁸ pp. 287/322 (Be), 296/322 (Ta), 332 (Ka)

entailing religious violence. Although not the initial driving force invoking intercommunal conflict, identification of oneself and tradition with those of biblical (and indeed even contemporary) Israel opens up a dimension in which world-views and identities are vividly permeated by the agencies and mechanics of an alternate reality in face of existential threats. The eschatological immediacy of some of the threats only serves to hasten the fusion of these narratives, and this I will now probe further under the dynamics of identity formation. The same aspects have a direct affect also on morals, a topic to which I will return in the subsequent subchapter.

D.3.3.2 Dynamics of identity formation

Identity formation is a dynamic process of new boundaries being constructed and others disappearing. Within the space of a generation, a considerable reconstruction of group identities along religious lines appears to have taken place, and even within the timeframe of this study, some shifts have been observable. Let us look at some of the dynamics involved.

Boko Haram and merging of conflict narratives. Albeit in a non-academic work, Andersson observes how international Islamist terrorism was merged into the narrative of Plateau State's conflicts in the wake of 9/11 (which occurred nearly coevally with the eruption of the 2001 Jos crises and eclipsed international reporting of the Nigerian emergency) and how Osama-bin-Laden souvenirs appeared in markets everywhere.⁸⁸⁹ A similar process is visible in the discourses of the Berom youth between August 2011 and June 2012 during which time Boko Haram had become an existentially threatening force in their lives. While by 2011 the rural

⁸⁸⁹ Ulrike Andersson Trovalla, *Medicine for Uncertain Futures. A Nigerian City in the Wake of a Crisis*, Uppsala St (Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2011)., p.58

conflicts between sedentary Berom and pastoral Fulani had been merged into perceptions of the urban conflicts, so forming a combined conflict narrative of Muslim aggression, the paradigm had been further extended by the time of the 2012 interviews to explain Boko Haram as simply the most violent manifestation of pan-Islamic power lust.⁸⁹⁰ In light of the existential threat, reconciliatory tones towards Muslims are more muted, while calls for militant action against Muslims are clearly on the increase. One respondent was vocally in favour of retaliatory attacks on mosques.⁸⁹¹ This may well be the effect that Boko Haram hopes for, as arbitrary assaults on Muslims could easily trigger the mayhem which could potentially benefit the movement's ultimate aspirations⁸⁹². Fortunately, despite the fragility of the situation, this has not yet happened on any scale.

In any event, the three conflicts which are treated as three separate narratives in the first chapter (Subchapters A.1.3, A.1.4 and A.1.5) have become inextricably interwoven, and in the minds of Berom respondents are all manifestations of the same insatiable Muslim will to dominate. The phenomenon of Boko Haram has so far only served to sharpen an image of Islam as being inherently evil in nature and of Muslim adherents being subservient to it. This only serves to accentuate the boundary between the two religious groups.

Muslims for their part firmly reject any idea of commonality with Boko Haram, religious or otherwise.⁸⁹³ This attitude tallies with HRW reports of even Wahabi clerics being critical of Boko Haram and subsequently targeted.⁸⁹⁴ Nevertheless, that the government and perhaps even

⁸⁹⁰ pp.314/318

⁸⁹¹ pp.311/314

⁸⁹² Human Rights Watch, *Spiraling Violence : Boko Haram Attacks and Security Force Abuses in Nigeria.*, p.51 reports interviews with Muslim reciprocating exactly this supposition.

⁸⁹³ p.350

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p.53

Christians are supposedly behind the movement is puzzling, and might be explained only by drawing on the theological position of Adam (Subchapter A.1.5) that anyone claiming that secular education is *haram* is “either a sincere Muslim who lacks sufficient Islamic religious knowledge, or is actually a person who wants to create additional problems for Muslims”. Adam places Yusuf in the latter category.⁸⁹⁵ A corollary of this is that Muslims may well be tempted to fuse the threat of Boko Haram with the perceived malevolence of a Christian-run state, however improbable this might appear to an outside observer. It is nevertheless an indication that at the time of interviews, the phenomenon of Boko Haram is driving the Muslim and Christian communities further apart through mutual alienation and strengthening of identity boundaries.

Impermeability of religious boundaries, henotheism and the nascent “Christian” tribe. There are clear signs in all respondent groups that religious boundaries are becoming ever harder to cross. In the case of younger urban Berom, as described, religious identity has already superseded ethnic identity, which to some extent may also be happening in the other cohorts as well, although whether Christian or ethnic identity is salient appears to be situational. All respondents are open to marriage across ethnic boundaries as long as the partner is Christian.⁸⁹⁶

A particularly worrying aspect is Christian youths' frequent use of OT imagery and self-identification with the people of Israel. While accepting the veneer of the “People of God”, there are also signs that they are internalising the traits of an ethnic identity, particularly when rehearsing the notion that Christians are Isaac's spiritual descendants.⁸⁹⁷ God is still referred to as being all-powerful and, reluctantly, as loving

⁸⁹⁵ Anonymous., p.137

⁸⁹⁶ Ref-#302/Ref-#303/Ref-#304 (Appendix) (Be); pp.296/303 (Ta); 334 (Ka); 342 (Fa)

⁸⁹⁷ pp.287/288/322/359/369

Muslims, but He is regarded as party to the Christian cause. God is being recast in a henotheistic role of the God of an emerging new Christian “super-ethnicity”, that thinks and feels like a tribe and responds like a tribe to outside threats. Several respondents have actually exercised the term “Muslim tribe”, and one woman described Muslim attitudes as being hereditary.⁸⁹⁸ There are plenty of signs of respondents being ready to confront Muslims, and only few demonstrating genuine reconciliatory engagement or evangelising activity.⁸⁹⁹ In a new guise, Sundermeier's *Stammeskirche* (Subchapter A.4.6) may be alive and well. Indeed, Frederick's approach to ethnicity, with the necessary declaration and maintenance of boundaries and the definitions of in- and out-groups are sufficiently satisfied to argue for the construction of a nascent “Christian ethnicity” (Subchapter A.3.4). I will review some of the moral thinking which underpins this in the next subchapter.

Categories vs identities. To revisit a major question raised in the first chapter (Subchapters A.1.2 and A.3.3), a survey of respondents' utterances shows that although the settler-indigene dichotomy is present in some Berom and Muslims narratives and may be deployed to describe certain problems, it has surprisingly little bearing on the way people construct their identities.⁹⁰⁰ At a group level these are formed partially around ethnicity and overwhelmingly around religion.⁹⁰¹ It follows also, that despite the fact that the same dichotomy has been widely used to describe the evolution of the urban conflict in Jos, the applied categories have, despite a lot of publicity, not found entrance into people's identities, which disproves a possibility that I had originally entertained (Subchapter A.3.5). The overriding commonalities remain religion and ethnicity, as there do not appear to be sufficient commonalities within the

⁸⁹⁸ pp.296/323

⁸⁹⁹ p.324

⁹⁰⁰ p.357

⁹⁰¹ p.365/369

categories of settler and indigene to coalesce to an identity under these appellations (Subchapter A.3.2). It follows that any top-down use of this categorisation has not had a strong influence on identity formation (Subchapter A.3.5). This lets me conclude that while the settler-indigene dichotomy has its uses in diagnosing some of the conflict's origins, the merging of various conflict narratives and the construction of religious identities means that these categories cannot explain the whole, and that they are no longer very useful to the search for ways to transform the conflict. In short, the origins of the conflict are not “well understood”, not at least without fully incorporating its religious dimension (see Introduction).

D.3.4 Moral attitudes

D.3.4.1 What informs morality

Prayer as moral action. From the evidence gathered in the course of the various contact sessions, there appear to be two fundamental moral traits setting Christians and Muslims apart. Painted in broad strokes, Christians harbour an understanding of God as a very direct agent in the mechanics of the universe and their daily life; prayer appears to be the means of soliciting His intervention.⁹⁰² Prayer might even be construed as a moral action and God as the moral agent in attaining and preserving the good life. In this, Christians' God-directed orientation appears to be fundamentally utilitarian in attitude in that moral behaviour is designed to curry His favour as a means to attaining certain benefits in life. As to the question of what is at stake, for an older generation it is often land and the continuing existence of the group, whereas the younger

⁹⁰² pp. 355/365/367

generation's concerns centre around maintaining good perspectives for being successful in life.⁹⁰³

Muslims meanwhile seldom speak of prayer. God is remote. What stands out is the reverence for the Islamic way as a proxy, and which is honoured by following its injunctions.⁹⁰⁴ The result is an essentially deontological approach to life. The significance of this difference is nowhere more visible than on the topic of conversion. Christians see conversion as moved entirely by God with little or no human agency involved, while Muslims hinge their hope for conversion of others entirely on good moral conduct.⁹⁰⁵ Accordingly, terms such as “justice” and “righteousness” appear far more frequently in Muslim discourses than in Christian ones where “prayer” or “to pray” is dominant⁹⁰⁶.

OT imagery as moral example. By frequently casting themselves in OT role models in the face of harsh tribulation, younger Christian respondents seem likely to take this as a template for moral behaviour. In several cases, the choice of OT references do indeed appear to reflect their response to crises, historic and recent.⁹⁰⁷ I hazard that in the case of the Berom respondents, the OT paradigm of Sundermeier's *Stammesethik* (Subchapter A.4.3.2) either vindicates or preconditions behaviour towards out-groups, in this case Muslims. Combining this with their monolatrous expectations of God, who is solicited by prayer to do the group's bidding, morality assumes a notably utilitarian face in that it is focussed on the in-group's communal goals, and appears to differ considerably from moral standards within the group. Interaction with the out-group appears to be deserving of a different set of moral rules than interaction with the in-group.

⁹⁰³ pp.316/322/355vs. 283/300/338/365

⁹⁰⁴ pp.352/355/361/366

⁹⁰⁵ pp.352/355

⁹⁰⁶ Table, p.355

⁹⁰⁷ pp. 290/322/326/327/332/361/374/375/378

Muslims perform better in this respect in that their moral behaviour towards out-groups and in-groups appears to be more consistent. The focus on the ways of Islam, whose reputation appears also to concern them, and the expectation that a good example will lead to conversion, exhibits a morality which is deontological in principle. Indeed, even some Christian respondents express admiration for Muslim morality, be that respect for elders or kindness to one another.⁹⁰⁸ These might be projections arising from an awareness of one's own group's shortcomings, but they might equally manifest a factual difference in moral attitudes, which is not lost on Christians.

The question of attack and defence. Repeatedly, in discussing violent situations, respondents do not appear to be able to categorically separate the meaning of attack and defence.⁹⁰⁹ Andrew Gluck has pointed out that in some environments there may be no real distinction between the two.⁹¹⁰ *Attack*, a negatively occupied word, is what is brought upon them by their opponents, while the more positive word *defence* defines their own actions. This attitude is grounded in an utilitarian morality of an ethnomorphic religious group whose bidding is done by an omnipotent, yet henotheistic god. The community perceives a rightful expectation that He should support its cause for as long as it bides by what it sees as God's laws. By this its cause becomes His cause. Since God is intrinsically good, He will not attack, but only defend, and all community action can be understood as such.

Meanwhile, Jesus appears to fulfil only a subservient role. To some degree, He is stripped of any real soteriological function, other than to petition God and give the Christian community the power to prevail.⁹¹¹ The practice of moral fortitude may be what it takes to bring Jesus to do

⁹⁰⁸ pp. 332 (Ka); 338 (Fa)

⁹⁰⁹ See 303/311/326

⁹¹⁰ Gluck., p.7

⁹¹¹ e.g. p.366 (Fa), although not applicable to Berom.

this. In other words, while the cosmological agents of traditional religion have been replaced and quasi-ethnic boundaries have been redrawn, the new agents continue to respond very similarly to the old mechanics of the visible and invisible worlds.

D.3.4.2 Moral dynamics: interdependencies between identity, world-view and experience

Particularly where respondents maintain personal relationships and encounters with Muslims, boundary maintenance becomes more difficult, and views more differentiated.⁹¹² This of course reflects a well-established finding that boundary maintenance is more difficult where total cleavage has not taken place. Within the Berom group, there are two distinct narratives existing side-by-side and in some cases represented by the same person. The first follows the logic described above of Muslims who are inherently bent on the destruction of Christians.⁹¹³ The second is one of men and women following Islam and acting morally in many situations, even saving Christians. Such encounters serve to blunt some of the more militant attitudes towards Muslims voiced by respondents who are driven by hatred and fear. Such experience calls the morals of the in-group into question and raises uncertainties about the out-group's singularity with evil. When the group is not triumphant, but harried and under duress, fundamental truths about the nature and loyalties of a henotheistic God might be challenged. Amongst the Berom there appear to be signs of disappointment at how God has responded to the crisis. The two women who query the existence of God may be betraying signs of identity crisis.⁹¹⁴ In all Christian groups, respondents struggle to reconcile the pacifist teachings of Christianity with what they see as the exigencies of an extreme situation. Fali respondents, as yet unfronted by violent

⁹¹² p. 331/335, e.g. Ref-#752/Ref-#753

⁹¹³ p.310

⁹¹⁴ p.325

conflict, reject violence and prefer to report problems to the security forces, and a Berom youth fears that his people might not be forgiven for the violence they have wrought upon their Muslim neighbours.⁹¹⁵ Meanwhile, various Tarok attempt to explain that, due to their human weakness, God would be asking too much of them if they had to refrain from violence.⁹¹⁶ One Berom respondent bluntly sees it as his duty to defend his community by force, for what could he tell God if he simply did nothing? Throughout, the feeling is expressed that Muslims can engage in violence in ways which are impossible for Christians.⁹¹⁷ Meanwhile, Hausa contact sessions suggest that Muslims have a clearer basis for deciding when violence is appropriate and admissible than their Christian counterparts do.⁹¹⁸

Comparisons with Berom youth who speak both in focus group and interview sessions show that there is considerable insecurity behind some of their statements on their faith. There is indication of identity diffusion or foreclosure (Subchapter A.3.5), and a creeping suspicion that many opinions voiced in focus group sessions gloss over private doubts. Among youth respondents, rather few appear to have succeeded in identity achievement, despite such difficulties habitually being present in younger age groups. Fundamental questions are obviously not being answered. Life experience and the mediated world-views held by their experience appear to be diverging. It is safe to assume that many more respondents than the two ladies who were “caught” have been disappointed by God. I would posit that this is in part due to an insufficient appreciation by Christians of God's Nature and a deficient theological reflection within the church on how to deal with the crisis.

⁹¹⁵ p.290

⁹¹⁶ p.298

⁹¹⁷ p.298

⁹¹⁸ pp.353/362

Respondents, and by extension their wider church communities, appear ill-prepared to confront the existential crises that many of their members face. Undoubtedly, going by a report by RETA⁹¹⁹, some young Berom have assumed practices and morals of traditional religion, since they feel that they furnish them with the scope to react responsively to conflict. This could still happen within the mantle of Christian identity, and it could already be threatening Christian orthodoxy and witness in dangerous ways. Muslim Hausa respondents on their part appear better prepared to weather violent crises than their Berom counterparts. The Church has to do better, and can do better.

⁹¹⁹ RETA report, unpublished, on the Rukuba Road attack

***Section E: Towards a theologically
practical approach for churches to
confront and resolve conflict on
Christian terms***

Chapter E.1 The religious dimension of the Conflict and Five propositions of theological concern to the Christian community

E.1.1 The normative stage of the PTh process

In the previous section I first discussed the content of the collected, compiled data and drew conclusions, which has permitted me to map pertinent aspects of how respondents' world-views, identities and moral attitudes interact with one another in relation to the identity-based conflicts with which they are or have been confronted. A lot has been found for the local Church to mull over. In this brief and final section I have attempted to take the PTh process from this interpretative stage into its third and penultimate phase, the normative stage. In it, I will condense my previous findings and – from my etic perspective – bring them into dialogue with Scripture. This is a task which cannot be fully undertaken by an outsider, but must be completed by the local Church with her emic understanding of the situation. As an informed outsider I may however be able to nudge certain ideas into being, which must be tested, refined or debunked by the local Church. To this end, I will start this first chapter with brief discussion on boundary infringement and the religious dimension of the conflict, which I use as a springboard for positing five propositions which I glean from the interpretative stage of my work. In the following chapter (E.2), I will endeavour to bring these propositions into contact with Scripture with a view to outlining a possible theological response. I am very aware that, in absence of the local Church's emic reflection, it is only one half of any definite statement.

E.1.2 Boundary infringements and the religious dimension of the conflict

Respondents' communities understand themselves principally as Christian. Either Christianity is a fundamental quality of their group understanding, or indeed the salient identity *per se*. We have seen at several points that religion plays a role in this conflict, particularly in emergency situations which have at times posed an existential threat to communities and individuals, invoking eschatological thinking and fortifying the importance of non-immanent alternate realities. To qualify this as religious conflict we must answer the question as to whether religious boundaries are being transgressed, and, if that be the case, how such transgression is perceived.

In order to discuss this, I will return to the three shells of religious identity (Subchapter A.2.4). In terms of the Inner Shell, i.e. that concerned with the ultimate truth, there is little indication from either Christian or Muslim respondents that ultimate truths of orthodoxy and dogma are being contested, or that respondents are seriously disturbed by the religious practice of the Other. Phrased differently, it is not religious violence in the purest theological sense.

Turning now to the Outer Shell, as surmised, Christian respondents very much construe their way of life and their self-understanding as being under attack. An older generation perceives that communal integrity and control of the identity-shaping entity of land are under attack. Younger generations in particular fuse their identity with that of Biblical Israel and construct a spiritual genealogy leading back to Isaac. The result is an ethnic singularity of Christians with the "People of God". Indeed, it is likely that in a process leading to a sacralisation of their own identity, the ethnic identity of young urban Berom is being subsumed by the religious. A corollary might be that any forceful challenge to Christians by

Muslims, who are cast in the mould of Israel's opponents, is an indirect attack on God, and thus a boundary infringement. As a result, anything warding off or forestalling a threat to this sanctum can only be construed as legitimate resistance, thus – in line with *Stammesethik* – blurring any moral distinction between attack and defence. This is further reified by the burning of churches, which represents a direct attack on the sacral space in which Christians enter prayerfully into the presence of God. Here, the connection of the community and the Christian individual to the alternate reality is intrinsically threatened, representing an infringement of the Middle Shell. A very direct attack on the community and its ontological self-understanding is perceived to have been launched.

Now turning to the Muslim perspective, it is immediately obvious that their way of life is challenged by the conflict due to its political and economic implications, allowing researchers in these fields to detect various reasons for grievance. At a religious level respondents never couch their experiences in eschatological terms, and there is no apparent comparable sacralisation of identity through a "People-of-God paradigm". However, the identity of the mosque-faithful appears to be governed by the prominence of Islamic self-understanding. Responses portray the *Umma* as being locally suppressed by an infidel and corrupt worldly state propped up by Berom and Christian-cum-pagan tribalism. Muslim respondents repeatedly give the faithful practice of Islam a similar position in their lives as Christian respondents do prayer. Islamic practice is not simply a way of life repeatedly contested by the intercommunal conflict confronting Muslims and representing a boundary infringement on the Outer Shell of religion, it is also a sacral space unto itself in the Middle Shell defining the very relationship of the believer to God and having a significance commensurable to Christian prayer. This is of fundamental consequence, because while unanswered Christian prayer may possibly end in alienation between the believer and God,

Islamic practice which does not reap results may beget ever more extreme forms of doctrinal life-style. Given that Muslim respondents frequently eulogise Islamic practice as a solution to the social and political malaise being experienced, political Islam, and with it *jihadism*, could take hold should the conflict be left to fester. That the Muslim community so clearly rejects Boko Haram is a sign that this has not yet happened.

Quintessentially, although there are many facets to the crises of Plateau State, the evidence of this study points strongly to a dimension of religious conflict of considerable proportions. Not only are identities drawn out principally along religious boundaries, the religious communities reciprocally experience repeated violations of their sacral spaces. It is likely that such boundary infringement has at some level induced responses by groups and individuals amounting to actions which can be judged only as violence by any court of law, be it Islamic or secular. Indeed, several Christian respondents admit involvement in such actions. I therefore argue that conflict observers are not paying sufficient attention to entities of sacral space and alternate realities which are tangibles of considerable proportion for the life and self-understanding of communities which define themselves religiously.

Despite recurring hiatus in the hostilities, there is a real danger of a degenerative security situation moving the dimension of religious conflict into religion's Inner Shell, as world-views and dogma become directly threatened and operationally engaged in the conflict.

E.1.3 Five Propositions

Mindful of these dangers, I now present five propositions emerging from this study to be discussed in the normative stage of the pastoral cycle. These are not simply being raised so the Church can brace itself for difficult times ahead, but rather to address possible misconceptions of the

Christian community about its role and purpose in the world all of which might be contributing to the situation it is experiencing.

Proposition 1: *The Plateau State Crisis is to a considerable extent religious in nature.*

As far as the conflict is religious in nature, it must be dealt with within the paradigm of religion. A central issue is to discern which abilities religions have (endogenic factors) to temper or fan political, economic and social concerns (exogenic factors). Communities must be understood also in terms of their religious identities, and cultural analyses may not sidestep an essentialist discussion of alternate realities held by Christian and Muslim communities. Their unseen worlds are fused with the Immediate, and the tangibles of these worlds must be accepted as tangibles of this world (Subchapter A.2.4). Accordingly, any transformative solution to the conflict must take these elements into account and not be content to tackle only the this-worldly problems in isolation even if they may have originally invoked the conflict.

Proposition 2: *Identities are increasingly formed around religious affiliation, yet follow the logic of tribalism.*

Particularly amongst the Berom youth there are signs that their own ethnic identity is being subsumed by their Christian identity. Nevertheless, the moral framework follows the patterns of tribal ethics. This makes religious boundaries difficult to cross – and unattractive for non-Christians to do so. The Christian community cannot thrive on the exclusion of outsiders, which would also undermine the universal, Christ-willed nature of the Church.

Proposition 3: *Christians harbour a worryingly henotheistic view of God.*

Although lip-service is paid to the theological position that God loves Muslims, there is still a common expectation that He will by default side with Christians in the conflict and eventually destroy them. This attitude is closely related to that expressed in Proposition 2 and based on Christian identity being acted out similarly to that of traditional tribal identity. This is a serious theological misconception based on a selective reading of OT texts, which is neither tenable from a divine perspective nor supported by NT theological experience. Moreover, respondents' Christologies appear to be very weak.

Proposition 4: *The ethics of Christian communities are overtly utilitarian when addressing out-group challenges.*

Moral rectitude does not appear to be held as a strong value in its own right. Particularly towards outsiders, there appears to be little or no notion of “doing the right thing” for its own sake. To a large extent, moral action might be based on the effects it will achieve. Most evidence suggests that intercessional prayer trumps good moral conduct as an agency of change in most Christians' world, particularly in dealings with out-groups. This is considerably different from Muslims' notion that hearts and attitudes can be changed by setting a good example. Christians admire Muslims for this, but it is no doubt also part-responsible for Muslim allegations that Christians are hypocrites. While not disputing that a Christian world-view should regard God as an important agent for change, there is surely also the biblical expectation that the Christian community should in terms of attitude and actions be holding a light up to the world.

Proposition 5: Christians need a casuistry in order to prepare them to respond to violence in a Christ-centred way.

Unlike their Muslim counterparts, Christians appear ill-prepared to deal with the challenges of inter-communal violence. They are torn between the ideal of not resisting evil and forcefully defending their community space. While stressing a pacifist stance, they frequently find themselves acting vehemently and sometimes even violently. Morality and action drift apart. Often, respondents appear distressed by the silence of God who is expected to defend them. They are also insecure about the role of God in their lives and community, leading to a dangerous weakening of their faith's inner strength and witness. Christians need clearer guidelines on when/if it is legitimate to use force and when they should abstain in a way which is theologically coherent, externally comprehensible and nevertheless feasible in dire situations.

Chapter E.2 Theological Responses to the five propositions

Response to Proposition 1: The Plateau State Crisis is to a considerable extent religious in nature.

With the extent of the religious nature of Plateau State's identity-based conflicts mapped out, it becomes evident that Church and Mosque, as the institutional representatives of their inherent religions, cannot eschew their responsibility to attempt to arrest drivers of conflict, regardless of whether these are exo- or endogenic to their religious systems, by intervening in the social discourses surrounding them.

In confronting *exogenic* factors, the Church must be prepared to contemplate which social, political and economic pressures favour conflict. She must consider how she can become a good partner in confronting these, both on behalf of her own members and broader society on the understanding that all humans are loved by God and created in His image. In this she is called to embrace a holistic approach to her environment and reach beyond a prepossession to the short-term interests of her members.

Looking to the factors which are *endogenic* to the Christian faith system, the Church must also consider which sanctuaries are under attack and what perceptions inform her members' responses to conflict. Although I have undertaken to do just this from an etic viewpoint, my work is of necessity incomplete and does not relieve the Church of her duty to complement this task with more thorough reflection from her emic perspective. The proposed model of shells might prove a useful tool in such an undertaking in that it could allow her to diagnose in what terms her members feel attacked and what the appropriate means of response are. In undertaking this in critical terms, she must be prepared to confront her own teachings, and the understanding and practice of her

members, in order to test whether these are in step with the salvific message of Christ. The religious community or individuals may harbour elements in their faith which go against traditional Christian tenets and may require rectification. Such a process would have to entail open theological debate which would have to start with the basic understandings of what is ultimately sacred to Christianity and why. The debate would have to include a broad range of voices, i.e. those of all parts of the Church; the discussion itself should incessantly seek to take the nascent apostolic church of the NT as a model.

In summary, both the lay and the clergy, the young and the old, must be given space to reach beyond the Nigerian church's traditional strength of operating in the pastoral space to initiating a substantive theological discussion on the challenges facing the Christian Community of Plateau State. The debate needs to be balanced with the perspective of a universal, Trinitarian God who harbours a concern for all people living within the Church's reach.

Response to Proposition 2: Identities are increasingly formed around religious affiliation, yet follow the logic of tribalism.

The notional “people of God” is one derived from the Hebrew Scriptures and was embedded in the national and religious identity of Israel. However, it was the early Church which reinterpreted its meaning and transcended the confines of Judaism and its tribal concept of religion by reaching out to very different peoples with a Gospel which did not require them to embrace Hebrew customs. This was not an easy process for the young Church, and there are indications of a series of very contentious discussions⁹²⁰. The process, however, which led to the creation of standards of practice with considerable cultural mobility begot a church

⁹²⁰ Ac.10+11 and the Council of Jerusalem Ac.15

that rapidly spanned most peoples of the known world. A result of the Church's earliest theological deliberations in the book of Acts and reflections in the writings of Paul was her ability to overcome human boundaries, be these between Gentile or Jew, Master or Slave, male or female⁹²¹. Paul forged the lasting dogmatic concept of one faith and church under a unifying and universal God who ultimately welcomes in people of all nations regardless of provenance.

On this basis it is indeed a positive development that a younger generation within the Church is overcoming internal tribal distinctions. On the other hand, that they are responding defensively to non-Christians by following the historically rehearsed patterns of ethnic delimitation is deeply troubling. Considering the circumstances in Plateau State, this reflex is in many ways understandable, but it can rapidly destroy any efforts to make newcomers feel wanted. Particularly the detected discourses which construct spiritual lineages running back to Isaac or Ishmael risk casting people in deterministic, genealogical terms. This is dangerous, as it opens avenues for feelings of entitlement and exclusion. By erecting such boundaries the Church becomes more insular and defensive, it thwarts her caricatural and missionary calling, and it makes it more difficult for outsiders to join even if the Gospel does reach them. Although Paul himself uses a Sarah-Hagar paradigm⁹²², it is to be understood as an image of the promise of being reborn in the Spirit as opposed to remaining in the flesh. Hagar is likened to the earthly Jerusalem, and Sarah to the heavenly. This is designed to emphasise the liberating power of the Spirit. When Paul recites "Get rid of the slave woman and her son", it is not a call to arms against those outside the promise, but a call to unshackle people from the state of earthly destitution for which Hagar stands and bring them into the Kingdom of

⁹²¹ Gal.3:26-29, also 1.Ch.12:13; Co.3:11

⁹²² Ga.4:21-28

God. Rather than reinforcing Christian tribalism, Paul could hardly do more to deconstruct it.

As things stand, the widespread rehearsal of the Isaac-Ishmael antipode is deeply damaging to the Church's self-understanding, given its tendency to conflate religious boundaries with a quasi-ethnic construct. Moreover, there is a real concern that the kataphatic, internal Christian identity of similarity, i.e. being in communion with Christ, is being overshadowed by an apophatic, external identity of difference, i.e. being in dis-communion with Muslims. The Church must thus become conscious of these defences being thrown up and their negative impact on those who may wish to come to Christ. She must also ponder the Muslims' characterisation of Christians which is one of hostility and hypocrisy. Rather than "leaving everything to God" and prayer, she would be wise to explore the possibilities of interacting directly with Muslims in pursuit of peace and understanding. This would challenge this characterisation with one of charity. Practice is central to Christian witness, and it is charitable action and attitude which has enabled the Church to grow her following and inner spiritual constitution.⁹²³ If she fails to appreciate this, she will not only prevent non-Christians from being anything other than Hagar, but also inadvertently enslave herself in a cocoon of fear and isolation.

Response to Proposition 3: *Christians harbour a worryingly henotheistic view of God.*

Christianity is not a tribal religion, and God is not a tribal god. Scripture progressively reveals God to be the Creator God concerned with the fate of all humanity⁹²⁴. Although some OT sources (abundantly quoted by respondents)⁹²⁵ permit God to be interpreted in monolatric terms in that

⁹²³ Ac.2:46+47

⁹²⁴ Creation story: Gn.1-3; Noah: Gn:6-9

⁹²⁵ Egyptians: Ex.14:19-30; Gideon: Jg.6+7, David: 2.Sm.5-10, etc.

He is referred to as the God of all gods⁹²⁶, He is, as His very name implies, the ultimate origin of all being.⁹²⁷ The concept that God loved the world, and that His Son Jesus was sent for all is fundamental to the NT, and represents a clear departure from the undercurrents of many OT writings.⁹²⁸ The ministry of Jesus, although focussed on Israel, was already outward-directed to include non-Jews.⁹²⁹ Contrary to what many contemporaries and indeed initially His disciples assumed, His Messiahship concerned the “Kingdom of God/Heaven” knowing no earthly bounds rather than the worldly dominion of Israel. The early Church embraced this new messianic universality, and quickly spread it throughout the Mediterranean basin to peoples with very different gods⁹³⁰. What narratives do exist in the NT that are concerned with separating the just from the unjust do not condone a concept of just or unjust nations. In several instances it even appears that Jesus went out of His way to demonstrate that the contemporary images of morally inferior nations were wrong.⁹³¹ Seldom do commentators contend that even the Son of Man's separating of sheep from goats⁹³² is to be done by classifying them on the basis of righteous or unrighteous nations, but on individuals' hearts and actions. The applied term, ἔθνος, is not limited to our contemporary understanding of the term *ethnicity*, but can also be a group of individuals of similar traits. Accordingly, there is scant theological evidence for assuming that belonging in the Kingdom of God can be stipulated on membership of church or a majority-Christian group alone. To harbour such an idea would be to severely misconstrue the foundations of Christian soteriology. As I will argue in my response to

⁹²⁶ De.10:17/Ps.136:2/Dn.11:36

⁹²⁷ Ex.3

⁹²⁸ E.g. Jh.3:16

⁹²⁹ E.g. Mt.15 (Canaanite woman); Mk.5:1 (Gerasenes); Lk:7:1-10 (centurion's servant); Jh.4 (Samaritan woman)

⁹³⁰ See Ac.8:16-40/10+11

⁹³¹ Lk 10:25-37 (the Good Samaritan)

⁹³² Mt.25:31+32

Proposition 4, such an attitude can even have dangerous moral ramifications.

In order for the contemporary Church of Plateau State to overcome the fallacy of a henotheistic understanding of God, part of her deliberations should be to consider who Christ was to the early Church and who He should be to her members in their current predicament. She should also consider who Christ was to non-followers, be these Romans, Greeks or Jews – and consider how this translated into practice in the earliest Church. Another area of discussion should be Christ's relationship with power. Although notably endowed with the might to overcome sin and death, Christ radically rejected control over the realms of the world. A Christology which assumes His support for the worldly aspirations of the Church has to be discouraged – as the Zealotic fringe of Jesus' disciples discovered, it does not work. Rather, a Christ who is eager to support those who love Him in their suffering and to encounter those around them with love is the understanding which helped the Church ultimately shake the Roman Empire. Both lay and clergy must embark on a discussion of who Christ is to Christians in Plateau State and how He might seek to encounter Muslims through the Church's words and deeds.

Response to Proposition 4: The ethics of Christian communities are overtly utilitarian when addressing out-group challenges.

A henotheistic understanding of God coupled with a quasi-tribal concept of the faith community is a morally troubling prospect. It has a tendency to reduce worship to monolatric and doxological devotion, and force a singularity between the group's outlook and the presumed outlook of God. While inward-directed moral conduct may still be shaped according to bequeathed norms or scriptural precepts, outward-directed moral conduct is in danger of being subjugated to the need to demonstrate the group's or

God's supremacy over competing theological concepts. Deontological precepts are replaced by utilitarian deliberations when approaching out-group challenges, that manifests itself as morally inconsistent behaviour towards outsiders. In contrast to this, God is the universal Creator. Additionally, the Ministry of Jesus saw the proclamation of the Kingdom of God which requires a ubiquitous and consistent application of His Commandments⁹³³ in all Christian dealings in pursuit of peace and justice. The basis for moral action is laid out in the conjunct uncompromising love for God and of one's neighbour in equal terms to oneself. If the Kingdom of God is to make any imprint on the situation through Christian agency, the expression of charity towards Muslims must reach beyond simply "buying from them in the market" (respondent E-3), which can only be regarded as a utilitarian activity. Mindful of the duress that many members experience in the face of a perceived or real Muslim threat, the Church must have a meaningful discussion on how charitable interaction with the Muslim community can be shaped.

One promising way of achieving this would be for the Church to lay a new emphasis on the Fruits of the Spirit⁹³⁴ and their transforming force. Indeed, the Church that exhibits the qualities of joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control will not be able to – or want to – prevent these from spilling over into wider society. Automatically, she will have embraced the universality of God and the faith that the liberating force of Jesus can spread. Honesty, reliability, political even-handedness and engagement for the well-being of society would be the conspicuous manifestation of the Church working in the world. With this achieved, the Church and her members would have already gone far towards making the Kingdom of God something which can be experienced by Muslims.

⁹³³ Mt.22:36-40

⁹³⁴ Ga.5:22+23, adjoining a section on the Freedom in Christ, itself a conclusion to Paul's discussion of Sarah and Hagar.

In conclusion, as long as the pew faithful adhere to the idea of Christians having the inherent right of God's favour in the mould of OT henotheism, they will struggle to set an example of what Jesus stands for. This would be tragic, as good practice is what Muslims respondents hold dear – and even in the eyes of many Christians do well. Practice is the yardstick by which Muslims (and indeed most people) will measure the fruit of the Church.⁹³⁵

Response to Proposition 5: Christians need a casuistry in order to prepare them to respond to violence in a Christ-centred way.

Christians feel morally tied to the promotion of peace, yet also harried to respond in kind to violent situations perpetrated by Muslims. In return, some have taken licence to bring the battle to Muslims who may well have neither had nor desired participation in violence, thereby committing atrocities of their own and accelerating the cycle of violence. These deeds may have occurred pre-emptively or out of revenge, but are always couched as “defence”. In contrast, Muslims are seen to have a religious system which permits and indeed advocates violence. Contact sessions do hint that their teachings provide them with clearer rules on when it is admissible to resort to forceful behaviour.

This represents something of an impasse for many Christians, and indeed the NT is not entirely straightforward in its prescription for action. It offers a number of passages which tend either towards full-fledged pacifism⁹³⁶ or a proportionalist stance concerning the exertion of force⁹³⁷. Nevertheless, this still leaves a wide range of options open with which Christians must grapple; inadvertently, they come to various conclusions on how force is exercised and who bears the responsibility for enacting it.

⁹³⁵ Mt.12:33/Lk.6:43

⁹³⁶ e.g. Mt.5:38-48

⁹³⁷ e.g. Lk.22:35-38; Mk.11:15-19

“Peaceniks” point to the moral authority of the early, predominantly pacifist Church which eventually brought the entire Roman Empire that had once executed Jesus under its sway. Others allege that it was the same empire which despite bouts of persecution afforded Christianity the peaceful order under which it could thrive. Paul himself sanctions the state as the authority appointed by God and whose “symbol is the sword: it is there to serve God, too, as His avenger, to bring retribution to wrongdoers.”⁹³⁸ With entry into the Constantinian age, the Church became partner to this worldly authority and shared its responsibilities. This development opened up the tradition of Just-War thinkers like St Augustine, Ambrose and Aquinas who pioneered the debate on the Christian use of force and shape it up until this day.

Quotidian life of Christians living under a resilient state structure and a jurisdiction which duly follows the rule of law need not be trammelled by deliberations of Just-War theory. Civil order in Nigeria has however repeatedly experienced such a breakdown that entire Christian communities are confronted with the ponderous question of how to respond to violence of existential proportion. In absence of Paul's state authority, the responsibility of how to exert force or consciously desist from action forthwith passes to communities, groups and individuals, placing a heavy weight of responsibility on them while affording them little time for deliberation. Notably the Tarok, but of late especially the Kamwe have been faced with situations similar to civil war where in absence of any meaningful state authority it often falls to parishes to find an appropriate response. Having been ill-prepared to take momentous decisions in emotionally charged emergencies, they are in practice condemned to making a lot of mistakes. This is exactly the kind of situation where the Church, as the vehicle for the Kingdom of God and witness to the Fruits of the Spirit, is called to find a scripturally-sound

⁹³⁸ Rm.13:4-7

practical response to violence, which albeit potentially forceful, must be tethered by moderation and circumspection in pursuit of a restoration of peace. Reinstating the universality of God who has jurisdiction over and love for both Christians and Muslims is a first step to helping the pew faithful discern between aggressive attack and responsive defence. In order to achieve this, the Church will have to embark on an appropriate situative debate in which some of the thought developed in the long Just-War debate might be instrumental, but never on its own sufficient to provide answers to a problem the local Church will have to answer herself. The outcome should be a clear set of principles about how the communities and individuals can respond to the kind of emergency situations they could concurrently be faced with in their local contexts.

My study up to this point has demonstrated that there is an inherently religious dimension to the conflict in the world-views and identities of those affected which informs their moral decisions and practical responses. On this basis, even if not part of the cause of conflict, religion is part of the fabric. Christianity and Islam as religious systems, which purport to bring peace to the world, are challenged to explain how they can transform the situation in a way that invites trust-building and reconciliation if they are not eventually to be accused of hypocrisy or meaninglessness, and their followers must demonstrate their willingness and ability to put this into practice. For her own sake, the local Christian Church must make her contribution. In this section I have made a number of propositions on the basis of my findings which might be scrutinised by the Church as a basis for action. However, it is here that I come to the end of what I can contribute. The actual action required is one for the local Church to decide on herself. In doing so, she will immediately find herself in the midst of the PTh cycle to which she and

her members contribute. As detected in the course of my work, the underlying conflict narratives are merging and evolving. Now, more than two years after my last field contact, it is safe to assume that that understanding is changing again. Boko Haram is a force which is changing the perceptions of both Muslims and Christians. This will pose new dangers and opportunities for dialogue and opportunity. Although Boko Haram has created severe fear amongst members of the core cohort populations of this study who are resident in Plateau State, their communities remain intact. However, the communities of the peripheral cohort populations of Adamawa (particularly the Kamwe) have been shattered, and many of their members are now arriving in Jos as fugitives. Intriguingly, as they and other internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the North-East of Nigeria interact with those already living in the Jos agglomeration it will become inevitable that narratives of the core and peripheral cohort populations will be brought together to form a new understanding of this conflict. The local Church may have to account for this as she plans her action.

Section F: Bibliography and Maps

Chapter F.1 Bibliography

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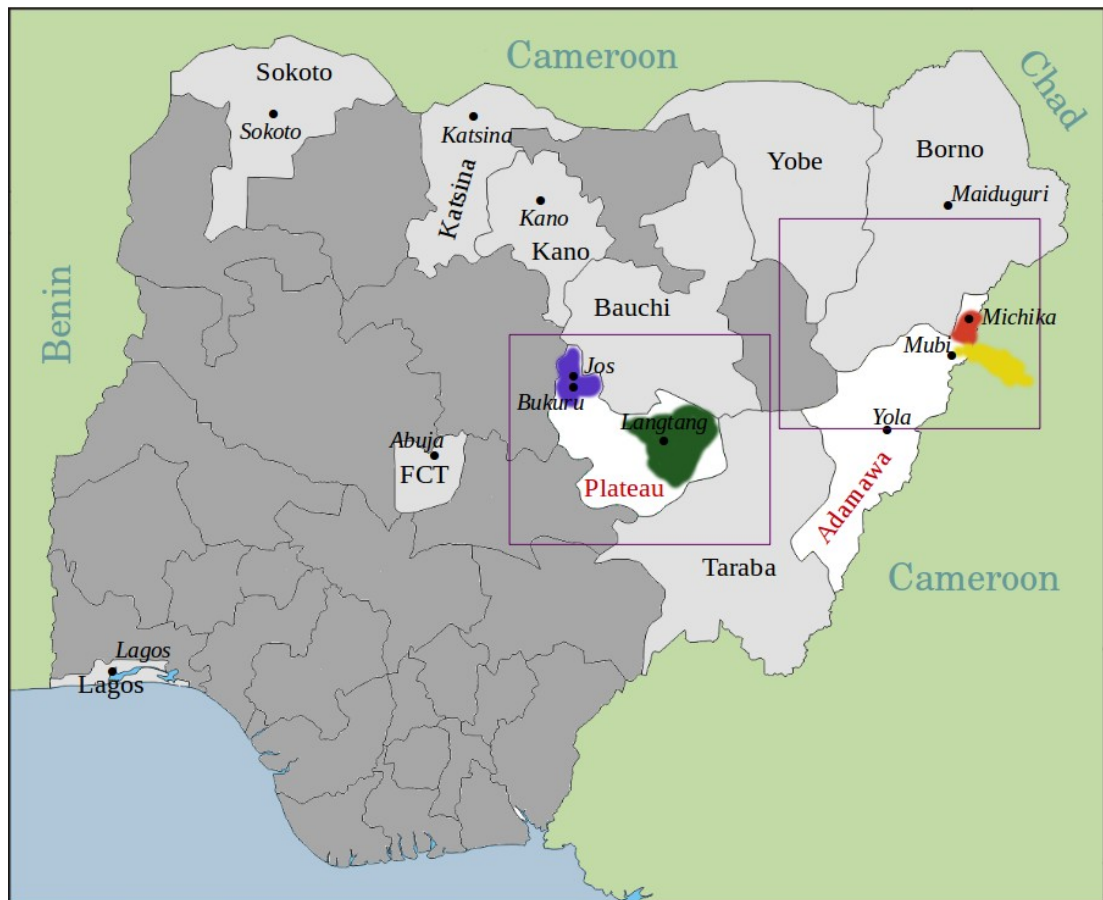
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Chapter F.2 Maps

Overview:



Legends:

- Berom
- Tarok
- Kamwe
- Fali

Notable ethnicity

Upland

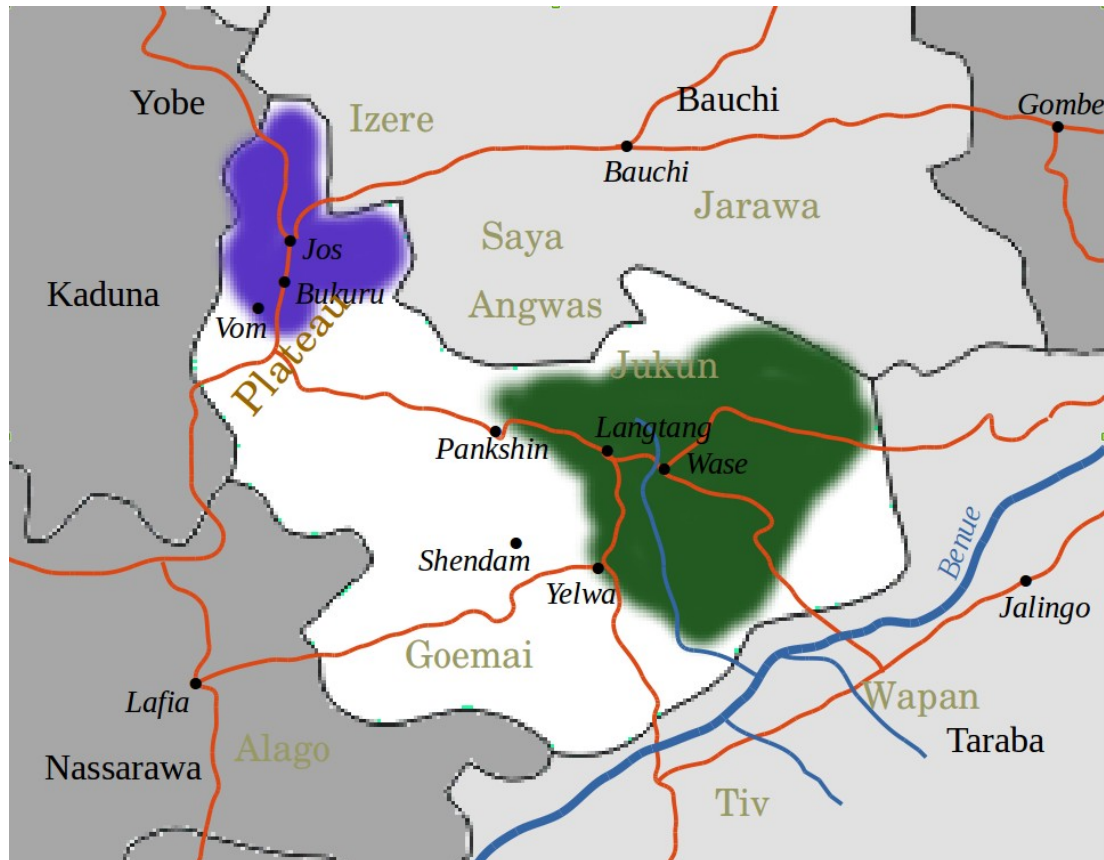
State name

Principle road

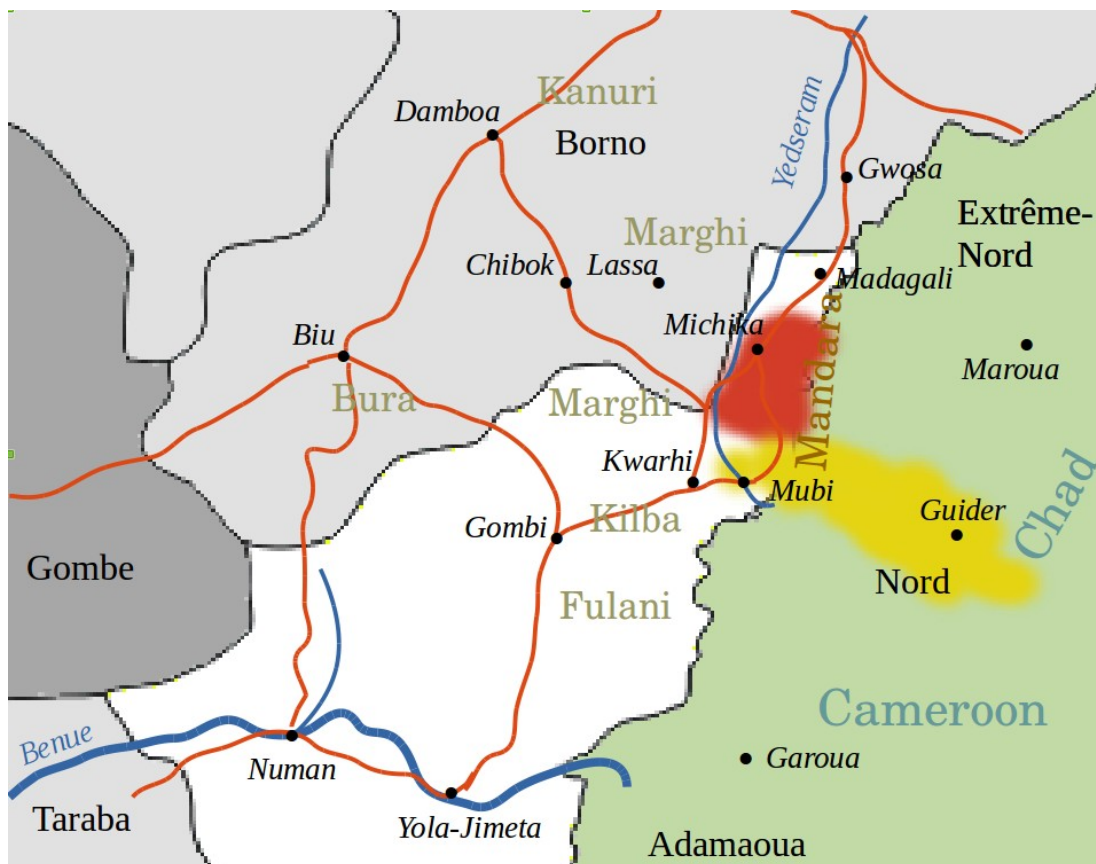
Major river

• Major town

Plateau State



Northern Adamawa State



Section G: Appendices

Chapter G.1 Examples of transcripts and transcript fiches (screenshots)

KaUS-F

→

→

1/19

Time¶	Per¶	Utterance¶
0:00¶	M-6¶	Have you agreed for the discussion¶
0:03¶	A-8¶	Yes, I've agreed.¶
0:04¶	M-6¶	What is your number?¶
0:05¶	A-8¶	"B", [B: "A"] [er] "A".¶
0:08¶	M-6¶	What of you, have you agreed?¶
0:09¶	B-8¶	I agreed. I am B.¶
0:10¶	M-6¶	B... What of you, <u>Mamá</u> ?¶
0:12¶	C-8¶	C. I've agreed.¶
0:13¶	D-8¶	I've agreed, I am D.¶
0:15¶	T-8¶	<u>Ehm</u> ..¶
0:16¶	B-8¶	((turns to F)): Say "F"¶
0:17¶	F-8¶	"F"¶
0:19¶	M-6¶	You are F? <u>Ok</u> . You are all welcome. We thank God because of our brother that came to gather information. We'll start and you are to answer as you know or feel. You may let others answer, if you aren't ready.¶
0:38¶	ABC¶	<u>Ehm-m</u> ..¶
0:39¶	M-6¶	Therefore, I will start by asking: what's the most important thing for you on earth all-in-all?¶
0:48¶	B-8¶	God.¶
0:50¶	M-6¶	God. <u>Ehmm</u> ..¶
0:53¶	D-8¶	God's Thing; as she said. [S: (·)] That's all, the Word of God.¶
0:56¶	M-6¶	<u>Ehm</u> , what of you? (2.0)¶
0:59¶	C-8¶	What do I say?¶
1:00¶	M-6¶	What is the most important thing for you in life?¶
1:01¶	B-8¶	Is your mind away, <u>Mamá</u> ?¶
1:02¶	C-8¶	What is most important is being together with God and our people, the followers.¶
1:08¶	M-6¶	<u>Alright</u> <u>Ahmm</u> ... Why do you say being with God is most important? Or as you said?¶
1:16¶	B-8¶	Because His way is brighter.¶
1:19¶	F-8¶	Because unity .. is strength.¶
1:22¶	A-8¶	Because God loves us; if He had not loved us, we can't live as this. [[as anyhow]]¶
1:27¶	M-6¶	<u>Mmmh</u> ¶
1:28¶	D-8¶	He's the Way, the Life and the Truth.¶
1:31¶	C/D-8¶	He's also the truth, He created us all.¶
1:32¶	B-8¶	"Like Himself"¶
¶	¶	(1.5)¶

The transcript

Appendices

Transcript-Fiche¶	File-Name¶	Tribe¶	Date¶	Place¶
	BeU2S-F¶	Berom¶	30 AUG 11¶	Bukuru¶
Participants¶				
M-(Sarah); A-(m); B-(m); C-(m); D-(m)¶				
Discourse-summary¶				
What is important or good to you in your life? ¶		Where is your refuge in the world? ¶		
Knowing Jesus; I have put my whole self in it (A); encourage in¶		No place to hide; only God (C); you could flee (D); even US isn't¶		
the Word of God; teach our children (C); understand we are¶		safe; refuge in Jesus (A); even guards can't stop; only God can¶		
visitors on earth; because that, know God is important (D)¶		guard (C); God took <u>Abacha</u> (D); see UN the week (A)¶		
Living in purity is important; when relationships weak; good¶		Why is God your refuge? ¶		
that we know God;¶		Control of the whole world (C); gave us Bible; told us about¶		
Who is God to us? ¶		death and judgement (D); Bible say God will protect those in¶		
Saviour from all our sins; father (C); father to all; God will bless¶		fellowship with Him (A)¶		
if we help (A)¶		Who as control over your life? ¶		
What would you do with just one day left to live? ¶		God (C); because Creator (C); has our lives in His hands (A)¶		
Keep God's law; make my ways right to lead me home (C); time¶		Our forefather don't have control over us? ¶		
to hold on to God seriously (D); examine myself and ask for¶		Only in this body; otherwise in Hands of God (C); fathers are¶		
forgiveness (A); [nothing to add] (B)¶		looking on us for their safety (D)¶		
Why come close to God only when on your last day? ¶		What did you do during the crisis? ¶		
[laughter] (P); it is human to often fail God; so when the time¶		Pray for God to take control of situation (C); keep praying; we¶		
comes; we focus (C); we fail God all the time; therefore we seek¶		should meet and resolve on to discuss we will go and attack¶		
daily forgiveness (B); sin is the way we look; even the Bible say¶		one; to show how to stop it (A); we must unite (B)¶		
so; without God on the day of our death; we are lost (A)¶		If among us; WWJD? ¶		
What would you do with your family that last day? ¶		Jesus sees everything; must not show up physically; sometimes¶		
Get them together to tell them to hold fast to God (C); tell them¶		He allows it so we can return to Him (C); a commotion when¶		
to follow God's way (D); prayed with my <u>child</u> ; this morning -¶		Jesus was arrested; <u>Bitrus</u> cut off a man's ear (A); but Jesus¶		
be in right standing with God; I don't have many more years (A)¶		rebuked him (C); Jesus said it's no a battle of the flesh; <u>prophet</u> ¶		
What death disturbed us so much? ¶		Jesus said; stand your ground; did not come to rule; Jesus would¶		
My younger brother in an accident and died (C); best friend¶		not fight with violence (A); John locked in prison (D)¶		
died in <u>Ibadan</u> on NYSC from a third floor (D); a brother I had¶		How can the Church help? ¶		
sponsored (A); my sister died suddenly one morning (B);¶		Pray to be alert to security issues; advise our youth to be close;¶		
What happens to someone who dies? ¶		spiritual battle (C); we were created in Mt 21:1; chaos like in the¶		
People are sad; but you remember; if you do not ponder death; ¶		Arab countries; <u>Gaddafi</u> gone; we should not think we will be¶		
you don't fear God (C); the Bible say body is dust and <u>spirit</u> will¶		protected us from these things (A)¶		
return to God; if worked to God's will; to heaven; otherwise to¶		What would you do in <u>Kabong</u> ? ¶		
hell (A); when someone dies; we forget them; we should¶		Only pray; God will cool it (C); sit together; resolve issue; make¶		
weigh up our relationship to God (B)¶		security our issue; wait; not run; stand firm for peace; wanted¶		
What brings death? ¶		to shift us; give us corn; like a horse; wanted to take our school¶		
Illicit drinks (C); serve God for <u>long life</u> ; some people cause¶		by government to make us useless; but depended on God (A)¶		
<u>wreckless</u> death to themselves and others (A); we sometimes¶		Questions on your part? ¶		
do silly things (D); infidelity and sickness (B); do not go¶		Jesus knows exactly what to do (B); skewed media (A); enemies¶		
certain places, especially during the crisis (A)¶		get lots of weapons from abroad (D); should we buy our own¶		
What is the most important thing in the world? ¶		weapons? (A); not wrong; Bible lets us defend ourselves (B);¶		
Church (C); places where believers meet (A); before God;¶		but; turn the other cheek; until sore and neck is hurt (D); obey¶		
reading Bible (D); nothing more important; but family is also¶		authorities; thus don't have weapons (A); if a sword give one to¶		
important (B); doing good or visiting (A); friendship (C)¶		your brother (B); to defend yourself (C)¶		

The transcript fiche (page 1)

Appendices

Evaluation¶			
<p>Again in this group, flaunting piety appears important. Even authentic indications like, "see that we are visitors on earth" is backed up; after a pause, at how important God's Word thus is.¶</p> <p>¶</p> <p>When people think of death causes, they think of car accidents. This appears to be one of the most vivid ways of dying. It may have been shaped by a tragic, very new event of COCIN church elders being killed in a car accident in the south of the state.¶</p> <p>¶</p> <p>Death can be caused by <u>wantoness</u>, hazard, own fault, fault of others. There are certain fate elements expressed about the way it comes, but nothing which I think is stronger than would be among Europeans. The four men appear to be well-grounded in their faith in Jesus Christ and see their church as their locus of protection. They are wary of the use of violence, but are in a predicament in terms of how to respond in the vacuum left by a <u>uneffective</u> state.¶</p> <p>¶</p> <p>Generally, A and C take the lead after questions. B and D are considerably more shy in their answers. B and D did however recover some lost ground after M opened the possibility of questions up to the participants. A lively discussion ensued where an interesting debate on morality was acted out. It appears fair to say that the Bible is a very important source of moral reflection, as much for this older generation as for any of the youth interviewed.¶</p> <p>¶</p> <p>Moments/orts:¶</p> <p>5:34: "Living in purity is an important thing. In our existence on earth, we are living with each other, but (2.0) when living relationships become weak, it is good that everyone has the knowledge of God in their heart."¶</p> <p>14:06: "If you do not ponder death, it means you do not fear God."¶</p> <p>26:55: "Like he said, to keep on praying, we should meet and resolve on to discuss we will go and attack anyone."¶</p> <p>34:50: "You cannot be spoon-fed. Have you become a horse someone to be feeding you?"¶</p> <p>38:43: "they build places of worship, with undergrounds. [M: Hmm] But <u>Chrstitians</u>, what are they up to? They have so much wealth. Have you ever heard about them helping us out here? We don't know if they even <u>exisit</u>."¶</p> <p>39:21: "If this was a church building and we have not been giving the <u>privilage</u> to get weapons to defend ourselves. [M: ok] Because the law of the country forbids it, and Christians keep the law of the land, and they just watch those people, and they attack with sticks and from there (....) and in such situations, if someone comes in to help to defend you, is that a crime, or have we sinned, or what? Because they have guns, bows, arrows, and swords?"¶</p> <p>40:57: "And it has bee said, if you are hit on one cheek, to turn <u>th</u> other cheek, and it is hit again and you turn the other and all your cheeks have become sore from hits, then where do you find another cheek to replace the sore ones, so it can be hit more? (---) and when your neck is cut, what happens?"¶</p> <p>¶</p> <p>Open questions:¶</p> <p>25:48: Not clear why fathers are looking on us for their safety. They're dead, aren't they?¶</p> <p>¶</p> <p>¶</p>			
Word-count¶	Audio-length¶	Transcript pages¶	Languages¶
6,000¶	44:09¶	17¶	<u>Berom</u> ¶
Categories¶			
important Jesus¶	seek forgiveness¶	accidents¶	be close to God¶
teach our children¶	repent¶	armed robberies¶	spiritual battle¶
Word of God¶	seek God's face¶	family¶	stand our ground¶
peace¶	death¶	joy through goodness¶	defy dependency/pride¶
ephemeral existence¶	<u>saddeness</u> ¶	flee¶	frontier mentality¶
pious <u>Berom</u> ¶	be ready for God¶	almighty God¶	skewed media¶
God source of help¶	damnation¶	Jesus would not fight¶	sophisticated weapons¶
God source of blessing¶	disease¶	Bible recitation¶	turn the other cheek¶
¶			

The transcript fiche (page 2)

Chapter G.2 Cohort tables and participants' categorisations

G.2.1 Categorisation structure and characteristics

Structure	Explanation
Geography (spatial comparison)	Area of country: Plateau State or Adamawa State Relevance: At the time the research was planned, Adamawa, an area of similar climatic nature, was largely at peace. Given that it, like Plateau is multi-ethnic and similarly split between Muslims and Christians, made it a comparative entity. The fact that the religious divides runs transversal to ethnic boundaries contrasts with the general congruence of religion and ethnicity in Plateau, offered the interesting perspective to study the effect and possibly derive insights into ethic-religious identities.
Environment (environmental comparison)	Living environment: urban or rural Relevance: The underlying assumption here is that rural populations will gravitate more strongly to socially conservative positions, and that the influence of “international culture” will be considerably smaller.
Religion (interreligious comparison)	Religious allegiance is Muslim or Christian Relevance: All research groups other than the Hausa-Fulani are Christian. Comparative interviews across the religious divide in the same urban area should permit a comparison of attitudes at a particular point in time.
Age group (generational comparison)	Individuals between 20 – 30 or above 50 years of age Relevance: The underlying assumption is that seniors hold more conservative views than juniors. By keeping their narratives apart through separate contact sessions, important attitude shifts between generations might become identifiable.
Setting (situational comparison)	Individual/coupled interview or focus group setting Relevance: It is assumed that people will respond differently when interviewed alone opposed to when speaking as a focus group member. An interview might be more intimidating for the interviewee if badly managed, but a focus group participant might also feel bridled by the perceived norms of the group.

Appendices

Timing (temporal comparison)	<p>Attitude-shift over a period of 6 – 9 months calibrated against current events</p> <p>Reason for choice: A comparison of attitudes over a certain time period may indicate trends, and depending on the nature of utterances, these might be linkable to certain developments. It is however normally necessary to speak to the same respondents on both occasions, something which is impaired by the anonymity provisions of the research. (It did however become possible, as one cohort proactively made their contact details available and explicitly requested reinterviewing)</p>
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G.2.2 Applicability of each categorisation by cohort population

	Urban	Rural	Focus Group	Inter-view	Young	Senior	Aug-Oct 2011	Jun-Jul 2012
Core cohort population								
Berom	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Tarok		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Peripheral cohort population								
Kamwe	x		x	x	x	x	x	
Fali		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Hausa	x		x	x	x	x		x

Chapter G.3 Log of major events during fieldwork**G.3.1 First field trip:**

Date	Activity	Comments
24th August	Travel Edinburgh-Abuja	
25th August	Travel Abuja-Jos/Bukuru	
26th August	Beginning of training	Berom/Tarok research assistance
28th August	Contact sessions at COCIN Be1 in Bukuru	BeU1S-J/F
29th August	Continued training	Berom/Tarok research assistance
30th August	Contact sessions at COCIN Be1 in Bukuru	BeU2S-J/F; BeU2Y-J1/F1; BeU2Y-J2/F2
31st August	Beginning of evaluations	transcription
2nd September	Travel to Langtang	
3rd September	Contact sessions at COCIN Ta1 near Wase	TaR1S-J/F; TaR1Y-J/F
4th September	Contact sessions at COCIN Ta2 near Wase	TaR1S-J/F; TaR1Y-J/F
4th September	Return to Jos/Bukuru	
7th September	Tavel to Adamawa via 1 night in Garkida	
8th September	Beginning of training	Kamwe/Fali research assistance
9th September	Beginning of evaluations, more training	transcription
11th September	Contact sessions at EYN Ka in Michika	KaUS-J/F; KaUY-J/F
15th September	Contact sessions at EYN Fa in Kirea	FaRY-J/F
18th September	Contact sessions at EYN Fa in Kirea	FaRS-J/F
21st September	Return to Jos/Bukuru	

Appendices

22nd September	Supervision of evaluations	transcription & translation
28th September	Completion of transcription	
30th September	Return to Edinburgh	via Abuja, Switzerland

G.3.2 Second field trip:

Date	Activity	Comments
14/15th June	Travel Geneva-Abuja	
15th June	Abuja-Jos/Bukuru	
16th June	Start of transscript/translation reviews	Berom/Tarok/Kamwe research assistance
18th June	Establishment of contact with Dept Religious Studies University of Jos	BeU1S-J/F
19th- 21st June	Training of research assistants	Hausa research assistance
22nd June	Contact sessions at Suni and Sufi mosques Ha1 and Ha2, Jos North (JJN)	HaUS1-F; HaUSY1-J/F: HaUSY2-F
23rd June	Contact sessions at Sufi mosque Ha3, JJN	HaUSY3-J/F
24th June	Contact sessions at Suni mosque Ha4, JJN	HaUSY3-J/F
24th June	Contact sessions at COCIN Be2 in Bukuru	BeUY2plus-F/J1/J2
25th June	Beginning of Hausa transcriptions	
29th June	Completion of Hausa transcriptions	
30th June	Completion of transcription/translation reviews	
1st/2nd July	Return to Geneva	via Abuja

Chapter G.4 Sample metrics and aberrations from original intentions

G.4.1 The first field visit

Cohort recruitment generally went smoothly and respondents participated with a high degree of trust. In most cases, volunteers were recruited through an appeal during Sunday service, and a random selection from the appropriate age groups was made from those convening at the end of the service. The interviews and focus groups were held either immediately or at a later date. In some cases, due to social dynamics it was thought best to include two people in interviews instead of one, and to include five in preference to four in a focus group (sending a single volunteer away, however selected, might, given the group dynamics, have resulted in strong negative feelings). Similarly, in one case seven youths appeared for two focus group sessions, meaning that one focus group had to be reduced to three in number, since constituting a single focus group of seven would have been unmanageable.

As planned, focus groups were moderated by a research assistant who was a member of the same language group. Interviews I conducted myself, but with *in situ* oral translation. In the case of the (urban) Berom and the very small language group of the (rural) Fali-Kirya, the preferred languages of their youth cohorts emerged as English and Hausa respectively, exhibiting a loss of their ethnic mother-tongue in favour of a local *lingua franca*. This made interviewing easier from the point of view of the researcher. Although it can be assumed that the Berom youth would have been equally capable of communicating proficiently in Hausa, they preferred English, as they said off the record, to emphasise their non-Hausaness.

Recordings were made using using digital stereo recording devices, i.e. a Zoom H2 for focus groups and three Tascam DR-03 for interviews. Transcription was done by hand using the three digital recording devices (Tascam DR-03). Although transcription was completed by the end of September, much of the translation work had to be carried out by proxy in the course of October. The remainder was sent to Europe in mid-November.

Translation and transcription was predominantly performed with people with theological and bible-translation training. Accordingly, translators were familiar both with difficulties of translation and much of the vocabulary discussed. *In situ* translations were performed by the research

assistants, who subsequently transcribed their own interviews and focus group sessions, while written translation of the transcription was carried out by another research assistant as a matter of policy. Only in the case of Fali-Kirya was this not possible, since the language has never received any official written form. The only efforts undertaken in this direction, and what made the exercise possible in the first place, are those of one of the Research Assistants who has been compiling a dictionary over the previous few years.

G.4.2 The second field visit

During the second field visit, the metrics of the contact sessions were anything other than perfect. However, given that the top priority of the second field visit was to tidy up the data collected during the first visit, and that the security situation was very tense, expectations were generally low. Measured against this background, the achieved data collection provided every reason for satisfaction. Unfortunately, not all original respondents were present in the follow-up contact sessions with the Berom youth, meaning that a single focus group had to be formed (albeit one of very high quality). Meanwhile, data collection from Hausa respondents suffered from situations which could not be sufficiently guided by the researcher due to his physical absence. This resulted in an odd number of focus group sessions being conducted and in one interview failing. The contact sessions were of varying length, and respondents were not challenged to the degree that they might have been. Imams meddled with the composition of the focus groups, and in some instances, junior and senior respondents were mixed. The results are still highly interesting, and useful, but have to be taken with some caution for the reasons mentioned.

G.4.3 Table of planned and realised cohort sessions

The following table provides an overview of how the cohorts were constituted.

Appendices

Cohort categories	Planned	Realised	
Berom (Plateau–urban)	4 focus groups (4 – 6 people) 4 interviews (each 1 person) Berom	4 focus groups (4, 4, 4, 3 people) 4 interviews (each 1, 1, 1, 2 person) Berom (seniors), English (youth)	First field visit
Fali (Adamawa – rural)	4 focus groups (4 – 6 people) 4 interviews (each 1 person) Fali-Kirya	2 focus groups (each four people) 2 interviews (2, 1 people) Fali-Kirya (seniors), Hausa (youth)	
Kamwe (Adamawa – urban)	4 focus groups (4 – 6 people) 4 interviews (each 1 person) Kamwe	2 focus groups (4, 5 people) 2 interviews (2, 1 people) Kamwe	
Tarok (Plateau – rural)	4 focus groups (4 – 6 people) 4 interviews (each 1 person) Tarok	4 focus groups (4 people each) 4 interviews (4 people) Tarok	
Berom (Plateau–urban)	2 focus groups (4, 3) people) 2 interviews (each 1 person) English (youth)	1 focus group (5 people) 2 interviews (each 1 person) English (youth)	Second field visit
Hausa (Plateau – urban)	4 focus groups (4 – 6 people) 4 interviews (each 1 person) Hausa	5 focus groups (2, 1, 1, 1) 3 interviews (1, 0, 1, 1) Hausa Age groups sometimes mixed	

G.4.4 Summary of methodological problems and their corresponding mitigation strategies

The following table summarises the methodological problems which are either coupled to the research's inherent design or are born out of how data collection unfolded in the field, and provides a response which demonstrates how the problem could either be neglected or mitigated through appropriate measures.

Appendices

Problem / criticism	Defence / mitigation strategy
Going only to the church faithful on Sunday mornings will skew the selection of opinions recorded, making findings non-representative of the whole Christian population.	This criticism is warranted. However, the main concern of the research is to build theory which cannot be achieved if the central concern is statistically representative population samples. Nevertheless, the cohort populations were carefully chosen to respond to the disciplinary focus of the research, namely PTh. The church faithful were chosen primarily because any resulting response within the process of theology is likely to resonate mostly with the church faithful as a formative group of Christian expression (which is anyway a sizeable proportion in Nigeria), rather than those who do not attend church frequently.
Picking only the main denomination in the area represents only a relatively small fraction of the total Christian population.	Given the limited size of the sample which can be taken using the research methods of this survey, there will always be many groups and subgroups left uncovered. Choosing the largest denominations represents an effort to select the most influential denominational group within any given ethnicity, under the assumption that they in many ways will guide the ethos and thinking of smaller groups. The geographical locations of these churches were chosen such in Plateau State that they represent an epicentre of past or current trouble; in the case of Adamawa, they were chosen to represent very typical urban or rural settings.
The cohort constellations have lost their symmetry in the course of field research.	This is the case, but as a result of the realities of the field. When vetting a cohort, there is a trade-off between getting things done and reaching a perfect constellation. A more critical part of the work is gaining and maintaining the trust of the community. The awkward quest for perfect cohort metrics may have endangered this goal and undermined the quality of collected data.
Female representation was not constant across all cohorts.	Measures were taken to ensure female participation in each cohort as they matched the criteria and were willing to partake. Particularly older women appear to have been considerably shyer than their age-group male counterparts. Nevertheless, the measures taken to encourage their participation was

Appendices

	<p>sufficient to ensure that the female voice was clearly present in all Christian cohorts. The situation was unfortunately considerably different amongst the Hausa Muslims, where it would have been virtually impossible to bring men and women into a single focus groups due to the mosque setting and strict segregation of the sexes in sacral areas and indeed in most social settings. This aberration has to be considered in the discussion the texts generated in the course of research.</p>
<p>Selection methods varied depending on the congregation. In some cases respondents were selected directly by the pastor on an ad hoc “drum up” basis, in other cases they were recruited directly from the Sunday morning service. The method should always be the same.</p>	<p>It was not always possible to select according to a fixed method, The notion of research methodologies is poorly understood in recipient communities, and demanding adherence to a strict sampling technique was deemed in some circumstances as something that could be construed as excessively invasive. The logic of the research puts a high premium on trust. Undermining this to impose a particular selection method was thought not to be worth the price as long as the <i>applied</i> selection method promised a reasonably random sample. Nevertheless, hand-picking of respondents by the Pastor or any other church representative was firmly resisted. Accordingly, the research team had to deal with very many different situations. Recruitment methods were selected according to what was most adequate under the circumstances.</p>
<p>Using people from the same ethnicity for focus group moderation can cause a conflict of interest, as they have strong incentives to guide the course of conversation to present their own people in a positive light.</p>	<p>Such incentives do indeed exist. However, the ethnic continuity between moderator and participants clearly offers strong advantages as well. There is a potential for a strong trust basis to be built quickly, and mainly, the conversation can flow more naturally. The fact that translation does not need to take place <i>in situ</i> is a huge additional advantage. Interviews were conducted in a different mode (i.e. with <i>in situ</i> translation) in order to control for this factor and because the conversational flow was estimated to be less crucial in an interview situation.</p>
<p>Translation is always wrought with difficulties. There is the danger that essential nuances will be lost in translation.</p>	<p>Whenever source language and research language differ, translation has to take place at some point. Translation would either have had to be done directly by the respondents,</p>

Appendices

	<p>the research assistants, or the researcher. The research assistants, translating transcripts in an <i>a posteriori</i> evaluation, were considered the strongest possible link between the two language paradigms, and one that can be rechecked if required. Exploring the alternatives, the researcher could not reasonably be expected to acquire the linguistic abilities to carry out the translations himself, and the respondents would have been too burdened to speak their mind naturally if required to communicate in a foreign language.</p>
<p>The quality of some of the transcription and translation work is dubious, and these cannot go unchecked.</p>	<p>This was sometimes a serious concern for some of the content. All transcripts were checked for oral fidelity. Passages which were suspicious were marked. Random checks were made on all the texts. Any parts of the translations which are thematically important or of suspicious quality were included in this scrutinisation process.</p>
<p>Some respondents indicated that they had participated in acts of violence, possibly amounting to crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. Failure to report these to the authorities goes against the ethics guidelines of research of the University of Edinburgh.</p>	<p>The decision not to report such incidents to local authorities is a proportional response to the research situation. The ethics guidelines were drawn up mainly with research within the United Kingdom in mind, where the state is strong enough to take action to protect victims and the rule of law is regarded as sufficient to pursue offenders. A major dimension of the researched conflict is the problem of impunity and the fact that authorities and their members have been privy or even party to the crimes. Reporting acts of crime in this context would not change the situation other than undermine the established trust with the community, and possibly endanger the research assistants.</p>

G.4.5 Summary of field policy observance by all cohorts

The following table presents to what degree the field research policies laid out in (Chapter B.4.3) were in fact observed. Each tick or cross relates to a church/mosque in their order of enumeration.

Policy	Be	Ta	Ka	Fa	Ha
All field research assistants shall speak the language of the ethnic group they will be researching.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓✓
All field research assistants shall undergo specific initiation in focus group moderation, interview assistance and transcription	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓✓
All field assistants work under a written contractual arrangement and are remunerated for their time and expenses.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓✓
Church and participants shall be selected on a voluntary and quasi-random basis. The church shall belong to the largest denomination in its area.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓XX ⁹³⁹
Contact groups shall be researched in two distinct age groups: youths (20 – 30) and seniors (50 and above). Participants shall be explicitly selected according to these criteria.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓XX ⁹⁴⁰
All focus groups shall have both female and male participants.	✓X ⁹⁴¹	✓✓	✓	✓	XXXX ⁹⁴²
Focus group moderation shall ensure that also quieter members of the group are given a voice.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓✓
Interviews should consist of both male and female respondents for each ethnic group.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	XXXX ⁹⁴³
Focus groups shall be conducted by a research	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	XXXX ⁹⁴⁴

⁹³⁹ While there is clear indication that this was the case for the first two mosques (Ha1 and Ha2), it appears that the imams in Ha3 and Ha4 selected the focus group members and participated themselves. Their reasons for doing so are not known.

⁹⁴⁰ In mosques Ha3 and Ha4, the age groups were mixed due to a misapprehension on the side of the research assistants and the member selection by the imams.

⁹⁴¹ Female representation was not possible during the focus group session at Be2 due to the selection of senior volunteers who appeared for the contact sessions.

⁹⁴² It was not possible to impose this in a mosque setting.

⁹⁴³ It was not possible to impose this in a mosque setting.

Appendices

assistant, interviews by the researcher with <i>in-situ</i> translation if necessary. Respondents shall have a choice of languages: English, Hausa or their ethnic vernacular. They can respond in their language of choice.					
Contact sessions shall take place on the “home ground” of the participants.	✓✓	✓✓	x ⁹⁴⁵	✓	✓✓✓✓
All respondents shall tick off an ethnic clearance form. To advance trust and maintain anonymity, a signature is not mandatory.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓✓
Refreshments and an indemnity of ₦500 (£2) shall be offered to each participant.	x✓ ⁹⁴⁶	✓✓	✓	✓	✓✓✓✓
Wherever possible, transcription shall be performed by the focus group moderator or the <i>in-situ</i> translator. The researcher shall transcribe all sections conducted in English.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓	---- ⁹⁴⁷
Translation shall be performed by another research assistant other than he or she who performed the transcription	✓✓	✓x ⁹⁴⁸	✓	x ⁹⁴⁹	✓✓✓✓
Transcriptions and translations shall be subjected to random spot checks and particular checks on key passages.	✓✓	✓✓	✓	✓✓	✓✓✓✓

⁹⁴⁴ The researcher was not present in the mosques for security reasons and reason of trust-building.

⁹⁴⁵ Contact sessions were not conducted on the church premises due to noise levels at K.

⁹⁴⁶ The research team was initially surprised by the participants' wish for contact sessions to take place immediately. They did not have any refreshments on ground at Be1. The participants refused the ₦500-indemnity.

⁹⁴⁷ Not applicable, as the researcher was not present at the mosque.

⁹⁴⁸ At Ta2 the focus group with senior members was not recorded as the research assistant (against regulation) turned it off to cut out a passing motor bike about 4 minutes into the recording and failed to turn it on again successfully.

⁹⁴⁹ At F a focus group conversation was interrupted due to a memory-full error on the recording equipment and was continued only once the memory was freed up.

Chapter G.5 Question catalogue and codes**G.5.1 Table of cue questions**

Cue Questions
<i>Predominantly World-view</i>
W1 What are the causes of death/sickness/accidents?
W2 Tell me about a death which greatly affected you?
W3 What happens to a person who dies?
W4 Why are you here on earth?
W5 Tell me about a place you feel safe
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?
W7 What do you plan in the next five years?
W8 What would you do with one day left to live
W9 Is there such a thing as magic?
<i>Predominantly Identity</i>
I1 Who are you?
I2 What people scare/ make you feel safe you?
I3 What is the most important place to you?
I4 What is a ... ? [Christian/Muslim/Fulani/Tarok/Berom/Hausa/Kamwe/Fali]
I5 Who did the house burnings?
I6 Why should a ... convert to ...? [Muslim/Christian] ... [Christianity/Islam]
I7 Would you marry a ...? [Muslim/Christian]
<i>Predominantly Ethics</i>
E1 Tell me about a person who is a role model or authority
E2 Would you sacrifice you life for anything?
E3 What did you do / where were you in the last crisis?
E4 What would you do if a Muslim were to move in next door?
E5 Is it ever right to kill/attack a ... ? [Muslim/Christian]

Appendices

E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?
E7 What is causing the crisis?

G.5.2 Table of categorical codes

Session type	Flags whether contact session was held in interview or group mode
Focus Group	Contact session is a focus group
Interview	Contact session is an interview

Ethnicity	Indication of ethnicity
Be	Berom
Ta	Tarok
Ka	Kamwe
Fa	Fali
Ha	Hausa

Cohort/ participant	Indication of cohort number and participant letter → unique participant code
1 .. 3 / A .. G	Berom cohorts with participant lettering [E.g. A-2]
4 .. 7 / A .. E	Tarok
8, 9 / A .. F	Kamwe
10, 11 / A .. F	Fali
12 .. 15 / A .. E	Hausa

Age group	Indication of participant age group
S	Senior – aged 50+
Y	Youth – aged 20 - 30

Coding of age group is attached to each participant in an attribute table.

Appendices

G.5.3 Discursive codes

Cohort position	Ascribes social role of the participant in the social group
CP1 Dominant	Participant has a leading role within the group
CP2 Accepted	Participant is respected and accepted in the group
CP3 Independent	Participant is not an in-group member and is prepared to voice dissenting views
CP4 Dominated	Participant voices only very few personal opinions and leaves the lead to others

Coding of cohort position is attached to each participant in an attribute table.

Cue questions	Indication of cue questions [→ 9.1 The main dimensions of ...]
W World-view	Questions designed to primarily understand world-view tenants
I Identity	Questions designed to primarily determine identity traits
E Ethics	Questions designed to primarily mine moral attitudes

Voice dependency	Indication of who is being voiced through the speaker
M Macro-level	Metagroup voice (church or ethnicity)
m Meso-level	Group voice
u Micro-level	Individual voice

Cue dependency	Indication of the degree to which the thematic content is being voiced
P Prompted	theme or expression directly provided by moderator/interviewer
C Conditioned	theme or expression induced by moderator/interviewer
S Spontaneous	theme or expression voiced with no close influence by moderator/interviewer

G.5.4 Core Data Set Thematic codes

C Conflict	Themes pertaining directly to conflict situations
C01 Coercion and oppression	Respondent relates oppressive situations
C02 Conflict causes	Respondent's understanding of conflict causes
C03 Defence-attack	Relevance to defence and attack predicament
C04 Evaluation of atrocities	Respondent's evaluation of violence in general/particular
C05 Evaluation of land conflict / -grab	Pertaining to confiscation of property and land
C06 Impunity	Discussion of crimes not brought to justice
C07 Narrative	Respondent recounts first-hand conflict experience
C08 Participation in atrocities	Respondent discusses his/her participation in violence
C08 Projected violence	Discussion of violence with hypothetical character
C09 Property destruction	Discussion of property destruction
C10 Solution to conflict	Respondent's means to a better future
C12 Violence	Discussion of violence in general

D Attitude features	Themes revealing attitudes, arising from discourse
D01 Action imperative	Compelling reasons for a particular action
D02 Biblical – Holy Land comparisons	Interpretation of conflict with reference to Holy Land
D03 Biblical – other comparisons	Interpretation of conflict with other biblical imagery
D04 Christian apology	Belittlement of Christian violence
D05 Controversy	Respondents are mutually ready to challenge opinions
D06 Courage	Respondent exhibits courageous behaviour

Appendices

D07 Ethnic-cleansing / -displacement / -hatred	Respondent vindicates out-group eradication
D08 Ethnic-religious equivalence or comparison	Where religious adherence gains ethnic connotations
D09 Ethnocentricity	Where tribal belonging gains supreme importance
D10 Eschatology	Reference to eschatological interpret. of events
D11 Fatalism	Reference to fatalistic attitude of respondent
D12 Henotheism	Where God gains henotheistic overtones
D13 Livestock – game imagery	Use of livestock or hunting imagery in conjunction with violence
D14 Orthodoxious piety	Expression of hollow-sounding religious platitudes
D15 “Religiocentricity”	Where religious belonging gains supreme importance
D16 Religious relativism	Validity attributed to non-Christian belief systems
D17 Repentance and forgiveness	Respondent's spiritual interpretation of events' appeal

E Existential experience and perceptions	Research-relevant issues with which respondents grapple
E01 Cause of death, sickness or injury	Explanations of death, sickness or injury
E02 Devil/evil	Reference to the devil or to evil forces
E03 Emotional responses	Any description of emotions
E04 Evaluation of intercommunal coexistence	Respondent's take on relationships to other groups
E05 Future predictions	How respondent see the future
E06 Imperative to do good works	Reasons for morally good actions
E07 Imperative to preach gospel	Reasons for spreading Christianity
E08 Intracommunal relationships	Respondent's take on relationships within own group

Appendices

E09 Life plans/meaning/future	Essentially how they intend to use their future
E10 Magic	Reference to magic
E11 Materialism/mechanical perceptions	Non-spiritual world understanding
E12 Moral affliction	Respondent exhibits a moral dilemma
E13 Relationship to other ethnicities	Standing and experience of other ethnicities
E14 Nature of death	What happens after death and what it means
E15 Self-image	Utterances which exhibit self-understanding and identity
E06 Traditional religions	Reference to traditional religions

M Muslims and Islam	Understanding of who Muslims are and what they believe
M01 Behaviour towards Muslims (prescriptive)	Prescriptive description of how to interact with Muslims
M02 Differences Muslim-Christian differences	Essential Muslims and Christians otherness
M03 Experience of Muslims (descriptive)	Descriptive recount of their experiences
M04 Reference to Izala's sword logo	Indication of Islamic extremist and militant traits
M05 Qu'ran	Reference to the Qu'ran
M06 Moĥammed	Reference to Mohammed
M07 Muslim goals	What respondents' think Muslims actually want
M08 Nature and behaviour of Hausa/Fulani	Description of what Hausas and Fulanis are
M09 Nature and behaviour of Muslims	An understanding of who Muslims are / what they want
M10 Nature of Boko Haram	An understanding of who BH are / what they want

Appendices

P Power relationships	Description of gradients of influence in various areas
P01 Christian obedience	Christian attitudes to power structures
P02 Authority structures	Social authority structures governing respondents' lives
P03 Nigerian politics	Influence of national politics on events
P04 Group exclusion	Reference to expulsion of certain elements from groups
P05 Media perceptions	How the media perceive and manipulate events

T Transcendental	Understanding of matters of God and heaven
T01 Bible – Word of God	Reference to the Bible or “Word of God”
T02 God as agent	How God influences life and death
T03 Jesus	Reference to Jesus-Christ
T04 Knowledge of God	Respondents' epistemology concerning God and heaven
T05 Nature of God	Characterisation of who God is
T05 Prayer	Reference to prayer and its functions
T07 Relationship with God	How respondents' relate to God

U Universals	Qualities such as attitudes, emotions, values
U01 Doubt	Respondents' expression of doubt
U02 Freedom	Reference to freedom
U03 Grief, pain, fear	Expression of negative emotions
U04 Judgement	How life and death will deal with people's character and behaviour
U05 Lies	Reference to mendacious behaviour
U06 Love	Expression and reference to love

Appendices

U07 Peace - trouble	Reference or characterisation of peace and strife
U08 Pleasure	Reference to the good things in life
U09 Reconciliation	Reference to what leads to peace
U10 Refuge and succour	Respondents' sources of safety and consolation
U11 Revenge	Reference to deeds or feelings of revenge
U12 Sacrifice	Reference to action
U13 Security	Reference to what constitutes or precipitates physical safety
U14 Sin	Reference to a sin or description of sinful behaviour
U15 Truth and honesty	Reference to deeds or attitudes which are truthful and honest
U16 Virtue – vice	Respondents' definitions of virtue or vice

G.5.5 Peripheral Data Set Thematic codes

C Conflict	Themes pertaining directly to conflict situations
C51 Drivers of conflict	Particular conditions, attitudes or behaviours which provoke conflict
C52 Drivers of peace	Particular conditions, attitudes or behaviours which foster peace
C52 Land issues	Recourse to land as an important factor in life, community or conflict

D Attitude features	Themes revealing attitudes, arising from discourse
D51 View of “The Other” - Christian	Christians' definitions of those in an outgroup
D52 View of “The Other” - Muslim	Muslims' definitions of those in an outgroup
D53 Self-understanding Christian	How Christians think of themselves

Appendices

D54 Self-understanding Muslim	How Muslims think of themselves
D55 Self-understanding ethnocentricity	- Indication of an ethnic self-understanding
D56 Self-understanding religiocentricity	- Indication of a religious self-understanding
D57 Tribal versus religious identity	Utterance where both tribal and religious identity features come to the fore

E Existential experience and perceptions	Research-relevant issues with which respondents grapple
E51 Greatest fear or threat	Reference to what respondents think life's greatest threats are
E52 Moral attitudes – in conflict	Reference to respondents' judgement of right and wrong in general terms
E53 Moral attitudes – outside conflict	Reference to respondents' judgement of right and wrong in conflict situations
E54 Moral attitudes cross-religious marriage and family	Reference to moral judgements towards interaction with those other faiths particularly pertaining to family relationships
E55 Why cross-over	Reasons for converting to or from a religion

T Transcendental	Understanding of matters of God and heaven
T51 God's nature and agency	Perception of God's character and action
T52 Use of sacred imagery	Reference to motifs in sacred texts or religious symbols
T53 Influence on conflict and communal relationships	Utterance about things or actions which influence how conflict is caused or how people live together
T54 Spiritual understanding of the world	Reference to how the spiritual world influences the seen world
T55 Eschatological expectations	Utterances with explicit eschatological content
T56 Traces of traditional religions	Indication of traditional religion taking influence on world-views

Appendices

U Universals	
U51 Value categories – love-trust-honour etc.	Reference to communally held values
U52 Value categories – drivers for moral behaviour	Reference to communally held values which are explicitly driving behaviour rather than sentiment

Chapter G.6 Transcript metrics**G.6.1 Transcript summaries**

The following two tables summarise the meta-parameters of the various recorded contact sessions.

G.6.1.1 Table of core contact sessions

The following table provides a summary of all contact sessions and major meta data features. In total, more than 13 hours of conversation and 100,000 words were recorded. Females account for about 1/3 of all respondents.

Cohort	Name	Type	Ethn.	Male	Female	Time	Words	Mod/Tran	Language
1	BeU1S-F	senior	Berom	2	2	34:50	4200	M1/T3	Be
1	BeU1S-J	senior	Berom	2	0	1:00:40	9400	M2	Be
2	BeU2S-F	senior	Berom	4	0	44:09	6000	M2	Be
2	BeU2S-J	senior	Berom	0	1	58:25	8100	M1/T3	Be
3	BeU2Y-F1	youth	Berom	3	1	45:24	7000	M3	Be/En
3	BeU2Y-F2	youth	Berom	2	1	47:54	6800	M3	En
3	BeU2Y-J1	youth	Berom	0	1	46:52	6800	M1	En
3	BeU2Y-J2	youth	Berom	1	0	49:52	9000	M1	En

Appendices

3	BeU2Yplus-F	youth	Berom	4	1	1:02:59	11000	M1	En
3	BeU2Yplus-J1	youth	Berom	1	0	34:31	5100	M1	En
3	BeU2Yplus-J2	youth	Berom	0	1	12:18	1900	M1	En
4	TaR1S-F	senior	Tarok	3	1	45:58	6200		Ta
4	TaR1S-J	senior	Tarok	1	0	43:52	6900		Ta
5	TaR2S-F	senior	Tarok	2	2	Recording failure			Ta
5	TaR2S-J	senior	Tarok	0	1	43:28	6300		Ta
6	TaR1Y-F	youth	Tarok	3	1	39:53	5800		Ta
6	TaR1Y-J	youth	Tarok	0	1	39:00	5800		Ta
7	TaR2Y-F	youth	Tarok	2	2	37:35	4300		Ta
7	TaR2Y-J	youth	Tarok	0	1	45:39	6900		Ta
Totals				30	17	13:13:19	117500		

G.6.1.2 Table of peripheral contact sessions

The following table provides a summary of all contact sessions and major meta data features. In total, more than 10 hours of conversation and 85,000 words were recorded. Females account for about 1/4 of all respondents, and about half of all non-Muslims surveyed.

Appendices

Cohort	Name	Type	Ethn.	Male	Female	Time	Words	Mod/Tran	Language
8	KaUS-F	senior	Kamwe	2	3	51:25	7900	M6	Ka
8	KaUS-J	senior	Kamwe	1	0	57:09	7400	M1/T6	Ka
9	KaUY-F	youth	Kamwe	2	2	59:12	8800	M8	Ka
9	KaUY-J	youth	Kamwe	1	1	57:30	8700	M1/T7	Ka
10	FaRS-J	senior	Fali	0	1	51:25	4470	M1/T10	Fa
11	FaRY-F	youth	Fali	1	1	40:51	5900	M9	Ha
11	FaRY-J	youth	Fali	2	2	24:00	3300	M1/T10	Ha
12	HaU1S-F	senior	Hausa	4	0	52:02	8000	M12	Ha
13	HaU1Y-F	youth	Hausa	4	0	28:02	4400	M11	Ha
13	HaU1Y-J	youth	Hausa	1	0	17:39	3100	M11	Ha
14	HaU2Y-F	youth	Hausa	4	0	38:30	6500	M11	Ha
15	HaU3SY-FJ	se/yo	Hausa	5	0	48:04	8300	M14/M13	Ha
16	HaU4SY-FJ	se/yo	Hausa	5	0	50:00	9100	M14/M13	Ha
Totals				32	10	9:35:49	85870		

Appendices

G.6.2 The application of cue questions

G.6.2.1 Peripheral contact sessions

Berom Senior cue questions				
Cue question	BeU1S-F	BeU1S-J	BeU2S-F	BeU2S-J
W1 What are the causes of death/sickness/accidents?	0	0	1	0
W2 Tell me about a death which greatly affected you?	1	0	1	1
W3 What happens to a person who dies?	0	0	1	1
W5 Tell me about a place you feel safe	0	0	1	1
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?	1	0	1	1
W8 What would you do with one day left to live?	1	0	1	0
I1 Who are you?	0	1	0	0
I2 What people or places scare you / make you feel safe?	1	1	0	1
I3 What is the most important place to you?	0	0	1	0
I4 What is a Christian/Muslim/Fulani/Berom/Hausa?	0	0	0	1
I5 Who did the house burnings?	1	1	0	1
E1 Tell me about a person who is a role model or authority	1	0	1	0

Appendices

E3 What did you do / where were you in the last crisis?	1	0	1	0
E4 What would you do if a Muslim were to move next door?	1	1	0	1
E5 Is it ever right to kill / attack a Muslim?	1	1	0	1
E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?	0	1	1	1
E7 What is causing the crisis?	0	1	0	0

Berom Youth cue questions							
Cue question	BeU2YF1	BeU2YF2	BeU2YJ1	BeU2YJ	BeU2Yplus-F	BeU2Yplus-J1	BeU2Yplus-J2
W1 death/sickness	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
W3 person who dies	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
W4 why on earth	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
W5 place you feel safe	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
W6 important thing	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
W7 next 5 years?	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
W8 one day left to live	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
W9 magic	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
I1 Who are you	0	1	0	1	0	1	0

Appendices

I2 people or place	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
I4 Chr./Mu./Fu./Be./Ha.	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
I6 convert to Christianity	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
I7 marry a Muslim	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
I8 relationship to Mu.	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
E1 role model or authority	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
E2 sacrifice your life	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
E3 last crisis?	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
E4 Muslim next door	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
E5 kill/attack Muslim	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
E6 resolved the crisis	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
E7 causing the crisis	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

Appendices

Tarok Senior cue questions			
Cue question	TaR1S-F	TaR1S-J	TaR2S-J
W1 What are the causes of death/sickness/accidents?	1	1	1
W3 What happens to a person who dies?	1	0	0
W4 Why are you here on earth?	1	0	1
W5 Tell me about a place you feel safe	0	0	1
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?	1	1	0
W8 What would you do with one day left to live?	1	0	1
I1 Who are you?	0	0	1
I2 What people or places scare you / make you feel safe?	1	0	0
I4 What is a Christian/Muslim/Fulani/Tarok?	0	1	0
I7 Would you marry a Muslim?	0	0	1
I8 What is your relationship to Muslims?	0	0	1
E3 What did you do / where were you in the last crisis?	1	1	1
E4 What would you do if a Muslim were to move next door?	0	0	1
E5 Is it ever right to kill / attack a Muslim?	1	0	1
E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?	0	0	1

Appendices

Tarok Youths cue questions				
Cue question	TaR1Y-F	TaR1Y-J	TaR1Y-F	TaR1Y-J
W1 What are the causes of death/sickness/accidents?	1	0	1	0
W2 Tell me about a death which greatly affected you?	0	0	0	1
W4 Why are you here on earth?	1	0	0	0
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?	0	1	1	1
W7 What do you plan in the next 5 years?	1	1	1	1
W8 What would you do with one day left to live?	1	1	1	0
W9 Is there such a thing as magic?	0	1	0	0
I2 What people or places scare you / make you feel safe?	1	1	1	0
I4 What is a Christian/Muslim/Fulani/Tarok?	0	1	1	1
I7 Would you marry a Muslim?	0	0	0	1
I8 What is your relationship to Muslims?	0	1	1	0
E1 Tell me about a person who is a role model or authority	0	1	1	0
E2 Would you sacrifice your life for anything?	1	0	1	0
E3 What did you do / where were you in the last crisis?	1	1	0	1
E4 What would you do if a Muslim were to move next door?	1	1	1	0

Appendices

E5 Is it ever right to kill / attack a Muslim?	1	1	1	1
E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?	1	0	0	1

G.6.2.2 *Peripheral contact sessions*

Kamwe cue questions				
Cue question	KaUS-F	KaUS-J	KaUY-F	KaUY-J
W1 What are the causes of death/sickness/accidents?	0	1	0	0
W2 Tell me about a death which greatly affected you?	0	1	0	0
W3 What happens to a person who dies?	1	0	0	0
W4 Why are you here on earth?	0	0	0	0
W5 Tell me about a place you feel safe	0	1	1	1
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?	1	1	1	1
W7 What do you plan in the next 5 years?	1	0	0	1
W8 What would you do with one day left to live?	1	0	1	1
W9 Is there such a thing as magic?	0	0	0	0
I1 Who are you?	1	0	0	0
I2 What people or places scare you / make you feel safe?	0	0	0	0

Appendices

I3 What is the most important place to you?	0	0	0	0
I4 What is a Muslim?	1	1	0	0
I5 Who did the house burnings?	0	0	0	0
I6 Why should a Muslim convert to Christianity?	0	0	0	1
I7 Would you marry a Muslim?	0	1	1	1
E1 Tell me about a person who is a role model or authority	0	0	1	0
E2 Would you sacrifice you life for anything?	0	0	0	0
E3 What did you do / where were you in the last crisis?	0	0	0	0
E4 What would you do if a Muslim were to move in next door?	1	1	0	0
E5 Is it ever right to kill / attack a Muslim?	1	0	0	1
E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?	0	1	0	1
E7 What is causing the crisis?	0	1	0	0

Fali cue questions			
Cue question	FaRY-F	FaRY-J	FaRS-J
W1 What are the causes of death/sickness/accidents?	0	1	1
W2 Tell me about a death which greatly affected you?	0	0	1

Appendices

W3 What happens to a person who dies?	0	0	1
W4 Why are you here on earth?	1	1	0
W5 Tell me about a place you feel safe	0	1	0
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?	1	1	1
W8 What would you do with one day left to live?	0	0	1
I2 What people or places scare you / make you feel safe?	1	1	1
I4 What is a Christian/Muslim/Fali?	1	1	1
I5 Who did the house burnings?	1	0	0
I7 Would you marry a Muslim?	0	1	1
E1 Tell me about a person who is a role model or authority	0	1	0
E4 What would you do if a Muslim were to move in next door?	0	1	0
E5 Is it ever right to kill / attack a Muslim?	1	1	0
E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?	0	0	1

Appendices

Hausa cue questions						
Cue question	Ha-U1Y-F	Ha-U1Y-J	Ha-U2Y-F	HaU1S-F	HaU3SY-FJ	HaU4SY-FJ
W5 Tell me about a place you feel safe					1	1
W6 What is the most important thing in your life?	1	1		1	1	1
I1 Who are you?	1	1	1			
I2 What people or places scare you / make you feel safe?	1	1	1	1		1
I4 What is a Christian/Muslim/Hausa?	1	1	1			
I6 Why should a Christian convert to Islam?		1	1	1	1	
I7 Would you marry a Christian?	1	1		1	1	1
E3 What did you do / where were you in the last crisis?		1	1		1	1
E5 Is it ever right to kill / attack a Christian?	1	1	1	1	1	1
E6 What should be done to resolve the crisis?	1		1		1	1
E7 What is causing the crisis?	1			1		1

G.6.3 Synthesis of salient topics and coding/keywords (Core Data Set)

The following tables present a comprehensive list of topical codes. Naturally each code may cover the discussions of topics and concepts which are of overlapping relevance, i.e. they can relate to one or more of the three fields of world-view, identity and ethics. The three columns “W” (world-view), “I” (identity) and “E” (ethics) provide a rating on a Likert scale of 1 – 5 indicating the topic's relevance to one of these three categories. In total, 7 points per question have been distributed across columns “W”, “I and “E” to indicate notionally the relevance of each question to the actual field, meaning that a “5” can be offset only by a “1” in each of the other columns.

G.6.3.1 Core Data Set coding structure

Topical codes	W	I	E
C - Conflict experience			
C01 Defence / attack	1	2	4
C02 Participation in atrocities	2	1	4
C03 Evaluation of atrocities	3	1	3
C04 Evaluation of land conflict/grab	1	4	2
C05 Conflict origins	3	3	1
C06 Narrative	--	--	--
C07 Violence	--	--	-
D - Discourse features			
D01 Eschatology	5	1	1
D02 Fatalism	5	1	1
D03 Repentence	5	1	1
D04 Christian apology	4	2	1
D05 Religioius relativism	4	2	1
D06 Traditional religion	4	2	1

Appendices

D07 Livestock/game imagery	4	1	2
D08 Biblical/holy land comparisons	3	3	1
D09 Ethnic-religious equivalence	3	3	1
D10 Henotheism	3	3	1
D11 Causes of sin	3	1	3
D12 Ethnocentricity	1	5	1
D13 Ethnic cleansing/hatred	1	4	2
D14 Impunity	1	2	4
E - Existential experience			
E01 Cause of death	5	1	1
E02 Nature of death	5	1	1
E03 Life plans/meaning/future perspectives	4	2	1
E04 Traditional religions	4	2	1
E05 Devil/evil	4	1	2
E06 Magic	4	1	2
E07 Imperative to do good works	3	1	3
E08 Imperative to preach gospel	3	1	3
E09 Other ethnicities	2	4	1
E10 Self-image	2	4	1
E11 Evaluation of co-existence	2	1	4
E12 Emotional responses	--	--	--
G - God			
G01 Knowledge of God	5	1	1
G02 Jesus	4	2	2
G03 Bible/Word of God	4	2	1
G04 Nature of God	4	2	1
G05 Prayer	4	2	1

Appendices

G06 God as agent	3	2	2
G07 Relationship with God	2	4	1
M - Muslims & Islam			
M01 Differences Muslim-Christian	2	4	1
M02 Izala/sword logo	2	4	1
M03 nature of Hausa/Fulani	2	4	1
M04 Muslim goals	3	3	1
M05 Nature of Boko Haram	3	3	1
M06 Nature of Muslims	3	3	1
M07 Experience of Muslims	2	3	2
M08 Nature of Mohammed	4	2	1
P - Power relationships			
P01 Christian obedience	2	1	4
P02 Authority structures	--	--	--
P03 Conversion pressure	--	--	--
P04 Nigerian politics	--	--	--
U - Universals			
U01 Doubt	5	1	1
U02 Grief	5	1	1
U03 Victimhood	5	1	1
U04 Judgement	4	1	2
U05 freedom	4	2	1
U06 Nature of peace	4	2	1
U07 Refuge	4	2	1
U08 Security	4	2	1
U09 Revenge	2	1	4
U10 Sin	2	1	4

Appendices

U11 Truth/honesty	2	1	4
U12 Virtue	2	1	4

G.6.3.2 Peripheral Data Set coding structure

Topical codes	W	I	E
C Conflict			
C51 Drivers of conflict	3	3	2
C52 Drivers of peace	3	3	2
C52 Land issues	2	4	1
D Attitude features			
D51 View of “The Other” - Christian	2	4	1
D52 View of “The Other” - Muslim	2	4	1
D53 Self-understanding Christian	1	5	1
D54 Self-understanding Muslim	1	5	1
D55 Self-understanding - ethnocentricity	2	4	1
D56 Self-understanding - religicentricity	2	4	1
D57 Tribal versus religious identity	2	4	1
E Existential experience and perceptions			
E51 Greatest fear or threat	4	2	1
E52 Moral attitudes – in conflict	2	2	3
E53 Moral attitudes – outside conflict	1	1	5
E54 Moral attitudes cross-religious marriage and family	1	4	2
E55 Why cross-over	3	3	1
T Transcendental			
T51 God's nature and agency	4	2	1
T52 Use of sacred imagery	3	3	1

Appendices

T53 Influence on conflict and communal relationships	2	3	2
T54 Spiritual understanding of the world	5	1	1
T55 Eschatological expectations	5	1	1
T56 traces of traditional religions	3	2	2
U Universals			
U51 Value categories – love-trust-honour etc.	2	1	4
U52 Value categories – drivers for moral behaviour	2	1	4

Chapter G.7 K. Resource repository

This resource repository is a comprehensive collection of all salient quotes ordered by cohort. The respondent quotations presented in under Section C are drawn from this repository. However, unlike those, the utterances in the main repository are complemented with intonation features. These features follow standard transcript punctuation standards and can be presented as follow⁹⁵⁰:

punctuation	example	explanation
period .	I'm coming.	Falling tone in the preceding element
question ?	Are you coming?	Rising tone in the preceding element
exclamation !	Come!	Ending to an emphatic utterance
comma ,	Would you, please, come, thank you.	Short hiatus which indicates a continuing intonation
MAJESCULE	COME NOW	Utterance with extreme emphasis and volume
°degrees signs°	°please come°	Utterance is quieter than surrounding discourse
“quotation marks”	I said, “come”	Utterance spoken in a third voice
:double colon:	come :now:	Spoken with expression and gravity
<inward angle brackets>	<come now>	Utterance spoken more slowly than surrounding discourse and potentially with some emphasis
>outward angle brackets<	>I told you to come<	Utterance spoken more quickly than surrounding discourse and possibly evasively
[square brackets]	[you must] come now	Indication of overlapping speech
[[double square brackets]]	[[this is a usual instruction]]	A clarifying comment added by text editor
single dash -	co- come now	A sudden interruption, normally a glottal stop which might end the utterance or

⁹⁵⁰ Conventions sourced from the University of Saarland, http://www.uni-saarland.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Professoren/fr43_Engling/downloads/trans_conv.pdf, last accessed 26/10/2014

Appendices

		indicate a stutter.
/slash/	/will u plis kum/	A phonetic transcription (professionally used with the phonetic alphabet)
colon :	come no:w	Prolongation of the syllable, potentially adding emphasis
empty parentheses ()	()	An utterance which could not be interpreted
(parentheses with text)	(will you come)	An interpreted utterance which is uncertain
((double parentheses))	((shrieks))	A quality of the utterance, such as a laugh, cough, or whisper
{swished bracket}	{shakes fist}	Indication of non-verbal behaviour
..	Will you .. please come	A brief pause of half a second or less
...	I said ... COME	A brief pause of between half and one second
(number)	(2.0)	Pause in speech indicated in seconds
H	H, I'm telling you to come for the last time!	Audible and emphatic exhalation
.h	.h ((sighs))	An unexpressed sigh
.t	.t, would you come?	Alveolar suction click
.k	.k, this is bad	Glottal suction click
<u>underscored</u>	<u>It's bad!</u>	Utterance in a language (usually English) different to rest of transcript

G.7.1 Berom senior cohort sources

G.7.1.1 Evidence related primarily to world-views

The respondents' **self-understanding** as to why they exist and what their **purpose on earth** is:

Ref-#1

D-2(m,F): "I see that we are like visitors on the earth." [E09-Cu] [E15-Cu]

Appendices

Themes with a **high priority** in life.

The following four utterances are made in short sequence:

Ref-#2

A-1(m,F): “The thing that is important to me in this world, [M: eh] is God my Creator.” [T05-Sm]

Ref-#3

C-1(m,F): “What is precious to me, in my life, [M: eh] is God creating me a Berom person. [M: ok] With the land I have been given to live in peace in it, and to serve Him.” [T05-Sm][C07-Sm][D09-Sm]

Ref-#4

D-1(f,F): “What is important to me [M: um] is God and following God. [M: ok] And worshipping Him. [M: mm] In ways that are right. [M: ok]” [T07-Sm]

Ref-#5

B-1(f,F): “The thing that is most important to me in ... my life in this world, is my God, ... whom I worship, and peaceful existence [M: ok] in my land.” [T07-Cm]

Ref-#6

E-1(m,J): “*The things I desire most are living in peace and good neighbourliness at all times without any headache, that’s what I desire in my relationship.*” [E08-Su][U16-Su]

The other cohort discussed the same matter along similar lines, but with a nuanced difference:

Ref-#7

A-2(m,F): “What is most important to me in my life is knowing Jesus, [M: mm] whom I have come to know more about through His Word, as I have read it. So I do not see anything that is more important to me than that, because I have put my whole self in it.” [D14-Su][T01-Su][T03-Su][T04-Su]

Ref-#8

E-2(f,J): “*It is good for a person to be close to God, ... and the Spirit of God, isn’t it? Or is that not so? [T: It is so] it is good for us to stay close to God, whatever happens to a Christian, he should be a man of truth ... should be, should be a Christian, should be a man of truth in your life, if you are close to God, you will not have any trouble.*” [T07-Su][U16-Su]

On the question of what causes **accidents and illness**

Ref-#9

A-2(m,F): "I think someone has said here, people who live by what the Bible says and serves God wholeheartedly, [M: hmm] and at the end he dies. That is how a person dies, but some people cause death to themselves, so it is important for people to care for themselves. [M: hmm] Some drink and drive recklessly. He won't be the only one to die, he might carry some people in his car and then he can crash into other-other road users. He will cause other people to die. [M: hmm] So, we are human. We cry, those our reverends who died recently. [M: hmm] It was someone who drove into them and all lives were gone. [M: hmm] Lives have gone, people who have been serving God. [M: hmm] Someone does a foolish thing and causes pain." [E01-Cu]

Ref-#10

C-2(m,F): "After a person dies, people are sad, but again remember that we will also die someday, because people should also remember that there is death. [M: hmm] If you do not ponder death, it means you do not fear God." [E13-Su]

Ref-#11

C-2: "We know life belongs to God, and God said for people to keep His commands. [M: hmm] to watch our ways [M: °emm°] so that impurity will not deform us [M: hmm] but people drink illicit drinks which brings harm [M: hmm] it brings harm to them, some people when travelling are involved in a car accident, [M: hmm] he dies because he is drunk and driving carelessly. [M: hmm] This is a way that brings death."

A-2(m,F): "'He will die, but not just him, ="

B-2(m,F): "Together with the family"

A-2(m,F): "=with the wife, they will give birth to a child, and the child will also die. [M: .k.k.k.k] There was a man here in Bukuru, he was asked not to go to a certain place, not to go. [M: hmm] But he was going there, his corpse was found there." [E01-Su]

Ref-#12

D-2(m,F): "Some people are selfish, when not appointed, or they have been promised a permanent secretary, or commissioner, and when he does not get the appointment, [M: hmm, ok] he ends up with a stroke, just like that." [E01-CM]

Ref-#13

B-2(m,F): "There are so many ways. [M: hmm] That people go into which brings death, there are different kinds of illnesses. [M: yes] Some are married, but they are not faithful in their marriages. [M: hmm] They go from one place to the other, and come out sick." [E01-CM]

Ref-#14

D-2(m,F): "If we take a look carefully, during the time of Abacha, before you enter Abacha's house, you will go through gates, three or eight or whatever number, but despite that, we have seen his life, a time came when God took his life." [E01-SU][U10-SU]

Appendices

In discussing an important death which weighed down on the respondents:

Ref-#15

A-1(m,F): "The death that has weighed me down was when my mother died." [E09-Su]

Ref-#16

C-1(m,F): "The death that disturbed me a lot was the death of my brother. [M: ok] He worked as a soldier. [M: ok] When he was called to go to Lagos to prepare for pension retirement, [M: yes] that day OPC was operating. There was rioting in Lagos, and they died on the way. [M: mmh] They were burnt in fire completely." [E09-Su]

Ref-#17

B-1(f,F): "The death that disturbed and weighed me down seriously [M: yes?] is the death of my children in class one, that were killed, because I was headmistress, I gave a school, .. and the school had operated for five years and they went and killed my children." [E09-Su]

Ref-#18

D-1(f,F): "The death that disturbed me and weighed me is the death of my mother who gave birth to me. She died (2.0) a kind of death which did not involve sickness. She was not sick. [M: ok] So I was disturbed." [E09-Su]

Ref-#19

C-2(m,F): "Yes. I can remember a death that affected me seriously. It was my younger brother. [M: ok] He had an accident and died. [M: ok] It affected and disturbed me seriously at that time." [Su-E09]

Ref-#20

D-2(m,F): "Mine was my best friend who died while on NYSC in Ibadan. He fell from a third floor building. [M: hmm] He died instantly and he had taken three bottles of beer [A: mm'], and that was what caused his death." [Su-E09]

Ref-#21

A-2(m,F): "For me it was my brother whom I had sponsored in school. He got a job, he went back to school again and started his master's programme. He had gone back to school one morning, he went out to clean up his car to go for lectures ... [M: hmmm] and () I was called and shown his dead body. [M: hmm] Not up to three months later, or just one or two, I am not sure again, my elder brother, he had a job, we all looked up to him that he will lead us as a family. Everything he did for us and truly he was helpful. [M: hmm] One day, he came back from morning prayers. He was trying to clear out a gutter and that was all. He would have been a commissioner of () here in Plateau State. [M: ok] It affected me seriously." [E09-Su]

Ref-#22

B-2(m,F): "Mine was my own sister. [M: °Hmm°] Yes, she died while I was at work. We all woke up sound, .. healthy, we were all happy, greeting before I left for work. [M: hmm] Before I got to the office, I was called that my sister was sick and had been taken

Appendices

to the hospital. I said I would come and meet with them. I left work to go and see her in hospital. [M: hmm] She was not talking again. [M: hmm] That was how she died. I never had the chance to talk to her. I was really upset because I wanted to ask her about her relationship with Christ. [A/M: hmm] But we never had a chance to talk again, but God knows her heart.” [E09-Su]

Ref-#23

E-2(f,J): *“My daughter died, and I was :greatly: disturbed. I was disturbed to the extent that, even if God had called me, I will not see God, but people encouraged me, they kept praying for me, and I myself kept praying also. So, I saw the Spirit of God working in my life, working in my life, I never even knew that I would be able to do anything again in my life.”*

T-3: *“(k.k)”*

E-2: *“I was greatly disturbed, the death hit me so much, my daughter [[a different daughter]] said to me, “mother don’t you have faith? .. don’t allow the devil to discourage you, in times like this, be encouraged. God said we should praise Him in whatever situation we find ourselves ((claps)), if you die now, you will not go to heaven, God is testing your faith to see.”*

T-3: *“Your daughter that died, where do you think she is now?”*

E-2: *“She is in heaven.”;”Because of the testimonies that people gave, they said she is in heaven apart from testimonies, the Scriptures says that what is bound here on earth, is bound in heaven, and what is loose here on earth, is loose in heaven, and nobody say anything against her, including the husband. ”* [E09-Su]

With **one day left to live:**

Uttered in close sequence to one another:

Ref-#24

B-1(m,F): “If I was told I have just one day to live, I, participant B (2.0) [M: yes] If God permits me, I would plead for one person to ask God for forgiveness and stop doing wrong.” [D14-Sm][E07-Sm]

Ref-#25

A-1(m,F): “If there is only one day for me to live [M: yes?] for me to die, one thing I will ask God for this one day? [M: yes?] To give me strength and His Spirit. [M: ok] To add (3.0) more people, to add to those going to heaven.” [D14-Sm][E07-Sm]

Ref-#26

D-1(f,F): “I would like to pray like the King in the Bible, [M: ok] for God to add more years to this life. [M: ok] To work and serve God well, [M: ok] so I will ask God to add more years to my life.” [D14-Cm][E06-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#27

C-1(m,F): "If I have one day, [M: yes] then I will pray to God to give me people like those of Nehemiah, those who rise to capture this land. [M: ok] That this land will experience peace and important things good for the land. ..." [D02-Cm][D14-Cm]

This passage is the culmination of group/church speak, with each consecutive person losing touch with what they personally mean.

Many aspects in this text point to overzealous piety. Certainly a third-voice element in all participants.

In the second cohort, God remained close to respondents minds:

Ref-#28

C-2(m,F): "I will keep God's law, I will make my ways right to lead me home to Himself." [T07-Sm][U16-Sm]

Ref-#29

A-2(m,F): "Like he said, I will examine to see where I have not pleased God, then I will ask him for forgiveness and wait, ... the day it will be said to me, you have just one day. [M: Hmm] I will prepare myself completely and live holy." [D17-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#30

A-2(m,F): "Ok, they have said it all. There are sins, there are mistakes like he said. Sin by the way we look, and even the Bible said so. [M: yeeh] And on the day of your death, God will help me, so if God does not help me, then you will die and you can do something that is not right." [E13-Cu]

On the soul's prospects after death, respondents uttered the following views:

Ref-#31

A-2(m,F): "For the person who dies, the Bible tell us, the body is dust and the spirit will return to God, and that is when your faith will be judged. If you have worked according to the will of God, you will spend eternity with God, but if you have lived for yourself, you will be sent to hell, no other judgement in the in dark or in the light, and we have been taught, so it is wise for us to be ready for that day. It is a day for God's people." [E13-Su][U04-Su]

Ref-#32

E-2(m,F): "God will judge all liars [T: she said that] judgement is waiting for you." [T02-Su][U04-Su]

Appendices

Moving on to the subject of the **Nature of God**:

Ref-#33

F-1(m,J): *"In our view, we have not become hopeless. [T: mm] (2.0) With God, all things are possible. We are leaving everything in the hands of God, because we know that nothing can overpower him. We know that these that are happening is not within our power, because God knows everything. Whether you are involved or not, God knows everything. In our thoughts and wishes it is that God will make us live in peace as He planned from the beginning."* [Su-T02]

Ref-#34

A-2(m,F): "So if Jesus were here, He knows the way to show His power, but He will not say go ahead and fight. [M: true] Should I go and fight for you? () [M: Hmm] He did not come to take over rulership, you know some of the Israelites rejected Him. [M: Hmm] They did not believe in Jesus, they had made up their mind that He is not a King. [C: Yes] But Joseph is His father, and they watched Him suffer. How can our king be like this, they grumbled. [M: Hmm] But for us who believe in Him, we know that he is the King." [D01-Su][D03-Su][T01-Su][T03-Su][U03-Su]

Ref-#35

C-2(m,F): "God is [((phone is switched off))] our Saviour from all our sins. He is a Father to us all." [T05-CM]

Ref-#36

A-2(m,F): "And The Bible tells us, if you are in fellowship with me. [M: Hmm] I will be with you, and you will walk in the light. [M: Hmm] I will protect you. [M: Hmm] That is why, you see, things happen sometimes. Some people cannot escape. [M: Hmm] That accident that occurred, some people died, some came out unharmed. [M: Hmm] This is not to say God is not interested in some people, but God is the One who knows all. He still protects. [M: Hmm] This is not to say God is not interested in some people, but God is One who knows all. He still protects. [M: Hmm] Even in death, He is still in control." [T01-Cm][T02-Cm][T04-Cm][T07-Cm][U10-Cm]

Ref-#37

C-2(m,F): "He is the Creator. He knows when to take life. [M: ok] And no human being has power of another's life." [P02-Cm][T05-Cm]

And then turning to the **Agency of God**:

For one God is seen as a source of knowledge and understanding:

Ref-#38

D-1(f,F): "God is the person from whom I have learnt."

C-1(m,F): "The person whom I have learnt from is Jesus Christ." [D14-Cm][T07-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#39

A-2(m,F): "And He gave us the Bible, He told us about death and about judgement. He did not hide anything from us." [D14-Sm]

God is the One of whom protection is expected, given the right moral conduct and particularly prayerful intercession:

Ref-#40

B-1(f,F): "We should never go and attack them. [M: ok] If they have victory over us, then we will leave everything to God, but if they come, then God will give us (). But, we are not among those who will say let us go and attack them." [C03-Su][D13-Su][T02-Su]

Ref-#41

C-1(m,F): "I see that the battle is not our own. .. It is God who is fighting the battle. He has the power to remove [[let die]] any person He doesn't want. And to leave some things to set things right. The day will come. () [M: ok] For that, it is a must for us to be wise, we should not be stupid, and go to their communities, we should be wise and not let them into our communities so they don't come close to us." [T02-Cm]

Ref-#42

D-1(f,F): "Unless God Himself will come to our rescue. [M: ok] because sometimes we meet, and sometimes they come with trouble. [M: hmm] And they kill people or cut them with a sword." [C10-SM][T02-SM]

Ref-#43

F-1(m,J): *"We are praying to God that He will touch our hearts. If not, we won't live in peace. That today, it used to be that my mothers and my father and brother, it used to be that we'll go, we'll go, we'll go for war, and finish successfully; we came back home to find here at home no peaceful living because of foreigners that we gave place to occupy. It is a thing of sorrow, truthfully. I don't have a heart, .. a gladdened heart with these things that we and foreigners that we gave places are doing to us; truly, the things are disheartening, except God intervenes in-in-in their hearts, if not, sincerely, we will not experience the joy of being with our brother that we gave places to occupy."* [T02-Su]

God is perceived to work as a controlling and guiding force:

Ref-#44

E-1(m,J): *"For God's Word restrains us. It tell us how to act and react [T: u-u], we should not even curse our brothers and talk less of attempting to shoot your neighbour. [T: u-uh]"* [T01-Cu]

Ref-#45

C-2(m,F): "The one who has control is God. [M: Ok] [P: ((laugh))] He is the God who is the power over man's life." [D14-Pm][T05-Pm]

Appendices

Ref-#46

A-2(m,F): "He has our lives in His hands." [T05-Cm]

Ref-#47

B-2(m,F): "You asked a question, you asked that if Jesus is around and is here [M: yes] when these things are happening, .. [A-2: emm] yes, what will He do? I had wanted to say something but (). [P: ((laugh))] [M: ok] because I was not sure. (3.0) My thought would have been different, but I think that Jesus would have known what to do. [M: ok] His servants, [M: Hmm] those He knows, He called them, they were with Him. [M: Hmm] If He is with His people and disaster wants to come on this people, [M: Hmm] His people can just rest, and they will see what He is going to do. [M: Hmm] We do not know what Jesus is going to do, but He knows." [T03-Su][U10-Su]

God seen as the source of providence and blessing:

Ref-#48

E-1(m,J): "Because of this, here in Dahwol Dangwang and all over Jos, [T: Yes], it is a place where God deposited His Blessings. There are tentelite minerals [[a mineral substance]], there are food products that are formed here, products from the irrigation farming they do are in this Beromland, in Jos here. They cultivate a piece of farmland and there is a bumper harvest, that is why these forehead hitters, Muslims, came from other places. " [E15-SM][T02-SM][U16-SM]

Ref-#49

E-1(m,J): "We do not have hearts that could help one. With all these things happening, we are just relaxed because our enemies are making, we should live in peace, we should live in peace and God's written word itself says we should live in peace in regards to our situation. God is watching and He knows how, e-e-e-e to take care of us in all these things." [T01-Cm][T02-Cm][U07-Cm]

Ref-#50

F-1(m,J): "They wanted to dispossess us of the land but they couldn't, because we are believers [T: u-uh] therefore God did not grant them victory over us. All because we are ... [T: believers] people here who have imbibed God's Word ()." [C07-SM][D12-SM][T02-SM]

Finally, God as the primary source of **refuge**:

Ref-#51

A-1(m,F): "It is God that is my refuge, because He is powerful and the One who watches over me. [M: ok] So God is my refuge." [D14-SM][T05-SM]

Ref-#52

C-2(m,F): "In this world, there is no place to hide, only with God, [A, M: ((laugh))] because in God that is where to find safety. Your life because there is nowhere to hide in this world."

Appendices

A-2: "What he has said is true. Our refuge is in Jesus. Everywhere that these things happen.="

C-2: "You have Jesus."

A-2: "= And you have Jesus, so you are saved. Even when they kill this body, your soul will go to Jesus. You are saved. As such, our refuge is in Jesus." [D14-Cm][T07-Cm][U10-Cm]

Ref-#53

C-2(m,F): "In this world, there is no place to hide, only with God, [A, M: ((laugh))]
because in God that is where to find safety. Your life because there is nowhere to hide in this world."

D-2: "Won't you run to another town?"

C-2: "[Which town will you be free from death?]"

A-2: ""

A-2: "Emm, I think .."

M-2: "No other place."

A-2: "None, maybe."

D-2: "Run to America, England or which other place?"

A-2: "Well, even America is not safe."

B-2: "They have earthquakes."

A-2: "What he has said is true. Our refuge is in Jesus." [T03-Sm][U10-Sm]

Theodicy:

Ref-#54

C-2(m,F): "Jesus is in everything and He is everywhere. He knows all that is happening. This is not to say he is not there. Jesus knows everything that happens. He must not show up physically. [M: Hmm] But He knows what is happening. He is aware, He sees all that is going on. [M: yes] Sometimes He allows things to happen so we can return to Him and keep our relationship with Him." [T03-SM][T05-SM][T07-SM]

Respondents' conceptualisation of Evil:

Ref-#55

A-1(m,F): "Why is it not good: .. God made people and for them to live together and work together, but the devil came and brought separation. Settling on believers together and them together, [M: yes] it is not good to me, and our prayer is that God Himself will settle them." [M03-Su][M07-Su][M09-Su]

Yet within the framework of evil, Muslims are identified several times as a corrupting force:

Ref-#56

C-1(m,F): "But the way we are living with them [[Muslims]], we are living on our land and they came and turned our character to their wicked character." [M02-Su][M03-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#57

A-2(m,F): "See the kind of things that have happened this week. The gate before you get to US, UN, hmm-hmm. There are security personnels, they have to check your documents before you gain access into the UN premises, but because of how wicked the human mind is and to go in forcefully, he had to plan evil there." [E02-Cu][P02-Cu]

Several respondents offer a very "last days" **eschatological interpretation of recent and ongoing events:**

Ref-#58

D-1(f,F): "These things happened recently. [M: yes] I called all my children, I told them, I said to them, these things that are happening, it is the end of age, so for that everyone should stand firm to the Lord. [M: yes] So for that, let us come together and pray to God. (3.0) I told them, the devil's hand is in it, so let's not put our trust (2.0) on any other thing, but we should put our trust in God, we should depend on God to help us and give us victory over evil." [C08-Su][D10-Su][E02-Su][T06-Su]

Ref-#59

A-2: "I see it in this way. ... [M: Hmm] The church cannot stop the crisis because then it is like saying the Bible is not God's true Word. [M: ok] Because we were created in Matthew 21:1 to the end. [M: Hmm] The time will come, then things will become chaotic. There will be troubles here, we will see how the world will be like. The Arab countries, those who have said they will come together, they will see lots of confusion, people will rise against each other, the leader will be displaced. [M: Hmm] Things that have not been told of will happen. They are making efforts. Ghadaffi had said that he is the king of Africa, [C: yes] even their king was removed from office. [C: yes] They had forced him out. [C: yes], [M: Hmm]. So believers should not believe that someone will protect them from these things happening [M: Hmm] until the time comes, and these things are a fulfilment from God's Holy Word the Bible." [D10-CM][E05-CM][T01-CM]

Ref-#60

E-2(m,F): "Sometimes, you know the devil doesn't want peace. [T: mmh] and you know we are almost on the last days and the devil is looking for his own, and the way some Christian attack then is not right. [T: mmh] and you know we are almost on the last days and the devil is looking for his own, and the way some Christian attack them is not right. [T: mmh] Instead of attacking them, they should have prayed for them, maybe God will have pity on them." [C03-SM][D10-SM][E02-SM][T06-SM]

Ref-#61

A-2(m,F): "This came as a fulfilment of prophecy. [M: Hmm] The Bible tell us so, where prophecy is fulfilled. [M: Hmm] A time will come when these things will come to pass. [M: Hmm] Because if we read from the book of John, it tells us, if you have time, go and read, they will do these things and say they are serving God. [M: Hmm] [C: yes] They will kill you and say, they are working for God. [C: yes] And Jesus said, stand firm, even if the body is killed, then [M: Hmm, .k.k.k] Jesus did not come for the earthly Kingdom, He came for the spiritual. [M: Hmm] He fights the battle, but not an earthly battle." [D01-SM][T01-SM][T03-SM][T04-SM]

Appendices

(.k.k.k is an interjection expressing agreement of unfortunate or lamentable circumstances in a conversation, akin to “I’m so sorry”, or “this is really bad”.)

G.7.1.2 Evidence related primarily to identities

In reference to respondents' self-understanding:

Ref-#62

F-1(m,J): “I [[staff sergeant in Nigerian peace-keeping corps]] am angry, because I worked peacefully for the government till retirement, coming back here, whatever it is here, I had fought wars in other places. With the generals that we are here with, we have worked together and are also retired, I have been attacked here, in my town, here in Dahwol Dangwang, where I am resident ” [T02-SM][U16-SM]

Ref-#63

E-1(m,J): “Just like the elder has said, (3.0) a Berom man is a person that is soft-hearted, every foreigner that arrives, he receives him wholeheartedly. Because of this, here in Dahwol Dangwang and all over Jos, [T: Yes], it is a place where God deposited His Blessings.” [T02-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#64

A-2(m,F): “God is a Father, to all people in heaven and earth, .. because as I said from the start, before we know .. Jesus, the Berom knew God existed. So if anything happened, then we say “God in heaven”, and we call God's Name, if if you do something to help someone, and you do something, and I thank you, God Himself will bless you.” [D16-Cu][T04-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#65

A-2(m,F): “And because the land is our inheritance, we will not run to any place. Some will chase us, but they will flee and leave everything. [M: true] And we will not go anywhere, they will have to kill us here. It is a must that we stand firm for peace, because these things did not begin now. It has been on for a long time. [M: Hmm] In this land, especially the Berom here, by the 1920s, -30s it was a law to displace the Berom. Oh, the place in which God has placed the Berom and someone wanted to move them to Kaduna, and we will be given corn. [M: Hmm] [C: Hmm] We will do nothing and they will give us corn. You see this means we are not obeying what the Bible says. God said you have to work before you eat.” [C03-CM][D09-CM]

Ref-#66

A-2(m,F): “You cannot be spoon-fed. Have you become a horse someone to be feeding you? That is not right. Some refused to move, somewhere displace. The people, schools, clinics. Bible colleges there and they said they will build their own structure and the government establishments will be cheaper, and our people will be at a distance. This is what baffles me with Christians. We are narrow-minded. [M: Hmm] And they said, they will take charge of our schools and clinics and all will become property of the

Appendices

government. This was to displace and make us useless. [M: Hmm] That did not work. They people said “and so what”, and then they came with weapons to fight us. [M: Hmm] So we turned ourselves to God, and we depended on God. We became each other's keeper, and God reassured us not to be foolish. [M: Hmm] You will live like kings. It was like he had been sleeping, but He has been watching. [M: Hmm] There are different ways that we can keep watching to see how things that are happening, but my prayer is that we should not start trouble. [M: Hmm] We should be alert and be each other's keeper, we should live and think security.” [C07-PM][E08-PM]

Ref-#67

F-1(m,J): “I have never seen a Berom person that has offensively gone to kill a Muslim or his children, or e-e-e-e to destroy his properties. Everytime since before and grand-fathers up until today it is that the people we gave places to settle are responsible for those things. And up until today I have never seen in any place a Berom person just go, because of the things that e-e-e- our Muslim brothers are doing to, er, to go and avenge. You know, all the time we are told to be patient, be patient and we've been patient until today we are doing it. Again we are forgiving them but until today there is no peaceful co-existence with our brothers.” [D09-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#68

F-1(m,J): “Tell him that it would be difficult considering the present situation. Before now, we have been kind to them. What is the kindness? See, we eat the same kind of food, but if we cook food to give them during their Sallah celebrations, they would not receive it from us. They see their food as being better than ours; and then we have a chicken that we would want to give them our of love, they would not receive it from us, saying that it is infidels' chicken. If one buys the chicken, it has to be given to them for them to slaughter it themselves. That is how we live with them. And at other times to endure peaceful co-existence, we ask them for their chicken, then we slaughter and prepare the soup. Only then will they accept to eat. If one however just prepares food with meat and goes to give any Muslims, he/she would not take it, except they slaughter whatever kind of meat it is by themselves, because our way of slaughtering it is not acceptable before God.” [E08-Su]

On the features of **where safety is** according to respondents perception:

First of all in three related utterances:

Ref-#69

C-1(f,F): “I want to live with a person who displays the character of God in his heart.” [U16-Sm]

Ref-#70

D-1(f,F): “I want to live with a person who has the fear of God, [M: ok] and the person who follows God's way.” [U16-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#71

A-1(m,F): "I want to live with the person who likes to live in peace. [M: hmm] He does not like chaos." [U16-Su]

Then a single utterance from C-2 in the second cohort:

Ref-#72

C-2(m,F): "The place that is most important is the church, for worship. [M: ok] Being close to God, listening and doing what pleases God, fellowship in the body of Christ is where your soul finds rest all the time, and you ponder on what is happening ((cock crows at close quarter)) until the end of life." [P01-Sm][U16-Sm]

In terms of the discussion of **"The Other" in general**, discussions focus on "Muslims" with very few exceptions.

Ref-#73

C-1(m,F): "I see it was wrong for us to mingle with them, because we have become stubborn to God's Word, when God is talking to His people. [M: yes] With this people, the Israelites, [M: yes] He said I will give you an inheritance. Do not mingle with those people you take over their land from. Live in your places so it is mingling with them, no-one knows their character, that is what has brought all this crisis we are facing. [M: hmm] If we had held back from them and only met in the market or met at community meetings or met in other places, that would have been good and we would leave one another in peace. [B, M, D: ((laugh))]" [D02-Su]

Ref-#74

C-1(m,F): "When you look critically, you see the character of a believer. [M: hmm] This people do not like their character. [M: yes] They go to where Christians are, thousands, you will find about two of them there, no Christian will do anything to hurt them. [M: Hmm] No Christian will molest them. [M: hmm] The Fulani are in the bush, the Christians in Beromland, and they said the Christians are troublemakers. They will kill them in the morning. .. () [M: hmm] But no Christian () when you build a house and someone comes to set it on fire, you won't just watch him do it. [M: hmm] Emm, that is it. But the Christian, the Christian is not the one who will burn someone's house or kill them. Emm-emmm. We have ()" [M08-CM][U11-CM]

Ref-#75

D-2(m,F): "Our enemies get help from abroad. [M: mm] Yes, they send lots [A: e-heh] and they help with weapons. [A-2: Indeed.]They build places of worship, with undergrounds. [M: Hmm] But Christians, what are they up to? They have so much wealth. Have you ever heard about them helping us out here? We don't know if they even exist. [M: Hmm] They have left us without showing concern, so we should be killed or what?" [M02-CM]

Ref-#76

E-2(f,J): "Like here in this land where we are, [T: mmh] we don't have trouble here. We don't have here. [T: mmh] The only problem we have between us and the Muslims and

Appendices

the Christians. That is the problem we have. [T: °mmh°, the only problem we have] If they stay here in this area, we don't have problem, but if we go to their area, there is problem, but ever since before we don't have any problem with anybody. ” [C10-Su][M03-Su]

E-1 and F-1 in a joint view identify Muslims as pursuing an agenda of conquest and conversion, and offer some elaborate accounts of how this purportedly came about:

Ref-#77

E-1(m,J): “Muslims, came from other places. They are bent on coming here to work and they are working with our people again, and we work for them, they got enriched and left. So, their hearts burned within them and today they are attempting to pressure us to take away our land, because they enjoy the place, you see. Foreigners are coming to your home and you are hospitable. He eats and works here still, and now, he want to PERSECUTE us. () With the money they get in our land, they went and bought weapons to kill us with them, so that we should run and leave the land for them to live in. These are the things that have been happening it brought a heartbreak, a lot of heartbreak to us.” [E15-CM][M07-CM][T02-CM][U16-CM]

Ref-#78

F-1(m,J): “Some started to fetch water, they fetched water and sold because during that time, there was no pipe-borne water, they (familiarised) because of this, that's their work. [T: Hmm], that's how they started to, stay here, some went to places of mining [T: u-huh], it is in places of mining that they get food to eat. Henceforth, they started to conduct religious functions with their children, as if it is their profession to do those religious things. Some still, about a majority of them, were butchers of animals. (4.0) [T: u-uh] for long they placed importance to animal butchering and selling it, because Fulanis, in short, from here, from here to Bauchi (State), Kari (), you won't see grazing grass for cows, but added that the weather here is friendly, they [[Muslims]] refused to leave. But God's people, most people that-that perpetrate this crisis are people whose parents came here and practised their religion and died here. They don't know their origin (3.0). Some that were sent away, they then started to sell meat and they build houses (2.0) and you know others brought textile materials from their places to sell here, that's their work. Some sold yams. Given that they grew up here, married and gave birth here to children, it is difficult whatsoever for some of them to trace their parents' places of origin. Until today, they just want to identify themselves as indigenes of Jos. We have never prided ourselves with the fact that we are indigenes of Jos [T: u-uh] because we want peaceful coexistence, but their children who have been bred and brought up here and seem to be wealthy above us, are proclaiming to people that they are JASAWA. [T: u-huh]. If we should take this seriously ... we have never prided ourselves that we are in fact Jos indigenes, we are truly Jos indigenes, but for peace's sake, we appealed to them to stop making such assertions. The assertion that they are Jasawa indigenes, we who are Berom here have avoided to be proud over this fact of indigeneship for peace's sake. The children that were born right before our eyes are also saying they are Jos indigenes, these things anger our children; God should make it (). Recently, BBC were broadcasting the Jasawa assertion of Muslims, however we thank God that this is no longer the case, and they don't make such assertions anymore, because they know themselves that they don't have a place here. We gave them places of

Appendices

stay, and they went about saying that we lived on the mountains, but it is surprising that they buy fields from us. Have we ever bought fields from [T: Muslims] Muslims? It is we who sold, gave them places of stay to live in peace. There are lands until today that don't have a certificate of occupancy; the place (land) was vast, and we just wanted people to occupy it, we gave them places and until today I know the places. It is on record. There are places you just see and uninterruptedly build on, because we just wanted the places to be occupied and now everywhere seems occupied. Then they are saying that they are indigenes of Jos; up till today I know these places." [C07-SM][D09-SM][E08-SM]

Ref-#79

E-1(m,J): "Just, those, eh, probably in this aspect I can't say there are things in Christianity that is an offence to them .. [T: ok] because they, they see the way we are relaxed [...] The thing I see that appears to me as foolishness with Muslims is in the aspect of religious instruction. They preach violence because if you see their religion, their logo ((emblem)) there is a sword, a sword, so is violence, so if they go for their Sallah, they've done their enchantments, then they would just stir up trouble () not because of anything we've done, we Christian who accepted and live in obedience to God's Word." [T01-Su][M09-Su]

Ref-#80

F-1(m,J): "Since the time of our forebearers, fathers and mothers. [T: yes]. They [[Muslims]] came; Muslims wanted to penetrate this place [[Jos]] with war. So as, so as to Islamise us. [T: ok] it proved abortive, so until today, we hear from the young ones, youths that since their fathers were unable to conquer the Berom land, they are going to fight that course [T: u-uh]. They want to do here what they did in other places because since the days of our forefathers, they attempted and failed in their attempts to conquer us through war. Since the days of our forefathers, while I was yet tender <around> 10 – 12 years these things happened in our place of stay in Ali Kagaure [T: u-uh] (5.0) you know they did these things." [C07-CM][D12-CM][M07-CM][T02-CM]

Ref-#81

F-1(m,J): "They are doing these things, because they Muslims want to occupy places (5.0), their agenda is that no matter what, whether we like it or not, they must dispossess us of the land and Islamise us. Most times these things happen, you see it's like money is being sent to them from Saudi Arabia, you see it's their brethren that buy the houses, and if you go, there now, they've started to buy the houses, some of the houses close to them are temporarily turned into mosques where they pray and mostly, it's Christian houses, up until today it's like that." [M07-CM]

Ref-#82

E-1(m,J): "The truth is that it is not that they want indigeneship rights or peaceful co-existence [T: ok], that's not their mindset, their mindset is that they should eject the indigenes out. [T: u-huh] Who among us would go to any Muslim state to seek for right of indigeneship? Of a truth, none. So that's not their line though, that's a lie they are saying, of a truth, they intend to eject our people, they are enjoying the place, the weather and food crops in the land, and everything else, that's why they are feeling motivated. [T: emm] they want to pursue us, they want to kill us to take away our land, they've been told they originate from here and that's all, that there is peace is a lie, it's a cover up. [T: alright] We don't agree with that." [M07-CM]

Appendices

Ref-#83

E-1(m,J): “In their thought, as of now, they are seeing as if we who received them wholeheartedly are fools [T: ok] and now they've become wise and we too are wise, but they still want to show they are wise by trying to remove us from the land. It is not as if we don't know or are aware of their subtle ways, being that we wholeheartedly accepted them. We want to live in peace. (3.0) Because we want peaceful co-existence, they are making it out to be foolishness and that God is able to make us understand, we are carefully watching them and defending our territories; the Muslim's nature is that anywhere he finds himself, he wants to make way for his brother and the next thing they do is strike to create violence so as to expand, because they are autocratic. In all, Muslims in their livelihood have in their blood the tendency to want to rule, and this is a matter of necessity. They do things that leads to them ruling, so if you see, it's evident that they want to evolve the issues of an Emir here in Jos, [T: u-uh] that's something they do, that's why they say that if they succeed at pursuing people from the town, then they have begun a journey to ruling them.” [C07-CM][E08-CM][M07-CM][M09-CM]

(The land issue was prompted!)

Ref-#84

E-1(m,J): “The Muslim doesn't esteem mutual living. If you examine the crises, it is not togetherness that they desire. Because you don't live together, he will not fight you. Rather, he will tell you, “my friend, my friend, let's unite [T: yes]. So, the person is bullying and fighting you, not wanting any peaceful co-existence. Here is not how you would say that when a Muslim comes, we should live together. That is not his thought. There is no Muslim with that thought.” [M09-Su]

Meanwhile, E-2 grounded Muslim hostility in their religious system:

Ref-#85

E-2(f,J): “People that frighten me?”; “Like ... the Muslims, people that we don't serve the same God with them .. [T: ok] and that is the problem we are having with them, that is between us.” [M03-Su]

Ref-#86

E-2(f,J): “A Muslim ... in themselves, they practice their religion. It is not, it is not the same with ours. They worship man, they said they are serving man, okay? But we, we are serving a true God, a living God, but they are not serving a living God. If they are serving a living God, they will not think of killing a person, to kill a person is nothing to them. So, we are afraid of this religion, they are not serving the living God.”; “They said they serve, they said they serve Mohammed. Ok, even Mohammed himself knows about Jesus, he told them about a Messiah that is coming, isn't it? But they said they are serving Mohammed, and we are serving God, Jesus. We are not serving man.” [M09-SM]

Ref-#87

E-2(f,J): “Like ... the Muslims, people that we don't serve the same God with them .. [T: ok] and that is the problem we are having with them, that is between us.” [M03-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#88

E-2(f,J): “Ok, in Islam, .. there is nothing good in Islam. You know them, they, them in Islam, sometimes like being generous, or ... when you want to buy something from them, [T: mmh] they can reduce the price for you, but a Christian will not do that, instead he would want to add the price [T: mmh] instead of reducing it, you are not sincere, you cheat them.” [M09-Su]

Ref-#89

E-2(f,J): “Things that are bad in Islam ... they, sometimes, if we are doing something, isn't it? [T: mmh] they will say ((phone rings)), “See these pagans, they are not Muslims. Sometimes, if we slaughter chicken, [T: mmh] if a Christian slaughters chicken, they will not eat, because we are not Muslims, and that shows that they look down on any religion. They don't respect Christianity. [T: mmh] That is one bad thing about Islam. They don't eat what we slaughter, be it goat or cow [T: mmh] they say we are not Muslims, but we do eat their own if they give us, we don't refuse to eat from them because they are Muslims. [T: ok, ok] Even in those days, our people used to call them, to come and slaughter goats or cows for them, so that they too can eat from it, since they will not eat if it is our people that do the slaughter. And if you are a Christian, there are some things they do that you cannot go there. Those are some of the bad things in Islam.” [M03-CM][M09-CM]

Yet not all discussion centres round Muslims as a monolithic and single-minded otherness:

Ref-#90

E-2(f,J): “It will be difficult, like the way we are living now. [T-1: mmh] Even though they are divided into two, there are those that foment trouble and there are those that don't. It is not all of them that foment trouble. [T-1: yes] So, there are those that like living in peace and there are those that don't like peace. [T-1: yes] Yes.” [C03-CM][M09-CM]

No discussions emerge on the image of “The Other” inside conflict. It appears probable that none of the correspondents in Cohorts 1 and 2 had directly taken part in violence.

Although the Muslims are clearly seen as the driving force of violence, correspondents did concede that others may have perpetrated **violence from the Christians'** side:

Ref-#91

F-1(m,J): “Yes, there are such Christians. [T: ok] they inevitably have to do it. () It's completely a Christian issue, not only for Beroms, it affects the Yoruba, Igbos and others because the thing is like-like-like [T: religious] religious conflict for reason that you are not able to know whether one is Berom, Ngas, Igbo or Yoruba. [T: u-uh] you know, [T: u-uh] and if they speak their Muslim language [T: u-uh] then you don't respond [T: u-uh].

Appendices

So they conclude you are Berom and an infidel [T: °yes°]. They believe, for any reason, they just don't want to see a Christian because the thing is obviously [A: Muslim] between Muslims and Christian. [A: u-uh], and up until today things have remained the same (5.0)." [M08-SM][M09-SM]

Ref-#92

E-1(m,J): "In that aspect, it's not said that it is definite, definite that it is a Berom man that would light fire to burn someone's house. [T: hmm] for that reason, it is not only Beroms that are in Jos, because since it started, other tribes participated, yes it is Berom and Muslims, but it is not only Beroms residing in Jos. Many tribes reside in Jos and not everybody went out to burn. If there is fire here, if a bomb is planted here today, of course if the bomb is not in a Berom house, it is not known whether it is a Berom house or Muslim house, or Ngas house or whose. All the people groups in Jos today, their hearts are burning within because of the things that are happening, because we are indigenes and they that came from other states, they came here to work and the too made mockery, but there is no way it will be said pointedly that it is Beroms. Is a Berom name written on the forehead of the person that is burning the houses? No. All the people living in Jos are heartbroken because their eyes are open, their hearts made it clear to them that these people are warring with them too, not that they are warring with one person. When they came to kill people, they didn't choose you because you are Berom and shoot you, they kill everyone. And if they are going to burn houses with churches to burn, they did. Is it Berom churches? No. But they burn generally. So other people [[non-indigenes and other Jos indigene people groups]] living in Jos have opened their eyes. They feel the pressure of what is happening, so anybody is willing to come from any angle to intervene. Because it is a person that does this thing within, with a - with a burning heart necessarily you-you-you will defend yourself, is it not so? [T: yes] So it is not particularly said that the Berom man is responsible for burning in Jos. That's a lie." [D04-SM][D09-SM]

G.7.1.3 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

On the subject of **virtue**

Ref-#93

M-2: "Ok. (9.0) So, I would like to ask another question here. .. Why did you say God, even though Mamá here has explained? What have you seen in God that you want to practice in your life?"

D-1(f,F): "To be specific, [M.-2: yes] Jesus Christ. [M-2: Ok] This character and the work He did. [M-2: yes] And the way He did what He did. [M-2: ok]" [U16-Pm]

Ref-#94

E-2(f,J): "Yes, it [[trustworthiness]] will help you. Because if you are trustworthy, it will help you in everything you do. If you are trustworthy, you will have peace of mind. [T: °u-uh°] If you are doing your things in a trustworthy manner, you will have no trouble in your mind, but if your dealings are not trustworthy, you will have a troubled mind, and the Spirit of God will depart from you. [T: °ok°] If you are trustworthy, God will be with you in everything you do and will help you in times of trouble." [E06-Cu][T02-Cu][U07-Cu][U15-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#95

C-2(m,F): "I will keep God's law, I will make my ways right to lead me home to Himself."
D-2: "If you come before God, you read from the Bible, you pray pouring out your heart to God, you feel joy in your heart." [T07-Sm][U16-Sm]

Ref-#96

E-2(m,F): "In Isaiah, the mention is about prayer and fasting, isn't it? [T: mmh] Our problem at this time, is that this time if for us to pray, it is not a time to play. Whether you are in your house, pray in the night. When you are lying down, get up and pray. [T: mmh] because the way we are looking at things going on in our land, things are not good. ... And if we pray sincerely from our hearts, God will deliver us, I have that belief, because it has worked for me whenever I pray and ask God for a particular problem. There is nothing we can do, our weapons is prayer, if you are a Christian, our weapon is the Bible and prayer. We don't have guns, or knives to fight with ()." [D01-Cu][T02-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#97

C-2(m,F): "For me, as we live daily, let us see to it that we encourage each other through the Word of God and also teach our children how to relate to the world-view." [T01-Pm][U16-Pm]

and then:

Ref-#98

B-2(m,F): "Living in purity is an important thing. In our existence on earth, we are living with each other, but (2.0) when living relationships become weak, it is good that everyone has the knowledge of God in their heart." [T04-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#99

A-2(m,F): "This morning I had time with my children to pray to God. I told them to be in right standing with God. Time is running out, and you can see that is happening. [M: °Hmm°] At my age it is my responsibility to see to the spiritual growth of my family, because I might not have more years ahead. I am 60 years plus. I don't know if I will have more years. I am preparing myself and have to live a lasting legacy." [T07-Cu][U16-Cu]

Ref-#100

A-2(m,F): "Or when you do something nice to someone, and the person is happy or you visit someone, to see him it is a thing of joy, if you are doing it right."
C-2(m,F): "That is friendship." [U08-Sm][U16-Sm]

On the subject of **sin and vice**:

Ref-#101

E-2(f,J): "Ok, a person who tells lies knows that after he dies, he is going to hell's fire, even God said it, all liars will go to hell." [E02-CM][E06-CM][U05-CM]

Appendices

Ref-#102

C-1(m,F): “I see that God .. does not like wickedness. [M: hmm] So no one should do what is not right. [M: hmm] And we have seen in God's Word, God did not say a person should watch another kill him and then takes away his land. He said go and fight the battle and wait on Him, and he will give you victory in the battle. [M: hmm] Because the land belongs to us, we must care for it. [M: hmm] () [M: ok] Emm, it is wickedness, if you are in your right senses, no one will come and kill your child, and you watch them do it. [M: hmm] We know Jesus will not do that.” [C05-Sm][C06-Sm][D02-Sm][D12-Sm][E02-Sm]

Ref-#103

B-2(m,F): “It is true that man fails God all the time. [M: hmm] Even from the way you view things, and the thoughts of your heart. [M: yes] Sin is inside us. [M: °mmh°] Because of that, we daily seek God's forgiveness.” [T07-Cm][U14-Cm]

On the subject of the respondents' **role models**:

Ref-#104

B-1(m,F): “I know my father who gave birth to me. He was whom I liked to learn from, .. [M: ok] for the way the ways he showed love for God, he was the one whom I learnt to love God from, stand firm and know the truth about God. [M: yes] I learnt from my father.” [U16-Su]

And then tipping in the direction of over-wrought piety:

Ref-#105

D-1(f,F): “God is the person from whom I have learnt. The one I want to continue to learn from. [M: ok] Even though my own father was a good example to me too, I learnt so much from him.” [T07-Cm]

followed by

Ref-#106

C-1(m,F): “I, participant C, the person whom I have learnt from is Jesus Christ. [M: ok] Jesus Christ. [M: ok] And ... the person living in my house, my wife and children.” [T07-Cm]

Evidence of **moral dilemmas**:

Ref-#107

A-2(m,F): “And you have said the Bible says to obey the authorities, and if the authorities say not to have weapons, and your own them, then what are you doing?” [P01-Su][P02-Su][T01-Su]

Appendices

On Muslim neighbours:

Ref-#108

E-1(m,J): “Gaskiya. [[Ah truly]], we desire to live in peace, but till now, one would want to be kind as to slaughter a chicken to give them and they would not eat, yet, they want us to eat theirs. Is there any peaceful coexistence? It there?” [SM-E08]

And then:

Ref-#109

E-1(m,J): “Gaskiya. Up till now, we still love them, we still love them, we desire to live in peace. It is very different now compared with the time we lived with their forefathers. We used to eat with them and they with us as well. For us to now eat with there ones, it is difficult. They are saying we know that they don't have anything bad in their mind. We are not angry with them, we love them, but there is something the white man says, “once there is war, there must be peace, and once there is peace, there must be war”. As a result, not once, not twice, but on and on we have been kind, but their bad habit makes us afraid of them. We love them. Who wants to kill another? Who doesn't want to live in peace with his neighbour?” [SM-E08]

Ref-#110

E-2(f,J): “Ok. The Word of God said we should not (2.0). Like if someone offended you, you should not revenge. If a Muslim moved next door to a person a s-s, ah, next door to me, or he came and attack a person, or how?” [U11-SM]

Ref-#111

E-2(f,J): “Ok, if he moved to a house next to mine ... I will not leave because he is a Muslim. [T: mmh] Instead of leaving, I will be praying so that we will live in peace, because God said in everything, we should pray. [T: mmh] I will not leave because a Muslim moved next door, I will be praying and we will live in peace.” [D01-Cu][M01-Cu][T06-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#112

E-2(f,J): “We would talk, yes, the Word of God says we should talk to each other. We will communicate, talk and laugh with him, and if the Spirit of God moves in me, I will share my facts with him, sometimes by such sharing, you can change a person to see the light. Many people have done that. If you are together with the person, you will not show him that you don't like what he is, but be close to him. As you interact with him, he will come to see the light in you. And sometimes you can even eat together.” [D01-Cu][M01-Cu][T01-Cu]

How respondents reacted to the violence and threats during previous crises (descriptive):

Ref-#113

E-1(m,J): “Leave it to Him, it is God that will avenge and not man. And till today it is in the Berom's attitude, we don't have that attitude that a person offends you and to say that you keep malice at heart, attempt revenge, you leave to Him [[God]], because you do not know tomorrow. [...] we Christians who accepted and live in obedience to God's Word [T: mmh], God's Word restrains us, it changed our attitude and minds and for this reason we are unperturbed, that's the truth.” [E15-Su][T02-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#114

A-1(m,F): “When this crisis occurred, [M: yes] I was frequently praying with my family. [M: ok] And we asked the youths to keep watch at night so that evil people won't come when we are sleeping.” [C08-Su][T06-Su]

Ref-#115

A-1(m,F): “Every time we advise the youths, (2.0) they should not at any time go and attack the Muslims, (2.0) they should just keep watch all the time.” [C03-SM]

Ref-#116

C-2(m,F): “Ok. The first thing we did was to pray to God, for God to take control of the situation, to be security-conscious and to be our brothers' keepers, [M-2: ok] because God has said, arise and I will help you. You cannot just lie down, fold your hands and watch your enemy calls against you. And it's not just to sit and watch things happening.” [D01-Su][D14-Su][T02-Su][T06-Su]

Ref-#117

A-2(m,F): “Like he said, to keep on praying. We should also meet to discuss on what to do, and to see the best way to go about this. [M-2: Hmm] Must it begin, then how do we stop it, because we have never started a fight. [C-2: yes] To find ways of stopping it. [M-2: Hmm] But, our youths have been hunting and want to attack, but we tell them, that is not how to go about it. [M-2: Hmm] We stopped them and we advised them on how to be alert and to observe their security.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C12-Cu][U07-Cu]

And B-2 in an effort to reconcile the previous two statements:

Ref-#118

B-2(m,F): “The important thing I see here is, [M: yes] everyone among us, [M-2: yes] we should come together and unite, that is working together in unity, [M: ok] so we can watch over each other. [M-2: ok] That is what we can do at this time. [M-2: ok] Yes.” [C12-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#119

A-2(m,F): "Like they said when He was on earth, there was a commotion when Jesus was arrested. He was there, He [[Jesus]] saw (2.0) Peter took a sword and cut off a man's ear."

C-2(m,F): "But Jesus rebuked him." [T03-Cm][T05-Cm][T07-Cm]

Who is to blame for the violence:

Ref-#120

A-1(m,F): "No one who is a true believer .. [M: hmm] will go and burn down someone's house, because not all the people are Christians, there are those who practice traditional religion. [C: °hmm°] There are those who have not committed their lives to God. All those people still count themselves as Christians. [M: hmm] Because they cannot tell who is a Christian and who is not. [M: hmm] Once a person is not Muslim, then they are of the same religion." [C04-Cu][E16-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#121

F-1(m,J): "Yes, it is not their wish, because of the happenings, it is not today, it is not yesterday, it's been long, because of the anger is perhaps the reason why they retaliate; they've been patient, see, you see, their hearts are not pleased, it is not their wish, it is much – the things are too much to be patient, they still go, we wish to leave them [[Muslims]] notwithstanding, they want to eject us from our land [T: hmm] and so the youths became angry. It is not their wish. It is because the things are, are too much, it is not today that these things are happening." [C03-Su][C07-Su][D04-Su]

Ref-#122

E-2(m,J): "Ok .. You know, as Christians, it is not just one denomination. [T: Yes] A Christian is a Christian, isn't it? All of us called on the Name of God, but you cannot know which denomination go to burn the Muslims' houses. We have a body called CAN, Christian Association of Nigeria, so whether you are from Catholic or Protestant, or COCIN or Anglican, or Baptist or Redeem, in short, all churches, we are, we are one. [T: mmh] So, we cannot say, this is the denomination that went. Ah, because they are all mixed up together. [T: ok, mmh]" [C04-Su][C11-Su][D04-Su]

Ref-#123

F-1(m,J): "Ah, to add on what he-he's said [T: yes], this happened for long and if it happens like this, people get killed you see people flee (for safety). Especially other ethnic groups (), Yoruba or Igbos because many other tribes that are affected, you see them flee, mostly, you find Muslims quickly rush for the house(s), that's how they began. From Gadan Bauchi to Kwarara Cinema near COCIN church, that's where we grew up, all these houses were fled from by Christians, they've fled and they [[Muslims]] bought the houses. From Congo where I did my elementary school, near Cwel-Aljap, it's Christians that are now dominating that place. Their [[Muslims]] place to Nassarawa, the place where they dominate, they even call it Filin Ball [[football field]], but it's Christians that are there, because ... because it is the Yorubas and others that run it and as though they are given money, the [[Muslims]] rush quickly to buy those houses; if you go there now, all the houses are Christians' that fled, they fled to their states and the Muslims bought them. And it seems their big men (3.0) their big man, their big men

Appendices

give them money to buy the houses, but now they are compacted and so they are buying the houses so from University, ehh, University of Jos, ah, behind Yan-Doya [[Yam Settler], all is occupied by Muslims. From the market area to Bauchi road it's Muslims, from where my parents used to be, there was less than 30 houses, far back as '69, not up to 30, but now there is virtually no place as Muslims bought them. If you pass towards Bauchi, through the university side, all it's bought by Muslims, they looked for trouble, immediately trouble starts, people are killed irresponsibly, the people there can because they don't want problems, and you see they [[Muslims]] have hurriedly bought the houses no matter how much it costs, they have the money to buy. That is how they seized, but now they are compacted, from Gada Biyu to the Barracks, all is dominated by Christians, (3.0) from JUTH, near the railway, it's Muslims that are there, Filin Ball, it would have been Cwan-Nyap, but that is the core place of origin of Beroms. If you go near the University to the motor park, it's all occupied by Muslims. They've bought (), because their people have been pumping money to them, our people have not much occupation and there we don't have much companies, but because to dispossess us of the [T: land] the land, now read the statistics and you'll find out it's mostly Muslims and now even in Bukuru we are not safe. They are doing all they can so that we would leave the place for them. Moreover, in Bukuru today, there are places in Ponlarra that Berom people townsmen, places our fathers walked, we can't enter such places. What is the truth in all this?" [C05-Sm][M03-Sm]

Ref-#124

D-1(f,F): "It is because of what the Muslims are doing that has made people to react by burning their homes, for them to help themselves. [M: ok] Emm, they have helped themselves, if we had folded our hands, then we will not have been in the community living here today. [M: ok] So they had to leave because they were looking for trouble. [M: hmm] To help themselves, just like the Christians did [M: hmm] they did right." [C04-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#125

B-1(f,F): "We have never ganged up. No Christians have made any plans to go and burn Muslim homes. They came, attacked [C: hmm], killed some of our people and children. [M: hmm] Those women who are pregnant, they came, suddenly used a sword to cut open the pregnant women, remove the baby and hit the baby to the wall. [M: hmm] and they kill the mother and kill the children before your eyes. [M: hmm] [C: hmm] Some men are killed after the family [M: hmm] that is the wickedness that makes us burn their homes too, to warn them, if not then they should leave. [M: hmm] [C: hmm] We don't like crisis, we will chase them out. [M: hmm] That we set their homes on fire, telling them to leave. Leave since you do not want to live in peace, you kill our people. Therefore, Christians are caught in such violence. They too burn homes, not because they don't like them, but to drive home a point: leave if you do not want to live in peace." [C03-Su][T02-Su]

How respondents think one should react to **threats outside immediate situations of violence (prescriptive)**:

Ref-#126

B-1(f,F): "It won't be good for us to attack them, (2.0) but it is good for us to be wise. We should be ready with a shield so that when they come, we will not be killed like goats.

Appendices

(4.0) We tell our youths that, we should never go and attack them. [M: ok] If they have victory over us, then we will leave everything to God, but if they come, then God will give us (). But, we are not among those who will say let us go and attack them.” [C03-Su][D13-Su]

Ref-#127

A-1(m,F): “The Bible that we read, [M: yes] has shown us, God said vengeance is His. [P: Yes!] It is not ours. [C-1: Mmh] And we are God's children. [C-1: Mmh] And these things they are doing are things of the devil and they are people of the world, and if we resolve to follow in the way they are treating us, [M: yes] then we will stop doing God's will. [M: yes] It will not help us.” [M09-Pm][U11-Pm]

Ref-#128

D-1(f,F): “I, participant D. [M: hmm] Because of the fear of God in us, we do not attack. [M: hmm] Just like we have been taught. [M: hmm] Just like we have been taught, [M: hmm] and our attitudes, [M: yes] that is to say, it is not in our character. [M: hmm] [C: ()]Like God's children, [M: yes] for us to go and attack people, ... their Qu'ran teaches them that... that they follow. [M: hmm] If they do it, they will have eternal life. [M: hmm] ..., they are not people who understand, so ... it is not proper to go and attack them.” [C03-CM]

Ref-#129

E-2(f,J): “Christians that go to burn Muslim houses, ah, God said we should not pay back evil with evil. [T: eeh] (2.0) And that command is very difficult, without the Holy Spirit helping us, we cannot keep it. So the way some Christians will say since they are the ones that have attacked us, we will go and revenge is not right.” [E02-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#130

B-1(f,F): “The things that have happened, we will not go and attack them. .. [M: hmm] Because we know God's word teaches us to love people, whether they are believers or not believers, we should love them. Their Qu'ran tells them to love people from their own religion only, they should love the person who is not from among them.” [C03-CM][M09-CM][U06-CM]

Ref-#131

C-1(m,F): “If God is with us, we will be people who are in peace. .. [M: hmm] God has brought us peace, so why should we attack them? If we start a fight with them, then we have neglected God's Word and are holding on to other people's. [M: ok] God does not permit us to do so.” [C03-Sm][T01-Sm][U07-Sm]

Ref-#132

C-1(m,F): “You see, this is the advice I am giving, that we should not mingle with them, we so not understand them. [M: hmm] If a person visits your home, they should not turn you against your family. [M: Yes] It is you who should turn them to the character of my home, [M: true] so that you will be on the same level. [M: hmm] But the way we are living with them, we are living on our land and they came and turned our character to their wicked character. [M: hmm] And if you do not accept is, trouble will start. [M: yes] That is why we said no to that area. [M: .k] Everyone knows how they were made, when

Appendices

we meet in the market and I give you money, then I collect your exact money.” [E02-Su]
[E08-Su][M02-Su][M03-Su]

Ref-#133

F-1(m,J): “The question I want to ask is (2.0) with what is happening as I watch from the dish [[satellite TV]] (2.0). Do you have something in mind? Because the place where Jesus was given birth to in Palestine. With the things that are happening in Gaza, that we watch (2.0) Now he should see that we have the fear of God. We will have struck back considering what is happening. But all the time patience upon patience. God said, when you slapped us on this cheek seven times, then you turn the other one seven times. But if I watch CNN and sees what is happening between Israel and the Palestinians, they will never do. Just last week they killed eight people in a bus. See the reaction they give to it, the moment you touch any of them, they must fight back. But with what is happening here, here, here, they are killing people around [[name]] and Gyll. My friend that is a sergeant, he works in the airport. His son bought a machine [[motorbike]], so that he can be fending for himself [[financially]] with it. Because he's old and he works as a security man. () Now there is no machine and he's nowhere to be found ((snaps his fingers twice)). Another one is here in the church. He's in the baptismal class. His mother bought him a machine to work with. Here in the church, there's no machine, and the boy is nowhere to be found. Last June, we can't see the boy or the machine. But can you do that to an Israelite? (2.0) You will realise that they will make attempts to revenge. Here in Rahwol Kanang near TCNN, there are Muslims. How many people have we lost here? Here in this church? But nobody did anything because of the fear of God in us. We leave everything to God.” [C08-Su][D02-Su]

Ref-#134

D-2(m,F): “And it has been said, if you are hit on one cheek, to turn the other cheek, and it is hit again and you turn the other and all your cheeks have become sore from hits, then where do you find another cheek to replace the sore ones, so it can be hit more? Will you just give your neck to be cut? [[there's a limit to our patience]]”

B-2(m,F): “And again, it shows us, if you have a sword, give one to to a brother and keep one to defend yourself.”

C-2(m,F): “Yes. [M-2: hmm.] To defend yourself. =”

B-2: “Again, it says if you have two dresses, and it's (), sell one and buy a sword and defend yourself.”

C-2: “=The people of Israel, during battles and building the walls of Jerusalem, they had weapons, even while they were building. Was it not to defend themselves?”

B-2: “Are we better than the Israelites in battle?”

A-2: “See.”

B-2: “Did God reject them?”

C-2: “Hmm-hmm. [[no]]”

B-2: “The Bible has shown us, he did not reject them.” [C09-Sm][D01-Sm][D02-Sm][P01-Sm][P02-Sm][T01-Sm]

How the Church can work towards solutions:

Ref-#135

E-2(f,J): “Well, as regards what the church can do ... In this situation we can only resolve to prayers and fasting, because in most of the things, God has not instructed the

Appendices

Church to acquire weapons for war. [T: mmh] The Church cannot decide to buy weapons to wage war against the Muslims, isn't it? [T: mmh] So, we in different churches, just anyone that sees these things will just have to resolve to prayer because it is not something one will retaliate about, seeing that we are God-fearing. As for them [[the Muslims]], since they lack God's fear, they sometimes attack us, but the Church cannot take weapons to fight back. Ours is to pray and fast for God to take off these challenges. In times past, such things happened, but the Early Church prayed and fasted, and God delivered them. God did not command us to retaliate. What the church can do .. is to pray, because most of what, what, there are things the church is doing that it is not God that instructs them, God did not instruct the church to buy weapons. [T: mmh] The church cannot buy weapons, because-because to fight with the Muslims, isn't it? [T: mmh] We will not buy weapons, to keep so that we will () instead of that, we will pray. God Himself said, if you pray and ask in my name, everything you (), isn't it? [T: mmh] So anyone that sees the happening, including the churches, it calls for prayers, it is not what we will wait to fight with them, [T: mmh] because we have the fear of God in us, :unlike: them, they don't know God, so it is normally them that attack us, it is good for the church-church. We are not saying the church should buy weapons, but ours is to pray and fast, so that God will help us end this crisis." [C12-Cu][C13-Cu][M09-Cu][T06-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#136

E-2(f,J): "If God hears and answers our prayers, God will touch their hearts, yes, to see that those things they are doing is not good. Is not just one day. If we persist in prayers, God can answer immediately. Sometimes it takes time, so God can intervene and we can live together again, as if nothing has happened." [C12-Cu][T02-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#137

C-2(m,F): "The important thing the church can do is to pray and for people to be alert with security issues in the church. [M: ok] and to advise our youths too, [M: ok] to be alert, coming closer to God is the most important thing. [M: ok] Our greatest battle is a spiritual battle. " [C12-Su][T06-Su][T07-Su][U13-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#138

C-2(m,F): "What can be done is praying. [M: ok] There is nothing anyone can do except to pray to God." [C12-Cm][T06-Cm]

Repeating the case but with doubts about the will or abilities of higher powers:

Ref-#139

E-2(f,J): "Things are just difficult and we don't know what the government can do about it. We have been praying, but sometimes it is as if God doesn't hear our prayers, because if we pray, we still hear worse things happening again and again. Look at the bomb blast in Abuja, who knew that someone will go and do that?" [T06-Su]

Ref-#140

E-2(f,J): “Well, the problem of crisis ... we Christians will have to stand firm in prayer with all seriousness. [T: yes] If we pray with all seriousness, God will unravel the truth of the crisis, but if we don't pray with all seriousness because you know sometimes when our religious leaders like, like the Reverends, resolve that “we will fast and pray today”. [T: mmh] Right? [T: yes]. Then at times not all of us Christians turn up. We who know what is right [[true believers]] don't turn up for such Christian gatherings, [T: yes] but these people [Muslims] rush to attend meetings in no time when called upon. And that is what we Christians ought to do. If we will live sincerely and pray, pleading with God for Him to deliver us from these things and show goodness instead of hatred, though we have shown goodness to them [[Muslims]] by giving of land where they built houses. We gave them food and everything and afterwards they are claiming that the land belongs to them and not us [T: mmh]. Well, in this situation, we leave everything to God, because He [[God]] said we should cast all our burdens on Him and He will help us. We should not attempt revenge by ourselves. If we Christians unite truthfully, truly, truly without involving ourselves in sins of any sort, [T: mmh] then we will overcome, but if we don't stand firmly, we will not overcome.” [C05-Su][C12-Su][D01-Su][M09-Su][T02-Su][T03-Su][T06-Su][U11-Su][U16-Su]

G.7.2 Berom youth cohort sources

G.7.2.1 Evidence related primarily to world-views

a: session 1 30th August 2011

b: session 2 28th June 2012

Ref-#141

B-3a(m,F): “I think it-it will do us well if you repeat the question in [English].”

... and later ...

B-3a: “English, please.” [Su]

On respondents' **understanding of how they come to be here:**

Ref-#142

D-3a(f,F): “I would like to remain in the goodness of God and be helping my brother's or relations that don't have.” [E09-Su]

Ref-#143

A-3a(m,F): “For me to serve God.” [E09-Sm][T07-Sm]

Ref-#144

C-3a(f,F): “I am in the world .. God brought me to this world to serve Him, and to help people.” [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#145

C-3a(f,F): “God brought me to serve Him or work for Him, not building work, but to represent Him.” [E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#146

D-3a(f,F): “God brought me to this world. .. To represent Him .. To be an ambassador .. to bring so many that don't know God ... to His Glory.” [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#147

B-3a(m,F): “The Bible has told us, God has made us in His own image. I think we are God-representative .. [M: mm] in the world. .. But, er, as we know, nobody's perfect. But we're trying to be perfect. [M: mm] and, em, He has brought us for a purpose [M: mm] .. to .. to-to-to .. make everybody to be as one, [M: mm] to understand His Word better.” [E08-Cm][E09-Cm][T01-Cm]

Then turning to the discussion of what their **purpose is on earth** might be:

Ref-#148

D-3a(f,F): “By extending .. a hand to the needy .. less privileged. [M: mmh] .. preaching the Word of God ... telling people about the Good News .. helping others, so many. ” [U16-Su]

Ref-#149

B-3a: “Let me – let me add to that. [M: yes] Participant :B: I think, em, before bringing somebody close to God [M: mmm], as a human being, everybody have his own king of life. [M: °mm°] And everybody has his own kind of culture. [M: mm] You look at those people very (into-into), you look at what they're really like. [M: mm] and you look at the where, what they're doing wrong and you (join) them, don't see yourself to be big. Come down to their level, and do what they're doing, and make them understand. This aspect .. [M: mm] that they're doing, this is right, and this is wrong. Like, em .. let me just give example of, er, the white man here. I saw him eating, er, tuo, I was so impressed, I feel like hugging him. And I, and I like that. It's a good example ” [E03-Su] [E08-Su]

Ref-#150

G-3a(m,F): “To serve God and to serve humanity.” [E09-SM][T07-SM]

Ref-#151

E-3a: “We're here to ... just life he said, to serve God, to make disciples for Him. To depopulate earth and populate Heaven.” [E09-CM][T07-CM]

Ref-#152

F-3a(m,F): “We are here to ... to ... to make, to make our ways right into heaven .. [M: mm] .. so .. because He asked us to go and make disciples. [M: mm]. To make disciples of all nations. So, we're supposed to .. to-to taste (), so our coming here on earth is to .. is to please Him, worship Him .. and adore Him.”

M-3a: “Ok. What do you mean when you say “make disciples”? Make disciples from where? .. °from where?°”

Appendices

E-3a(f,F): “From the world, from earth, where we live. You know? We are like from January to this time the COCIN theme for this year is “Salt and Light of the World”. You know we are to preserve, preserve our own generation. [M: mh] I remember doing Sunday sermon. It was because of Noah that God saved his generation so we can preserve our generation by the kind of life we live.”

M-3a: “Who do you mean when you say “the world”? Who are you referring as the world?”

E-3a: “Everybody” [D03-CM][D09-CM][E15-CM][U16-CM]

But then when E-3a speaks in interview context:

Ref-#153

E-3a(f,J): “The most important thing I have in my life .. is the life I have and the air I breath, .. [M: mmh] and my family .. [M: mmh] are very important to me, and friends, my loved as well.” [E09-Su]

Ref-#154

E-3a(f,J): “Well, I think my purpose is- the reason why God to create me, was to worship him [M: mmh] and to serve him in the days of my youth and even when I'm old.” [E09-Su][E15-Su][T07-Su]

Of **important things in life** and **future plans**:

Ref-#155

A-3a(m,F): “Peace .. Absolute calmness.” [U07-Cu]

Ref-#156

D-3a(f,F): “Just the way he said “peace”, [M: ok] joy can be added. Because if you have peace, you don't have joy (in you) °I don't think°. [M: mmh]” [U07-Cu][U08-Cu]

Ref-#157

C-3a(m,F): “*Like it has been said, if I will add, I see the goodness of God. [M: goodness of God] Goodness of God because if we are living in this world without the goodness of God, we will not be able to do anything.*” [T02-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#158

D-3a(f,F): “I would like to remain in the goodness of God and be helping my brother's or relations that don't have.” [E09-Cm][T05-Cm]

Ref-#159

B-3a(m,F): “I think, em, life, I like .. I like :(walking): people, to see .. their view, and to see how they look at life, so that I can :help: somebody to live with a better life.” [E09-Cu][U16-Cu]

Ref-#160

F-3a(m,F): “I think, to me, education is much more important to me for now.” [E09-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#161

E-3a(f,F): "My life is more important, it's the living, .. it's when you're alive that you do things, you do other things. So my life is :more: important, :so: precious to me, cause in myself..." [E09-Su]

To which G-3 adds in a pious flourish:

Ref-#162

G-3a(m,F): "(Care a think) in this life, God is important to me. [M: ok], so () as far as I'm concerned, if I have God, I have life." [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Which provokes a change of emphasis:

Ref-#163

E-3a(f,F): "It just like he said, it's to worship God, He's the Supreme Being, because God created us for a purpose, and believe that that is, to be His disciples, to worship Him, you know? To PRAISE Him, there are things that God cannot do for Himself, .. like Praise .. God cannot, God ... like when there is singing, so to say God cannot sing for Himself. And if there's anything that God cherishes, it's to adore Him, to worship Him, so I think my belief, I really desire to worship God in truth and sincerity."

M-3a: "Ok ... mm ... to have a relationship with God? But this relationship, how do you come about it? How do you establish the relationship?"

E-3a: "Constant .. constant keeping in touch when you have a stable and constant, you know, in touch with God, it helps build .. the relationship." [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#164

F-3a(m,F): "I think it's the way for me to .. do other things. .. I got God as other, as the important thing to me, .. but education follows afterwards." [D14-Cm][E09-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#165

E-3a(f,J): "In five years to come, .. I would like to be a mother, [M: mmh] a homemaker, (2.0) and ... I read accountancy. Probably I should be able to get my professional ... I should be able to have my professional result in the next five years. [M: yu'] (3.0) And a happy mother as well." [E09-Su]

Ref-#166

B-3a(m,J): "IN MY LIFE! (2.0) I've told my brother this thing again and again. In the first instance I- I it this planned what I was 25. ... I told my brother that before :30:, I think I will be settled. [M: mmh] But it is unfortunately, it is with the situation that I find myself, things are still difficult. [M: yu'] When you called these five years, I was a bit shocked, because I'd said, I'd told my brother this, in fact three times, "I'm settled. [M: yu'] I have a wife ... I have a job, I have people that I'm looking onto. I have people that I'm supporting to make their own life better. [M: yu'] I think, in five years time, I want to be settled and married. " [E08-Su][U13-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#167

B-3a(m,F): "My mum, she's the .. I used to know my mum as a .. very good Christian. [M: mmh] .. She's a very good Christian. I think ... if she woke up, every morning, even now, I'm going out, she said, "God bless you". [M: mmh] Anything that you're looking for, may it come to pass. So, (the thing) keep worrying me. Thing is, my mother, she is expecting something from me. [M: mmh] Anytime I want to go out, it's always ringing, beware .. that be careful. .. [M: yu'] You have been blessed by your mum. Don't go outside in. So even if I want to go, do something wrong, :if: I could just reflect when I was going out, [M: mmh] reflect on what she says to me, I will never want to make mistake. [M: yuh] In my house, six o'clock, eight o'clock, I'm not at home, I always call my mum. ... "I'm with a friend, I'm in this place, I will be coming." "If I will not be coming, I will not be coming. [M: yu'] So, it has made me to be disciplined [M: yu'] on a personal ground. [M: I see] I think, there's a big (room there for me), [M: yu'] and I like her for that. [M: I see] In terms of prayer, [M: yu'] my mother, she's very strong. [M: uh-huh] If I'm sleeping, she's praying, I will say "wow". [M: yu'] My mother, she's praying. A woman like this, a young boy, I'm sleeping, I think I ought to do something. [M: yu'] So I think, it keeps lingering, it keeps lingering. There's a time I even said to myself, ... :if: .. paraventure, I should lose my mother, God forgive, what will I remember her for? (1.5) I had it in mind, the statement I will write, as a tribute for my mother now. .. [M: yuh] On my mind. Just because of .. the kind of love I have for her. .. [M: yuh] She has been .. a strength to the family. .. [M: yuh] If her family have gone through a lot of difficult, that .. if we look at the fact, the fact about life, we will not be where we are today. [M: yu'] :If: the family can be intact, [M: mmh] we are four, and this four, everybody is still focussed and patient today. [M: yu'] I think we have story to tell. [M: I see] I told my mum, "someday I will write a book about you". And she laughed." [U06-Cu][U16-Cu]

In interview context:

Ref-#168

E-3a(f,J): "The most important thing I have in my life .. is the life I have and the air I breath, .. [M: mmh] and my family .. [M: mmh] are very important to me, and friends, my loved as well."

M-1a: "Right. Your loved ones. Who are they, if not your family and your friends?"

E-3a: "Outside my family I have friends, [M: mmh] close friends, intimate friends."

M-1a: "Yu' .. What things do you do with your friends?"

E-3a: "We jest, .. discuss about issues which affects life, .. [M: mmh] and .. we share ideas and we encourage each other. [M: mmh] When you're in trouble, we try to encourage you, [M: yu'] give your life a meaning, when think nobody cares, we tell you that God really cares. [M: mmh-mmh]"

M-1a: "So where do you see your friends mostly?"

E-3a: "Most, I (share) I have, .. I have many friends, but I have one close friend, [M: mmh], a female friend, [M: mmh] she happens to be my (next cousin) [M: mmh], we're so close that .. at times we- , most at time we come at church together, [M: mmh] we stay close to each other, not far from each other, [M: yu'] we meet in school, in church and outside .. the house, [M: I see] outside the home, we still meet outside." [E08-Cu][E09-Cu]

Appendices

In the following dialogue we find the same idea that the company you keep influences you positively or negatively, as revealed with the Berom seniors – but not like the Taroks who appeared to gravitate more towards a notion of intrinsic goodness or badness in a person or people.

Ref-#169

B-3a(m,J): “The most important thing in my life is to .. is to :meet: people and to be in :peace: with everyone. ”

M-1a: “Meet people and be in peace. [F: yuh] (3.0) Right. Err, what kind of people do you meet?”

B-3a: “Emm, people that have- we have like-mind. I don't tell where you're coming from, I don't care your background. [M: yu'] I have an open mind for everybody, as far as we can be together and walk together and we understand each other. [M: yu'] But if, well, I meet somebody that we are (parallel) [[meaning unclear]], [M: uh-huh] we are not working together and we don't have likeminded, then I have no option than to let you go. [M: yuh] Likemind that the kind of person, that's the kind of people .. I want to be with.”

M-1a: “Right. So, “likemind”, what's a likemind in your- i-i from your point of view?”

B-3a: “Likeminded in terms of what we believe. [M: mmh] What we share, [M: yu'] what we do. [M: yu'] and, em, just all sorts of encouragement. [M: yu'] How positively he is encouraging you. [M: uh-huh] And, em, your :whole: life entirely is an example for me to live unto. [M: yu'] For me it if I want to be life you or, for me to want to – want to – want to almost be how you- how you live your life.”

M-1a: “Yu'. .. Can you unpack that a bit when you say that? Em, (5.0) “believe like you”. What does that mean?”

B-3a: “Em .. In life, there are people who- there are people who .. :impact: in you positively, [M: mmh] and there are people who impact in you negatively. .. When I'm coming up, I have (where) I want to attend. [M: yu'] <I>- I have my belief. I know what is right, and I know what is wrong. [M: yu'] Somebody that really understand that something is right, like me, [M: mmh] how I know it, I think we have likemind. [M: yu'] We can move together. [M: yu'] But somebody who is at the opposite, [M: uh-huh] all the time at the opposite, I think we have .. different mind. [M: yuh] So that one that we have, the same thing will come out. That's what I call 'likemind'.” [E09-Cu]

Ref-#170

B-3a(m,J): “:Most: importantly is the lifestyle. [M: uh-huh] Is their lifestyle. Once one is doing something that is not right, [M: yu'] and you keep telling him, “this what you are doing is not right, is not proper”. (He persist) [M: yeh] There is a popular saying that said here that, em, the bird of same feather :flock: together. [M: yuh] So :if: that person is still doing what you think that is not right and you keep telling him and he's still insisting on doing it, everybody around will look as if you too are enjoying that company. That's why you are together. So there's no option than to ... let it be.” [E08-Su]

During the focus group 10 months later, the top priority is education:

Ref-#171

F-3b(m,F): “Em ... the most important ... one of the most important that .. [F, D: ((snigger))] are my education, [M: mmh] (2.0) my, ehr, my relationship with my friends

Appendices

and the way I live in the society. ... [M: °mm°] .. and (4.5) my spiritual life.” [E08-Su]
[E09-Su]
[...]

F-3b(m,F): “All of it. The importance of education (3.5) <to> (2.0) to be enlightened on life and the society ... and .. to ... have a direction [M: mmh] (2.0) a direction for other aspects in life. [M: yuh] ... education teaches us that. ...” [E08-Su][E09-Su]

Then looking forward 10 months on things of importance in life:

Ref-#172

G-3b(m,F): “The most important thing in my life now is .. the situ- the situation that we are in now, God it's the most important thing.” [D14-Su][T02-Su][T07-Su][U10-Su]

Ref-#173

E-3b(f,F): “Mm well ... the most important thing ... for me right now, is my relationship with God.”
[...]

M-1b: “°I see.° Why is that important?”

E-3b: “Because I want to meet Him on the .. eternity.”

M-1b: “And you have no relationship with God?”

E-3b: “I have already, but I'm trying to :build: [M: build it] build it everyday.”

M-1b: “How do you go about that?”

E-3b: “I study the Word, [M. I see .. °right°] I attend church programmes, [M: mmh] I have my personal quiet time, [M. yu'] my relationship with humans and so on.” [D14-Cu]
[E06-Cu][T01-Cu][T05-Cu][T06-Cu][T07-Cu]

In interview context:

Ref-#174

M-1b: “So, just to ask you <again>, what is the most important thing in your life?”

E-3b(f,J): “Like .. I said earlier on, the most important thing in my life is .. :God:, :Jesus Christ: [M: uh-huh] He's the most important thing to me right now.” [D14-Cu][T02-Cu]
[T07-Cu][U10-Cu]

Ref-#175

E-3b(f,J): “Peace (2.0) peace is everything that everybody wants. [M: mmh] Peace is having ... a-a state of ... not having any trouble .. within you, not having any (3.0) any trouble within you .. [M: °mmh°] that is, instead of not having any trouble within you. [M: yu'] That is what peace means to me.” [U07-Cu]

Ref-#176

A-3b(m,J): “The most important thing in my life is ... knowing that fact that I'm a Christian.”

M-1b: “:Why: is being a Christian so important to you?”

A-3b: “Because Christianity is all about Christ, Jesus Christ.”

M-1b: “Uh-huh. ... So, .. em, are you saying that Jesus Christ is very important to you?”

A-3b: “He's very, very important to me.”

Appendices

M-1b: “Why?”

A-3b: “<Because> He came to the world. .. He saves me from all my iniquities. .. [M: mmh] And that is very important to me.”

M-1b: “Right. .. When you say He saves you from your iniquities, what iniquities are you .. talking about?”

A-3b: “The bondage of sins.”

M-1b: “How does He do that?”

A-3b: “He died on the Cross of Calvary. [M: uh-huh] He cleanses me rather than sacrificing animals <and> .. others.” [D13-Su][D14-Su][E09-Su][E15-Su][T03-Su][U02-Su][U14-Su]

Ref-#177

A-3b(m,J): “The second most important thing in my life ... is ... my career. ” [[A-3 works as a teacher]] [E09-Su]

But then adds:

Ref-#178

A-3b(m,J): “How-how and :how: .. and how it- and to work it convertible to Christ.” [D14-Su][E09-Su]

Ref-#179

A-3b(m,J): “Yup. .. I am a teacher.” [E09-Pu]

What would be done with one day left to live:

Ref-#180

D-3a(f,F): “I will live a Christ-like life, and I will .. I will make my way right with God, and to make sure that .. I make others happy before leaving.”
[...]

B-3a: “I think I will – I will ask for forgiveness, if I have offended anybody.” [U14-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#181

C-3a(m,F): “I will make sure that I .. go to people that I offend-offended them, ask for forgiveness, if there is, it will [help].” [D17-Cm][U14-Cm]

Ref-#182

E-3a(f,F): “I think .. I .. want to believe in God. I-I-I want to ask Him forgiveness, which, for when I of-offended Him, because even on the Cross, the-the thieves [M: mm] that were crucified together with Jesus Christ, they asked God for forgiveness, one of them asked God for forgiveness, 'cause he knew it was his last minute. So, if I'm given the opportunity, ... I want to do such too.” [D03-Su][D17-Su][T03-Su][T05-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#183

G-3a(m,F): "Well, to me, .. e .. I will mend my ways with God. I would try to see .. err .. that there may be a () to God. () That's important." [D17-Cm][T07-Cm]

On the causes and nature of illnesses. accidents and death:

Ref-#184

E-3a(f,J): "Ill heath .. causes death, [M: yu'] violence and crisis also causes death. Accidents also causes death. Fight causes death." [E01-Cu]

But then:

Ref-#185

M-1a: "Mmh. .. And that you get into these situations, ill health and accidents, (2.0) is that just by chance, or is it your destiny, or is there some other reason?"

E-3a(f,J): "It's a destiny."

M-1a: "Destiny"

E-3a: "Yes."

M-1a: "Would that mean that, em, that you have only a certain period to live, then it's over, or are there other [factors-]"

E-3a: "You can't live in the world for life. [M: yu'] Like they said that, for everything that happens, God knows why He allowed it to happen. [M: yu'] so whether by accident, fight, or ever, though you-, you're to protect yourself, [M: yu'] but then, if it happens, I feel that it's- is God that has allowed it to happen, maybe for a purpose." [D11-Cu][E01-Cu][E13-Cu][T02-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#186

B-3a(m,J): "My dad was .. very very illled ... [M: mmh] very illled. ... And, em, .. there's something we can't tell. [M: yu'] We'd been to hospital for six months. .. [M: yu'] All tests was run. .. They kept on bringing results. There was nothing, there was nothing, there waas nothing. [M: yu'] He's still down ... could not walk to the extent that his (beds all). [M: yu'] He had to .. we do stay in Maiduguri formerly, [M: yu'] to transfer him from Maiduguri to Plateau State [M: yu'] to look at his situation, [M: yu'] which they look at it, the same result here. .. [M: yu'] Nothing is being showed, that he's fine."
[...]

M-1a: "Yu', yu'. What did people around you say it was?"

B-3a: "Mmm, people around says, "somebody did this", "somebody did that", "somebody did that". :Me: as a person, what I didn't see, [M: yu'] I don't talk about it. [M: yuh] And I don't believe, [M: yuh] that somebody can do anything to me. .. [M: yu', yu'] The God Himself, He lives. And I told God, if I have bad intention for anybody, anything that somebody wants to do to me, shall happen, and that is my belief. And that is how I lead my life."

M-1a: "I see. .. But the people around you .. felt differently."

B-3a: "Yeh! They felt very different. Very different."

M-1a: "What kind of things were these that they were saying?"

Appendices

B-3a: "They were saying that, er, .. maybe somebody that did it to him, [M: mmh] that, em, maybe somebody not like him, and the rest, so I would just say, because I know my dad, He don't joke with our school. [M: yu' .. yu'] If it takes him, not to put on clothes, [M: yu'] for his children to go to school, he do that. [M: yu'] I can never forget that for me. [M: yu'] My dad can starve himself ... collect his salary and see my children go to school. [M: yu'] And I think that is the greatest asset that he as kept for us. [M: I see] And that's what he's keeping for me [M: I see] as I'm going. That is the unique record of my own dad." [E01-Cu][E08-Cu][U16-Cu]

Ref-#187

M-1a: "Ok. ... Though what happens to people when they die?"

[...]

B-3a(m,J): "I think, from Christian perspective, em, ... the Bible aspect, ... we've been given an :option:, [M: mmh] to either follow Christ, [M: mmh] or to do things our own way. .. :If: you are following Christ, there is a reward for it. If you do things your own way, there is a reward for it. [M: ye'] So two things will happen, [M: yu'] either you make it to heaven, [M: mmh] or you go to hell. [M: yu'] These are the two things that happens to people that died." [E13-Cu][U04-Cu]

Areas of life in which **magic** operates, what **safety** is and the **issue of materialism**.

Magic pertaining to Muslim practices:

Ref-#188

E-3a(f,J): "You know, this their .. writing .. er .. material. There is this black thing they write with. [M: yu'] (2.0) At times they said they- I don't know, but they say they used to workshop and keep them to drink. And that I believe in me is a spirit. [M: yu'] Something that when it's being stirred up, [M: yu'] it makes you behave .. the way you don't even want to. " [E10-SM][E14-SM][E16-SM][M08-SM]

and then:

Ref-#189

E-3a(f,J): "Well, it's a writing materi-, it's a writing whatever. They use it to write, you know, with a black pot. ... [M: mmh] They use it teach them to write, like all those ones that are coming up. [M: yu'] .. I don't- I heard that if a baby is born that, you know what they do naming ceremony. [M: mmh] So if a baby is born, they kill ram as well. .. [M: yu'] If a baby is born, if you- if you see a <typical Muslim .. child>, [M: yu'] he is different. A Muslim can be able to recite Qu'ran from ... the front page to the cover page, [M: yu'] .. but Christians, we find it difficult to do that. I don't know whether it's because of the background or that parents don't even have time to teach their children. When a baby is born, the naming ceremony, they will combine the blood of the ram, it is the Mallam that does that thing, [M: mmh] you combine the blood of the ram, with that their <black ink>. [M: yu'] And they will put it in the ears of the baby, and they will do some incantations like that. [M: yu'] So I feel it's a spirit, [M: mmh] .. such that, as I said

Appendices

earlier on, before a Christian .. come to be a Christian, it has to be God himself. [M: yu'] Because that spirit is walking in them. [M: mmh-°mmh°] And that spirit, already the incantations and whatever, that the Mallam has said on the baby stands, [M: yu'] you know, the mother will not- the mother doesn't, they don't even allow the mother to go in and see what .. they are doing to her child. [M: yu'] So they will do all the incantation and all the rest before giving it .. [M: yu'] to the mother, [M: yu'] and the naming party continues. [M: mmh] So that thing to me is a spirit. [M: yu'] That-, at time you will see a Muslim, your friend, you mingle, you know, you do things together, [M: mmh] but once that thing just tear them up, [M: yu'] it's difficult to control them, [M: I see] so I feel it's a spirit. [M: mmh – wha-] Any thing that incantations will be done on it, there's a spirit."

M-1a: "I see. .. And where does this spirit come from? Is it a spirit from here, or is it a spirit from Arabia or a spirit- what kind of spirit is this?"

E-3a: "It's from realm. (2.0) from the realm. "

M-1a: "The realm. (1.5) Which-which realm?"

E-3a: "Either their own is evil realm. [M: mmh] Yes, it's evil."

M-1: "°I see° (3.0) And-"

E-3a: "There are spirit of God and there are spirit of .. of the (2.5) of the spirit .. [T: demonic] demonic spirit, so that one is demonic."

M-1a: "Yu'-yu. .. I see. .. And will this affect :all: Muslims?"

E-3a: "It affects almost all of them, [M: yu'] except for those who lived <all their lives from child- .. from childhood to their youthful age, even they lived all their- maybe they never had close Muslim friends. [M: yu'] All their friends have been Christians. Those one might be different .. [M: yu'. I see.] to some extent."

M-1a: "Would it also affect Berom Muslims?"

E-3a: "Yes. .. It does." [E02-CM][E10-CM][E16-CM][M02-CM][M05-CM][M09-CM]

While B-3 does not commit to the existence or non-existence of magic, he contextualises its power.

Ref-#190

M-1a: "Is there such a thing as magic?"

B-3a(m,J): "Such a thing?"

M-1a: "Yuh, like, <emm>, do witchdoctors have power?"

B-3a: "I didn't get it."

T-2a: "[Like something] like magic."

B-3a: "Power?"

[...]

M-1a: "Does that exist?"

B-3a: "((smiling)) I told my mother that things I don't believe in. [M: mmh] (3.0) They said, there is spirit and the rest. You say maybe want to go outside, so people will shout and run, [M: yu'] and they tell you, they saw white thing and the rest, [M: yu'] and they run. I don't have that feeling. [M: yu'] I can wake up in the night, and go any distance I want to go. I can see a white thing, but not of my business. I tell you, that white thing, is human being like me. [M: yu'] There's nothing that never happened, and she make me to say, this thing is no good, and one day it will cause problem and the rest. And if there's magic, that magic is for the people that believe. [M: yu'] :Christianity: is the belief and the faith that we have. [M: yuh] And it's the kind of mindset we have. [M: yu'] I think, there is something, if you are a human being, you talked of something, or you have a

Appendices

problem, you sleep over it, to come to you as a dream, because you have it in mind. [M: yu'] So I apply that likewise. [M: yu'] I don't believe in those magic. [M: yu'] I believe in Jesus Christ. If there's magic, for those that believe, but for me, no magic. .. [M: ok] And maybe, the way I grew up, I didn't grow up seeing these things. [M: yu'] I didn't grew up believing those things. For me, no magic. :If: there is, I heard it as history, .. [M: mmh, mmh] and the rest. So, and I believe history is that past, and anything I didn't see, I didn't touch. ... [M: yu'] (I'm not doubting it.)" [D16-Cu][E10-Cu][T02-Cu]

Respondents did report on how they perceived the issue of safety:

Ref-#191

E-3b(f,F): "No, I feel safe amongst my ... other Christian brethren. [M: mmh] I feel safe in the church. [M: right] I think, church is the most safest place. [M: right, °mmh°] because God is, you know, we have our .. other lives that we live on. [M: mmh] You know, that in the church, although some people do pretend, but then [M: yu'] do feel that the atmosphere allows God to do (all day) [M: yu'], because anyhow-anyhow, there's always a righteous person there." [E08-Su][T07-Su][U10-Su][U15-Su]

Ref-#192

A-3b(m,J): "About a place I feel safe? (4.0) With the current situation happening in Nigeria, (2.0) I don't think that there is place which I call safe. [M: uh-huh] Even now.";; "Because of the security problem that is in Nigeria. .. [M: mmh] Bomb blasts here and there, the crisis, the terror crisis and so on and so forth." [U10-Cu][U13-Cu]

But safety did also represent a conundrum and proved conceptually elusive:

Ref-#193

B-3b(m,F): "Em, that is why I would really to talk on the safe, or the (safer). .. I feel, nowhere is safe, and nowhere is not safe. [M: mmh] because with the .. current situation we are finding ourselves, you can be in your house, with the policemen, with the security, with soldier men here, [F: ye] [M: mmh] and these people will come and attack you. [M: yu'] You can go and amidst of them, and you pass safely without nobody touching you. [M: yu'] So if you call your house, it's a safe place, or the church, its a safe place, why would they attack you? [M: yu'] If you call their place a safe place and you pass through there, why wouldn't they attack you? [M: yu'] So everything is in the hands of God. [M: yu'] We expect the unexpected, and anything can happen anywhere. So nowhere is safe, and nowhere is unsafe [M: yu'] in our current situation." [C10-Su][D11-Su][T02-Su][U10-Su][U13-Su]

And later on the prevalence of materialistic thinking:

Ref-#194

B-3b(m,F): "Some-some go for materials. .. [M: yu'] Some go for-for :selfish: benefits .. [M: yu'] that they see without looking at the religion's background, or looking at implications.="

Appendices

A-3b(m,F): “The implications of what [what they are getting into].”

B-3b: “[If getting] this Bible is my priority, some will say, let me just go and get the Bible, and anything that happens, [none of] [E: none of] our business. [E: yu'] [M: yu'] So some are not even looking at it from the Christian angles, so they are just looking at the material things they will achieve, [M: I see] and that's most of the cause. [M: yu'-yu']” [E04-Su][E08-Su][E09-Su][E11-Su][M01-Su][M02-Su][T01-Su][T07-Su]

Respondents' statements on the Nature of God:

Ref-#195

C-3a(f,F): “Like it has been said, if I will add, I see the goodness of God. [M: goodness of God] Goodness of God because if we are living in this world without the goodness of God, we will not be able to do anything.” [T02-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#196

C-3a(m,F): “Ok, like I said “God”, God is the One that provides us with everything; He is the One that brought us into this world. [M: uh-huh] He is .. He is the only One that we will worship, so if I say “God”, I mean the One that is with us always and wherever we are.” [T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#197

B-3a(m,F): “Participant B. [A, B, C: ((laugh again))] I think Jesus Christ died on the cross of Calvary. For all of us. We saw what He went through during that process. I think in that regard, it's not different from what is happening. It's even as a – as an individual, the pain He went through is more than what we're facing at. And He still said, “Father, forgive them, for they don't know what they are doing.” I think He will forgive them. That seventy times seven times.” [C03-Cu][C13-Cu][E15-Cu][M03-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#198

A-3a(m,F): “Because the Bible says :three: in one. The Trinity. He's the Father, He's the Son, and He's the Holy Spirit. [M: ok] But the Bible distincts God as the Father, Jesus as the Son, so to me, He's still God.” [T01-CM]

Ref-#199

C-3a(m,F): “I want to ask, why is it that God destroyed the Israelites? .. On the Red Sea. Does that mean that He is not the One that created them?”

And then;

C-3a: “Why did God destroy the Egyptians? ... Does that mean He's not the One that created them?”

To which:

D-3a(f,F): “Just the way he said, God will not destroy, unless you are not living according to His Will [M: mmh]... If you are not pleasing Him, .. He will destroy you. [M: ok]”

Conclusion:

C-3a: “Ok. So that means that it is proper for God to destroy .. a Muslim.” [T02-Cu][T05-Cu][U14-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#200

E-3a(f,F): "God cannot be described, because He's not, er, He's not a being, ... so God is-is holy, I can't just describe God ((smiles)), but God is holy." [T05-Cu]

Ref-#201

F-3a(m,F): "Well God, God is a Supreme Being. That's no other, no other like Him, He..He. Jesus (sent) Him alone .. and to such we-we, take Him as someone nice ... He's more than us, .. He's not here, can't see Him, so He is being, to us." [T03-Cu][T05-Cu]

And in an interview context

Ref-#202

E-3a(f,J): "Because I believe that God- .. God is everywhere. [M: mmh] But when you come to the church, He is there with you. You know, at time when you are outside the church, you tend to behave somehow. You like to do stupid things, [M: mmh] but when you are in the church, your conscience ... you will be () except if you're not a believer. [M: yu'] So I feel I'm safe in the church – more safe in the church." [T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#203

M-1b: "Now D, beforehand you said, God was the most important thing. Tell me, who is God in your opinion?"

G-3b(m,F): "In my opinion? [M: yehh] yeh. God is spirit."

M-1b: "Sorry?"

G-3b: "God is spirit."

M-1b: "I see. .. Can you say more?"

G-3b: "More what then?"

M-1b: "Ye' more than, is He just spirit? .. Or is He more?"

G-3b: "Alright. (4.5) He's determined .. he's .. he cannot be quantified."

M-1b: "Mmh. .. Why not? [D: er-uh?] Why not?"

G-3b: "Because His function." [T05-Cu]

Respondents' perceptions of **God as agent**:

Ref-#204

D-3a(f,F): "Just the way he said. [M: mm?] No one knows what God really did. [M: mmh] Because He gave us power to trample on scorpions. [M: mm] And He's the same person that say we should forgive whatever our brother did. So, it depends. God has that power to stop .. to stop, er, to stop them from crucifying Him. But He allow it to happen. So that :man: will get his .. redemption. But, .. we mi-, we might think that God will kill them, we might say, no, God will leave them. We don't know, but we just pray, God should help us to know more about [B: ()] .. about to handle the situation when it comes." [T02-CM][T03-CM][T07-CM]

Ref-#205

B-3a(m,J): "The Bible makes us to understand that God is a fair and holy god. The Beginning and the End. [M: °yes°] And, er, with the Death of Jesus Christ, He has given us Grace. And the Grace is for you to take decision on your own, [M: mmh] either to go

Appendices

through right, or to go through left. [M: mm] Muslims, .. from what the Bible (still) told us, that we, ours, are are the son of, ahhr, Abraham. .. [M: mmh] And those Muslims too, they are the son of Abraham, .. so we have the same lineage. .. But .. the Devil too is an Angel of God. But he disobeyed God, then God throw him out of the heavens .. The Muslims, Jesus Christ was there before their prophet Mohammed, but when Mohammed came into play, they believed in his own tradition and they followed him vividly. They have taken their own decision. So likewise, we are one, and this is the stand that they have taken. This is what they believe on. And this is what we believe on. So we are-are still one, we are together.” [D08-Cu][M06-Cu][M09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#206

F-3a(m,F): “Er, As we’ve :heard: [M: mm], as we’ve :read: from the Bible, [M: mm] is a forgive, He has a forgiving spirit .. so to me, I think He’s going to forgive them, .. allowing them to stay there. [M: mmh] .. an um, and make make them His friends .. [M: °yeh°]. .. So that due to the present situation we have now, we try to make them our friends, but .. it’s as if they don’t need our friendship. So .. it’s now thus it’s not necessary to have their friendship .. but Jesus Christ .. is very important, and He .. He said love is a () [M: mmh] to, I think He, we’re going to :love: them, to whichever extent, we need to ..” [D17-Cu][M09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#207

E-3a(f,F): “God has been so faithful. [M: mh] to us ... here in our own () in particular [M: mh]. Because you can imagine someone coming to you with a gun, a sword, and you, you are just holding a stone, and yet, the power in that stone will still destroy him. We still kill even some of them. So God will definite – Jesus is – is definitely going to protect – He has been protecting us, and He will surely do it (3.0) [M: °ok°] So I feel Jesus will protect me, they are coming. [M: °mm°] God can even, in fact, confuse them, can make them fight themselves, can make them turn back.” [C03-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu]

Ref-#208

A-3b(m,F): “Look, we have all Christians having been destroyed around this place long before now. [M: mmh] Where I think that God has been on our side and God has been faithful to us. [M: yu’] Because ... the kind of preparation the Muslim fellows were doing. ... It was a kind of a serious preparation. They have every - :every: ammunition on ground, .. [M: mmh] to fight us, to eliminate us. .. But it was Christ that was working that help us to even :overcome: .. their strength.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][D12-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu]

And on His attitude to Muslims:

Ref-#209

E-3a(f,F): “He loves them, but He don’t like, .. you know, God loves everybody, you know, even when you are doing the-the wrong thing. He still really loves you, just that He’s not happy. He loves you irrespective of whether you’re a Muslim or a Christian, as far as you believed on Him, [G: ((coughs))] and you confessed, He will, He loves you. Jesus loves everybody.” [C03-Cu][T03-Cu][U06-Cu]

Appendices

To which G-3 responds

Ref-#210

G-3a(m,F): “(Actually, He has been protecting us), ah, He has been protecting us even in the recent crisis, even in the recent crisis 2008. ((coughs)) Actually, you saw the hand of God, because the kind of weapon, weapon these people are using. [M: mm] What are we to do, we don't weep- ... anything, it's only [E: stones] stones and [E: sticks] sticks. And actually, people has, I believe if God will definitely protect us. If they are coming that Jesus Christ is there to protect us. If He means to destroy the people, He will destroy them, but I know He will look for a solution not to destroy them, because He know them too.” [C03-Cu][D07-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu]

How respondents evaluate their **relationship with God**:

E-3 was clearly most open about her relationship with God, although it must be said that she had the most one-to-one interview time permitting this.

Ref-#211

E-3a(f,J): “Well, first of all, we need to look up to God, 'cause they say that we should follow His Ways ... So ... I think God is a perfect role model to follow up. Jesus Christ, the perfect role model. .. Afterwards, maybe you can decide to take a parent and or others, but I think Jesus Christ is better.” [T03-Cm][T07-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#212

E-3a(f,J): “I think .. I .. want to believe in God. I-I-I want to ask Him forgiveness, which, for when I of-offended Him, because even on the Cross, the-the thieves [M: mm] that were crucified together with Jesus Christ, they asked God for forgiveness, one of them asked God for forgiveness, 'cause he knew it was his last minute. So, if I'm given the opportunity, ... I want to do such too.” [D03-Su][D17-Su][T03-Su][T05-Su]

Ref-#213

E-3a:(f,J) “Yes, I .. cherish Psalms 121 verse 1 to the end. [M: mmh] (3.0) He says, I'll lift up my eyes to the hills, whence my help come? My help comes from the Lord? [M: yu'] And the Lord has promised- at times if I read, I always found joy, .. when I read that place. .. Sometimes, if when things are not even moving the way I want, [M: yu'], I still love it, [M: yu'] because the Word says, God will protect me, he will direct my going-out and coming-in. You know, wherever you are, be it even while you are sleeping, He is still there with you. [M: mmh] While you're awake He is there, in the parlour, in the bedroom. .. Even when you're doing the wrong thing, God is still there, except that He's not happy. [M: yeh] So I find joy in .. that particular verse. Chapter 121. And also John 3:16. .. [M: ok] Yes. God sent His Beloved Son, even while I was yet a sinner, He redeemed me, saved me, .. so I'm :glad:. And this, er, Matthew 10:10 [[actually, John]] again, when () a thief comes, he need to steal, kill and destroy, [M: mmh] so the enemy does, and still the enemy does not have power over me if I have the knowledge of God. [M: mmh] That is why I am abiding by the Word. [M: yeh] I have so many, in fact, so

Appendices

many, almost all – in fact all. ... The Bible is my mirror, is my everything.” [D03-Su]
[T01-Su][T07-Su]

E-3 reveals her epistemology of God by explaining how she learns of Him:

Ref-#214

E-3a(f,J): “In the Bible, which is .. my everything and .. from books ... inspirational .. books.” [T01-Su][T07-Su]

And some months later

Ref-#215

B-3b(m,F): “So everything is in the hands of God. [M: yu'] We expect the unexpected, and anything can happen anywhere. So nowhere is safe, and nowhere is unsafe [M: yu'] in our current situation.” [C10-Su][D11-Su][T02-Su][U10-Su][U13-Su]

A-3 describes the impact of God in his life:

Ref-#216

M-1b: “[...] Being a Christian, being saved from sin. Wha- how- what changed- how does it change your everyday life as to being not a Non-Christian?”

A-3b(m,J): “Hmm! Really, it ha- it has great impact in my life. .. Because whatever I do, wherever I go, ... I have to consider, or I considered the facts that somebody very superior, very important in my life ... I'm living with Him.” [D13-Cu][D14-Cu][E09-Cu][E15-Cu][T03-Cu]

On **protection against enemy**:

Ref-#217

G-3a(m,F): “Jesus is God [several: .H.H]. He's carrying the Spirit because He's God. He has ways of doing it. He has different way of doing His things.” [T02-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#218

G-3a(m,F): “He has the Power. He can blow confusion among them and they can do, can go back. He can do .. things we cannot imagine. [M: ok] Since we cannot see.” [T02-Cu]

Ref-#219

E-3a(f,J): “We just have to leave the house. We just left everything in God's custody. [M: yu'] But thank God, it was not burnt.” [C11-Su][T02-Su]

Ref-#220

E-3a(f,J): “Well .. like, in the case of what is happening, I think it is only God that will intervene.” [C12-Cu][T02-Cu]

Appendices

But then:

Ref-#221

E-3a(f,J): “Now you cannot just fold your arm like this [M: yeu’], or if they come and you fold your hand and you don’t kill the person, what will you tell God? That you cannot protect yourself? .. [M: mmh] So, I think, when they touch us, .. we should react as well. [M: yuh] We should try to protect ourselves.” [C03-Cu][T02-Cu]

10 months later similar things were being said:

Ref-#222

G-3b(m,F): “The most important thing in my life now is .. the situ- the situation that we are in now, God it’s the most important thing.” [D14-Su][T02-Su][T07-Su][U10-Su]

Ref-#223

G-3b(m,F): “He protects your from ... dangers from everything that we have.” [T02-CM][T03-CM]

Ref-#224

A-3b(m,F): “The dangers of everyday life. The dangers of everyday life. Some are physical, some are not physical. ... [M: mmh] And for the non-physical dangers, .. I can’t say that this is what will happen to me, [M: yu’] this is what happened, but I think :God: has been protecting us from the :invisible: dangers.” [T02-CM][T05-CM][T07-CM]

Ref-#225

G-3b(m,F): “it was God-sha, so it was God who saved us. [M: yu’] Because in the morning, ... we now ... went out again, now went to the University of Jos. That where we stayed until .. [F: after] until after the crisis even before we leave some ... Igbo mobile soldiers from- I don’t know who called them, then came in and everything’s calm.” [C05-Su][M03-Su][M09-Su][T02-Su][T05-Su][U10-Su]

Ref-#226

E-3b(f,F): “Like, even the COCIN Church, COCIN in general. The theme for the year is “Be doers of the Word”. .. [M: yu’] And God has not hidden anything from us. [M: yu’] If we obey Him, there is nothing, there is :no: battle that He will not fight for us. ... It is just that we, the Christians, are also not too faithful to God, [M: yu’] but I believe that if you are faithful,- [M: yu’] During the times of Noah, Noah was the only righteous man, [M: yu’] but God preserved his generation, God saved .. the people because of Noah. So if we will wren our hearts and not our garments, I think God will just fight the battle for us.” [C12-Cu][D01-Cu][D03-Cu][D12-Cu][E06-Cu][P01-Cu][T01-Cu][T02-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#227

A-3b(m,J): “We pray for p- What do we pray for? [M: yu’] We pray for God. ” [C12-PM][D12-PM][M01-PM][T02-PM][T06-PM]t

Appendices

Ref-#228

E-3b(f,J): “It is truly for God, because God has not hidden anything from us, just like I said earlier on. God is everything, God is a Supreme Being. And if really, it will be for God, and we will be faithful to God, God does not want for the other leg to be outside and the other to be inside. [M: mmh] He wants a straight-forward .. person. And if we will be straightforward, and abiding God, He will definitely fight the battle for us.” [C12-Su][D12-Su][E06-Su][T02-Su][T05-Su][T06-Su]

M-1b: “And how would He bi- fight the battle for you?”

E-3b: “Like in the days of Jo- Joshaphat, the choristers, the youth the (san) and they .. their enemies began to fight themselves. .. So if we .. are in tune with God, God will made them to fight themselves, and the there will not be peace with them. And He will still cause confusion within their Kingdoms, and if there is confusion, definitely, .. [M: mmh] they .. cannot go any further.” [D03-Su][D12-Su][T02-Su]

Ref-#229

E-3b(f,J): “<Ahhm>, our way of life. (3.0) You know, Christ said we should be like Him. If we live for Christ, Christ does not steal, He does not kill, .. He doesn't cheat. (2.0) So if we wil live our life .. as though Christ lived His own, ... [M: mmh] we would definitely win them .. for Christ. .. [M: are-] For those one .. that are fanatics, that one is is-is-is God's work. .. It takes God's .. :conviction: [M: mmh] to convict them.” [M02-Su][T02-Su][U16-Su]

Very little is said on **traditional worship**:

Ref-#230

B-3a(m,J): “a traditional worshipper [M: mm], serve juju, I really know. I think I will, I will limit my rapport with you, to be careful, but if for a Muslim, I still have (Muslims friends today) () they are my friends.” [M03-Su]

Respondents' perceptions of **threats**:

Ref-#231

C-3a(m,F): “If I am afraid in the house of a person that don't like me, you know even in .. Christianity, there are a lot of people that don't like you, like the Muslims too. [M: uh-huh] They too, they don't like us, so even among the Christians, there are a lot that don't like us. So there are people that when you see them, you will be afraid among the Christians.” [E08-Su]

Muslims represent a major source of fear for many youths:

Ref-#232

A-3a(m,F): “Like days back, I was not afraid of anybody, until now that this crisis started. Right now, to be sincere, I am afraid of the Muslims, the sword people, because right now, it is not everywhere that you will enter and come out safe.” [C10-Su][M04-Su][M09-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#233

D-3a(f,F): “Just like he said. Mmm. Anybody that don't love you, you have to (be careful with that person). The Muslim might be your source of rescue. [M: yu'] Your :brother: might be the one that will kill you. [M: mm] So, everybody that don't love you, be careful with him.” [E08-Cm]

Ref-#234

F-3a(m,F): “Just, I don't think there is someone to going to make me fear.” [C10-Cm]

E-3a(f,F): “So the recent, the happenings [M: yea] is what make ME as a person [M: to fear] to fear Muslims.” [C08-Cu][C10-Cu][M01-Cu]

Ref-#235

E-3a(f,F): “And I fear the people that work with demonic spirit. Do God help, God always help us to fight them () .. You know, you have to be scared of that thing in order to stay away from it.” [M09-Cu]

Ref-#236

F-3a(m,F): “But I think .. it might be due to the .. situation [M:mm] .. and also .. t- .. why .. the way they live their life ... We might go to meet, go to meet a Muslim man [M: mm] try to .. to make him Christian, .. but .. you, ah, even to be afraid, because you're thinking, ah, maybe you thought, ah, he going to kill you .. or .. he .. is not going to accept .. the salvation.” [C10-CM]

Ref-#237

G-3a(m,F): “But. At this situation it is difficult, (take) the Grace of God, because of the situation. There are places you cannot enter today .. [M: mm] Definitely if you do to that place, they will kill you ... So, it is going to be very difficult to (go) one on one [M: ok] to those places [M: ok]. Take the Grace of God.” [C10-Cu][T02-Cu]

Ref-#238

E-3a(f,F): “We are all humans, and nobody is supposed to make us fear. But with the recent happenings in our areas, .. seriously, ... to me as an individual, [M: mm-h], the Muslims, I fear them, 'cause anything that will destroy my life, I have to .. fear that thing very well, so I fear them. And I fear the people that work with demonic spirit. Do God help, God always help us to fight them () .. You know, you have to be scared of that thing in order to stay away from it.” [M09-Cm]

The mention of bombs is already present in the first contact sessions, but still as a rather far-away option:

Ref-#239

E-3a(f,J): “Anything can happen, bomb explosion, .. [M: uh-huh] can happen anywhere now. [M: yu'-yu'] And right now, at times, even when I'm moving, if I see a military man .. coming behind me, I get scared .. [M: yu'] because he can .. the way things are going, you know, at times, if something should just ... happen [M: uh-huh] instead of

Appendices

them to protect people, they are the ones causing ... more danger, so I'm :scared: [M: yu'] of such people now." [C10-Cu][U13-Cu]

As a woman, E-3 has to deal with additional threats from what should be here to help her:

Ref-#240

E-3a(f,J): "The military forces are supposed to protect lives and properties. .. [M: yuh] But .. well, they do, but they don't do it in sincerity. [M: mmh] Some of them are after money. If you give them money to kill, they will go and do it. [M: yu'] Like with what happened yesterday, I was not there, but from people that I called and confirmed, they said, when it started, [M: mmh] you know, Christians and- both Christians and Muslims were there, but the security men started shooting anyhow, [M: yu'] and they shot .. innocent souls [M: yu'] who were there, which they are not supposed to. [M: yu'] (3.0) so one is not really safe in the hands of the security." [C10-Cu][U13-Cu]

Here she pulls back from the sexual nature of the security force threat and puts it in more common terms.

10 months on, the general threats are basically the same:

Ref-#241

M-1b: "°I see.° .. What kind of people scare you?"

A-3b(m,J): "°Mmh!° ... For (scaring me), are my Mus- my Muslim brothers or friends."

M-1b: "Right. .. You call them friends."

A-3b: "My Muslim friends. [M: uh-huh] yeh. I call them friends, because I don't think they're my enemies."

M-1b: "There not your en-, but they scare you?"

A-3b: "Yes, they really scared me."

M-1b: "Why do they scare you?"

A-3b: "Because of the attitude that they developed ... [M: <uh-huh>] over time."

M-1b: "Can you tell me about their attitude?"

A-3b: "They're terr- .. terrorism. ... [M: yuh] They terrorise people ... here and there." [M09-Cu][U03-Cu]

Then:

Ref-#242

A-3b(m,J): "Things that scare me";,"actually, it' scaring like the major one is <sin>."

M-1b: "Sin .. right. .. °Yu, yu°. Why, what can sin do to you?"

A-3b: "I'll be dead spiritually.";,"And after which judgement that follows." [U03-Su][U14-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#243

F-3b(m,F): “Feeling scared, I fee-feeled well before going to church, is going .. maybe I have- I might be scared of the attacks or .. anything happening while .. just as, I have that fear in me [°C: mmh°] about going to church.” [U10-Cu][U13-Cu]

Ref-#244

A-3b(m,F): “I’m really scared going to church these days. [M: mmh] Why? Because churches are the target areas for our enemies. [M: yu’] According to our Muslim brothers, they target churches [M: °mmh-mmh°] because they know that if they bomb, or they set a bomb in any church, they will destroy so many Christians. [M: yu’] So to me, I’ll just risk it, coming to church.” [U10-Cu][U13-Cu]

Then E-3 after her two male colleagues had spoken:

Ref-#245

E-3b(f,F): “See as myself, I don’t feel [scared.]”; “I don’t .. have any fear coming to church. [M: I see, so it is-] From the rumours, .. the text messages, and the rest, I don’t still feel .. [M: uh-huh] any scared of them coming to the church. [M: right] That’s me.” [U10-Cm][U13-Cm]

So B-3 toughens up:

Ref-#246

B-3b(m,F): “I’m, er, in my own case I don’t see- feel I get scared going to church, [M: mmh] because I think of it- I look at it from the general perspective. [M: yu’] Anything can happen [F: mm] at any time. I woke up in the morning and I said, “God, I give you my day.” lead my footsteps and I think and I commit my day into the hands of God. [M: yu’] Whether going to church or not going to church, I told myself, I will live this earth, [M: yu’] make sure you are living prepared. [M: yu’] So, going to church, attacking the church, I didn’t think of that. [M: mmh] I know that every time I go to church, I-, after service I just go round and see, so that people be careful. [M: mmh] It can be anywhere, it can be anybody, it can be anytime, [M: mmh] be it church or not church.” [T06-Cm][T07-Cm][U10-Cm][U13-Cm]

However in the one-to-one interview, E-3 is no longer quite as tough:

Ref-#247

E-3b(f,J): “Well, I’m scared, .. [M: mmh] because .. the rate as which violence is growing [M: yu’], (4.0) I’m scared, I, arr, sometimes I feel .. do God exist? He has been protecting us, and He is the One who has been protecting us, but the rate at which it .. is growing, [M: mmh] and the rate at which ... the-the-the .. violent people are using their means, .. [M: yu’] I’m scared, if there will be Christians (1.5) like in Bukuru town. Like if you go to Bukuru town right now, ... even the market, we have separate markets, Christians have their own .. [M: mmh] and Muslims have their own as well. You see, we don’t even – we don’t :mingle: like before again. [M: yu’] So I’m scared .. it might escalate.” [E05-Su][T07-Su][U01-Su][U03-Su]

The respondents' perception and understandings of **evil**:

Ref-#248

A-3a(m,F): "Because if you harden your heart, God can destroy you. Because if you know, He will lead many people astray. [M: mmh] So to me, actually, I cannot decide which one God will destroy them [[the Muslims]], because He created them, but God is not happy with evil." [T03-Su][T05-Su]

And evil people are none other than the Muslims and non-believers:

Ref-#249

A-3a(m,F): "And the Muslim per se, they are evil. Those in Jos, they are evil, because if you don't know Christ, you are evil, that is to me, you are not (practicing), you are not doing what God .. have done." [M09-Su][T03-Su][T05-Su]

Ref-#250

A-3a(m,F): "Let me just. :If: it's either you're good or you are evil. Let me just use these (words), either you are good or your evil." [...] "Refusing to accept or accommodate Christ as the Son of God." [M09-Cu][U16-Cu]

And 10 months on:

Ref-#251

E-3b(f,F): "[When you] [D: when you serve the devil] don't believe Jesus Christ, you will certainly perish." [E02-Cu][M09-Cu][T03-Cu]

References to **eschatological thinking**:

Ref-#252

B-3a(m,F): "I think that, er, what really God (did there), we have generation to generation, even this our own generation, there are times – time will come that :we too: those that refuse to harken to the voice of God will be punished. So I think that God has given them that grace. He has – he has – he has talked to them, given them chance to change their way. They refused. He just wants to show that. He remains the alpha and the omega. He can do and undo. The Muslim, time is coming too, that they too will face the consequences of what they are doing. It's left for us Christians to be so patient ... The Bible has made us to understand that those that refuse to harken to voice- unto the Word to the voice. On the last day, they will pay for that." [M02-Cu][T02-Cu][T07-Cu][U14-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#253

G-3b(m,F): “As I say, because of the situation that we are in now. The way I see it, .. the world <is> (3.0) going to end ... [M: right] so the best thing to happen is like this ().”
[E02-Su][M09-Su][T03-Su]

Meanwhile: B-3 stays true to his thinking of 10 months earlier, while, E-3 conflates an eschatological expectation with perceived Muslim miscreance:

Ref-#254

B-3b(m,F): “Well, the perishing [[of Muslims]] will not be now. .. When Jesus comes.=”
E-3b: “When Jesus comes.”

B-3b: “=It will not be now. ((laughs))

E-3b(f,F): “And they- and they are fighting for the- for the world. They want to be occupying the world. [E: the world] By God's grace, if Christ comes and by God's grace, we will all be with Him. If we go, leave the earth for them, [[several: ((laughter))]] it will solve the problem. Our prayer is just strive hard, [M: yu'] and to live .. our life for God.”
[C12-Cu][D10-Cu][E01-Cu][E02-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu][T06-Cu]

G.7.2.2 Evidence related primarily to identities

The Berom youths' **self-understanding**:

Likening of one's situation to that of the Israelites (children of God):

Ref-#255

A-3a(m,F): “Ok. I say the wages of sin is death .. So, the Egyptians, they were torment- they were tormenting the children of God Himself, which He called them His own, the Israelite. So they were tormenting them. He showed them so many miracles ... They did not believe Him. And I believe God has performed so many miracles in Plateau in which the Muslims was to know.” [D03-Cu][U14-Cu]

Here we have a clear likening of Christians to the Children of Israel.

And in terms of their Christian self-understanding and identity:

Ref-#256

D-3a(f,F): “A Christian's a person who is just like a (mirror). He reflects anywhere he goes. He makes sure that Christ's light is seen in him.” [E15-Cm][M02-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#257

A-3a(m,F): "A Christian is a person that <accepts> Jesus Christ as his personal God and Saviour. I believe myself in Christ." [E15-Cm][T03-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#258

E-3a(f,F): "I'm a child of God." [D03-Su][E15-Su][T07-Su]

The Christian identity is reflected in E-3's background and friendships:

Ref-#259

E-3a(f,J): "Ok, background. .. Well, I come from an average home. We don't lack, and we don't have in excess. .. [M: mm] And most of my friends are like that. [M: mmh]. At times, you know, at times, girls stuff. One, her Dad, one of my relatives, happened to get a position .. she claims to be higher than you, [M: I see-] so I withdraw myself from such people, because I know I can't meet to .. maybe their needs or whatever. Or I can't just then go with them, because our status .. are no longer the same. [M: yea] So I withdraw from such people. [M: I see] So I'm close to people of that :background: .. [M: mmh] happens to be the same from an :average: home, most of my friends are from an average home, [M: yuh] and I love friends that are not (reward). Like :me:, .. I'm, I'm 25 years old, [M: mmh] and most of my friends are going to be within that range, .. [M: yup] in terms of relationship like dating [M: mmh], I don't date two guys at a time. [M: yuh] I love .. one at a time, and I like quitting- quitting these and going to that, and most of my friends are also like that. [M: uh-huh] So I select people I work with." [E15-Su]

Ref-#260

M-1a: "In terms of .. like .. um <relations>, be that the church, mm, like COCIN or ECWA church, or even Muslim or perhaps a different tribe, .. em, would you- do you have friends from other tribes, other churches or even other religions, .. or, em, what's it like?"

E-3a(f,J): "Yes I do. Most of my friends are not my tribe. They're from different tribes. But .. almost all my friends are Christians. Because [M: mmh] .. of what has been happening in Jos. If right from the word go, from my secondary school days, I don't have Muslim friends. I don't even keep them, [M: yeh] because my perception about life, .. my religion and theirs is different, so I don't keep them as friends. But I have friends from other denominations like COCIN, ECWA, Catholic, [M: mmh], Apost-em, Anglican, Baptist and the rest. [M: yep] But I don't have Muslim friends. Not even one. [M: uh-huh] Though I'm at school with some of them, I don't keep them as friends." [E08-Su][E15-Su][M09-Su]

Meanwhile, B-3 is more open, but also more utilitarian in the way he enters into friendships:

Ref-#261

B-3a(m,J): "I-I meet friends, I make friends anywhere I go. [M: mmh] Anywhere I go. And I'm meeting you today. If I understand you better, [M: yuh] you can be my friend, [M: yuh] but if I cannot understand you better, I let you go. [M: yuh] So, I don't have any specific place where I meet friends. [M: yu'] Anywhere I go, anyone I see, I try as much

Appendices

as possible to, uh, be a friend. Because that person could be .. of help to me [M: yuh] in something, :or: I could be of help to that person in something. So I don't have specific." [E08-Cu]

Ref-#262

B-3a(m,J): "Because in school, I try to be very very simple. [M: yuh] When you see somebody, you're reading from the outside, but when you sit down and talk, you discover that he's not really that. [M: yuh .. yuh] Cause some- some, let me maybe just say, I look at you. I look at the way you dress. Maybe it's not ok by me, [M: yuh] it's just ok, you are radical, you are stubborn and the rest. [M: yuh] Ok, because maybe I have a perspective that a- a gentleman ought to wear stocking, shank shoes, you're putting on sandals, you're putting on a (combat) and the rest. I think I-I'm misunderstanding you. But sitting down to talk one and one, it makes me know you from the inside. [M: yu'] And I think tha- that's where I do my assessment. I don't just read, I-I have to see it. We have to sit, we have to talk. [M: mmh] We have to come together, I have to give you little things, and some times." [E08-Su]

Ref-#263

B-3a(m,J): "Yes. And I have an open heart. :If you:, sitting here, is telling me the right thing, I think I will-, I will agree with you. I don't have specific. [M: yu'] I want everybody to talk to me. I don't limit myself that "this person is the final", or "this person now is the best". [M: yu'] That how (° °)." [E15-Su]

But when prompted, B-3 see himself as a Christian ... and with a little hesitation, as a Berom too.

Ref-#264

M-1a: "If I ask, where are you from, what do you say?"

B-3a(m,J): "I'm – I'm from Plateau State."

M-1a: "From Plateau State. Yu'. And if I ask, em, ... "Where are you from in Plateau State?" what do you say?"

B-3a: "Jos South Local Government."

M-1a: "Jos South Local Government. .. Yeu'. Is-is there anything you feel, .. your tribe, or your religion, or town that you're particularly attached to?"

B-3a: "I didn't get it."

M-1a: "Is there any tribe, or religion, ... or place you're particularly attached to?"

B-3a: "I a :Christian:. [M: mmh] ... I am Berom. [M: yu'] ... I think I'm attached to those two things." [E15-Cu]

Elsewhere he extrapolates his own ethos on Beroms in general, in this case without referential prompting:

Ref-#265

B-3a(m,J): "I think ... from the onset ... the Beroms .. are open-minded, [M: mmh] they are liberal, [M: yu'] they didn't take anybody in their heart." [C03-Su][C05-Su][C07-Su][D09-Su][E15-Su]

Appendices

Here is a clear and uncued reference to Berom:

Ref-#266

B-3a(m,J): “Yes. ... [M: mmh] Because, :if: a Berom man, can- you who are coming today, [M: mmh] he sell a land for you, [M: mmh] give you a place to build and stay. Give you a land to cultivate food to eat. Give you a shop to sell. I think he has an open minded, [M: mmh] for you. [M: mmh] But after staying there for a particular time, you that are a visitor want to dominate him, [M: yuh] want to rule him. I think, it's not going to be possible. [M: yu'] I myself, I'm not allowed that to happen. .. The truth .. about it, .. everybody should come to round table. [M: yu'] And they should identify, and they should :agree: that this person .. owns this place, and this person :ought: to rule this place. [M: yu'] :If: there is problem, we will take it to the appropriate authorities. [M: yu'] No-one should take law into his own hands. [M: yu'] We have the court, we have the police station, and the rest. These are agents which are especially designed to handle these kind of matters. .. [M: mmh] I think dialogue, understanding, agreeing the fact [M: yu'] will solve .. this crisis in Jos.” [C03-Cu][C05-Cu][C07-Cu][D09-Cu][E15-Cu]

Self-image references 10 months on:

Ref-#267

E-3b(f,F): “I study the Word, [M. I see .. °right°] I attend church programmes, [M: mmh] I have my personal quiet time, [M. yu'] my relationship with humans and so on.” [T01-Cu][T06-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#268

M-1b: “In your own case, .. ehm, .. what is more important, .. ehm, your feeling of being a Christian, or your feeling of being a Berom?”

A-3b(m,J): “The most important feeling I feel about being a Christian is that I have :peace:, .. [M: mmh] I have a kind of a joy like no man on earth can give me. [M: mmh, mmh]”

M-1b: “So what is more important, being a Berom, or being a Christian?”

A-3b: “Though I said being a Christian, is being the most importance is that I have :peace:, [M: ok, I see] [and being] a Berom, really, I'm proud to be Berom. [M: mmh-mmh] because, <I> .. I love their tradition,.. [M: mmh] because they don- they don't worship idols. .. [M: yep-yep] Because Berom is one of the .. tribes, .. who practices that have left idols. .. [M: yu'] (a long time ago) [M: yu', I see] [that give] me joy.” [D08-Su][E14-Su][E15-Su][M02-Su][U07-Su][U08-Su]

For the most part **“The Other” in general** was equated to Muslims.

This is how they were defined and characterised in short sequence in the first focus group:

Ref-#269

C-3a(m,F): “Muslim is a person that believe in Islam ”

Appendices

[...]

B-3a(m,F): "From my own understanding, [M: mm] because I've stayed with them a lot, Muslims are people that <so much> have strong belief on this is their prophet, Mohammed .. They believe in .. all he wrote, all he said and his lifestyle in general."

[...]

A-3a(m,F): "To me, a Muslim is a non-Christian person."

[...]

D-3a(f,F): "You can say a Muslim is no Christian. He has his own god. [M: mm] A Muslim is a person that worship human being in form of God."

[...]

C-3a(m,F): "What he say is true, 'cause Muslim is a non-Christian. Why? Because Christian is Christ-like, because they don't believe in that Christ."

[...]

B-3a(m,F): "I disagree with you, and my reason is that, we have traditional religions [M: mm] we have voodies, and we have people that serve other gods, they're not Muslim, and they're not Christian. [D: /yesss/] [M: mm] So would you classify them as Muslim? So Muslim is :not: a non-Christian. [M: mm] ((D,C: laugh))." [M02-Cm][M03-Cm][M09-Cm]

And in the second focus group:

Ref-#270

M-3a: "When you said "Muslims", who are Muslims or what, what is a Muslim? *Who are Muslims?* Who are Muslims?"

E-3a(f,F): "Muslim are fellow brothers and sisters from Abraham's descendants, ko?"

F-3a(m,F)/G-3a(m,F): "/a, ishi/"

E-3a: "And born of ="

G-3a: "Ishmael"

E-3a: " = the Ishmael, born of Hagar, born of Ishmael, ko? ="

G-3a: "yah"

F-3a: "Aa. From a DIFFERENT religion ="

E-3a: " = From a different clan ="

F-3a: " = and religion"

E-3a: " = and different religion ="

F-3a: "[religion]"

E-3a: "= and different (perspective) about life."

M-3a: "Ok. What kind of religion?"

G-3a: "Islamic religion!" [D03-Cm][D08-Cm][M09-Cm]

Both E-3 and B-3 repeat the concept of Muslims as Ishmael's descendants in the one-to-one interviews, although they had not had any direct contact with one another in the focus groups:

Ref-#271

E-3a(f,J): "Well, a Muslim is a fellow human being just like me, .. [M: mmh] from the Ishmaelites (4.0) I think .. they are, well they are just our fellow brother and sisters. [M: yu'] But from :different: ... background, so-to-say, .. [M: yu'] because they're from the Ishmaelites, ... while .. we're from the Isaacs and Abraham. We are-we are all

Appendices

Abraham's children, descendants, [M: yu'] but they are from the Ishmaelites, while we are Isaac's descendants. " [D08-Cu][M09-Cu]

M-1a: "I see .. [E: yes] I see. (2.0). So, .. does this mean .. that once a Muslim, always a Muslim?"

E-3a: "No. I you have an encounter with God, [E: uh-huh] God can change .. your life. .. [M: yuh] But take the Grace of God, because human being cannot change them. [M: yuh] It's difficult. You are not the Holy Spirit, because it's only the Holy Spirit that can a person, but like for instance, if someone is .. is standing- or if I'm standing here, and somebody is probably standing on the .. ground. .. [M: yuh] You know, it's easily for him to (drum) [M: yu'] that for me to drop him from .. the ground. [M: yu' °uh-huh] You understand?" [M03-Cu][T02-Cu]

M-1a: "I understand. Yes."

E-3a: "So it's difficult for me to change them, but if God really wants to, he will do it."

M-1a: "°Mmh. Mmh.° So does that mean you would have no part in it, or can you -"

E-3a: "You will."

M-1a: "You do?"

E-3a: "Yes. "

M-1a: "What is your part in it?"

E-3a: "Well, my part is just to share the Word, .. discuss with them, .. [M: mmh] try to tell them .. the truth, [M: mmh] be ready to accept, fine and good, you can't for someone. [M: yu'] You can only help him, you can only tell him the truth. And if he doesn't agree- although you can still persist, at times, if you persist, and with the help of God, [M: yeah] he can change."

M-1a: "I see. (2.0) And, then, at this moment they cease to be the children of Ishmael and become the children of Abraham?"

E-3a: "Yes." [E15-Cu][M09-Cu][T02-Cu]

Ref-#272

B-3a(m,J): "I think they should- should-should keep on making all its members to understand that (1.5) it's not everybody that is called a Muslim [M: yu'] that is bad. [M: yu'] (2.0) We all, are sons of, ahr, .. Abraham and Moses, [M: mmh] We come from the same lineage. [M: yu'] ... if we look at it .. from the (critical end), attack being carried out, (embarking like °that°) we even understand that some <soldiers> have been paid money to do that." [C12-Su][D03-Su][D08-Su]

This prompted a research query on the ethnic identity of Muslims:

Ref-#273

M-1a: "Is see. ... Now what we talk about ... I think you call it devout Muslims and good Muslims, ... [F: ye'] .. <emm>, (2.0) do they- do they fall at all amongst, emm, (2.0) certain tribes at all? (1.5) I mean, good Muslims, or devout Muslims, or is that totally independent of- of tribal belonging?"

B-3a(m,J): "Very independent of tribal belonging. There are some, I don't even know where they come from. [M: yu'] Muslims, and they're my friends. I don't know where they come from .. [M: yu'] till date, and they're my friends. "

M-1a: "I see. ... What of the Berom .. Muslims?"

B-3a: "<Yes>. I've :not: met any Berom Muslims, [M: uh-huh] one on one. [M: yu'] The :first: time I could hear a Berom Muslim,.. that I heard, it's on radio, and it was last week, [M: yu'] that a particular group, Berom Muslim visit the Bwang Gwam [[Berom

Appendices

chief]] of Jos. [M: yu'] So I was shocked, ko, to have Muslims to this level, [M: yuh] to the extent they form a group and visit the Bwang Gwam of Jos. [M: yu'] So I keep on wondering, :how: will this one be relating, .. [M: yu'] with other Christian Berom. But I've not found one, yet." [D08-Cu][M02-Cu][M03-Cu]

Within further conversations, there were some differentiated, although cautious evaluations of Muslims:

Ref-#274

B-3a(m,J): "Not all Muslims. That's why I say, "there are Muslims that are good." [M: yu'] There are some, that are bad. [M: yu'] These are people you can't predict. [M: I see] :Except: you stay with them and understand :some: of them. [M: yu'] And some of them can even pretend to some certain level, because you don't really know what they're up to. They can be patient and still do what they want." [M09-Cu]

Ref-#275

A-3a(m,F): "Actually, I have Mus- I have Muslim friends as well, but I came to understand this present situation. A Muslim is a Muslim, they keep secrets. Despite that, they <know> that, they will attack, they will do something, they will not tell you as their closest friend. They keep secrets. So to me, a Muslim is a Muslim. I will not stay with a Muslim. As for example (if you are coming), I will make sure that (I thank you) far away from me." [M01-Cu][M03-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#276

E-3a(f,J): "It's like there are different types, because it's like there are people who don't even believe in violence. But their logo, I don't know, they call them Izala and Arika, [M: yu'] the Muslims, .. I don't know how to say it in English. There are ones, their logo, you see a sword on it. [M: yes], and there are the other ones: you see a moon and :star: on it. [M: yu'] The ones that have the logo of the star and moon, [M: mm] don't really believe on violence. [M: yu'] But the ones with the sword, .. they can kill .. in fact, they can do and undo, like what happened yesterday: imagine someone going to the mosque to pray, but he-they carries .. <er>, all sort of- fighting, whatever, what they used to fight with them along. [M: ye'] So it means they were prepared for it. [M: yu'] And those ones that have the moon and star whatever logo, they were- they did not even agree with that yesterdays. You know, some of them celebrated their Salah yesterday, while some are celebrating theirs today. [M: yu'] So somewhere, even blaming those ones that went to that place to pray, ... [M: yu'] so the ones with the sword believe so much on violence. ... [M: yu', I see] And I believe the Word of God says, "He that lives by the sword, shall die by the sword." [M: yu'] So probably that is their belief." [D03-Cu][M02-Cu][M04-Cu][M09-Cu][T01-Cu]

Ref-#277

B-3a(m,J): "((Chuckles)) (2.0) Em, my relationship with Muslims is very cold, here, ... because I was – I was – I was like telling .. a friend downstairs ... Muslims, we have, I look at them in two ways. [M: yu'] There are some I call good Muslims, and there are some I called .. the violent Muslims. [M: Bu-] [The] violent Muslims. [M: right] And there is a way I generalise them. [M: mmh] What I say is <a Muslim is a Muslim>. [M: mmh] Why? Because they don't believe in Jesus Christ. You have your prophet, that you

Appendices

believe in, [M: yu'] so that categorise you all as a Muslim. But there are Muslims that are good. [M: yu']" [M09-Cu]

And there are respondents who found nothing in Muslims other than evil and violence:

Ref-#278

A-3a(m,F): "And the Muslim per se, they are evil. Those in Jos, they are evil, because if you don't know Christ, you are evil, that is to me, you are not (practising), you are not doing what God .. have done. He came to the world, he died for :our: <sins>. [M: mmh] All of us, both the Christians and Muslims, that is we aren't to go back to the sin, 'cause His Grace is sufficient, but :yet:, so-"

[...]

M-3a: "But what do you think the Muslims are doing, .. that is making them out to be evil?"

[...]

A-3a: "Refusing to accept or accommodate Christ as the Son of God." [M09-Su][T03-Su]

Ref-#279

G-3a(m,F): "Even their logo [M: mm]. Their logo, I don't like it. It's nice ="

E-3a(f,F): "It's not."

G-3a: "=knife. [several: .H.H]" [M04-Sm]

Why Muslims are not peaceful:

Ref-#280

E-3a(f,J): "They should try to live in peace. Because peace is ever- is everything that one needs in life. If there is no peace, [M: mh] you can't you, if there is no peace you can't do anything."

M-3a: "Does it mean that there are no peaceful Muslims?"

E-3a: "Serious, there are not. It's like their, they said their religion is for peace [M: mh], but they don't practice the peace."

M-3a: "Can you, can you tell me, can you tell me what what's-what is it that, what is that particular aspect in Islam or that Muslims do that makes them not to be peaceful?"

E-3a: "Maybe probably because of their belief, .. their values and culture is what makes them .. you know, they always want to dominate, they want to be leaders by :force:. You know, leadership is from God, but they want to do it by force. A typical Muslim man [M: mm] or a Hausa man will always want to be in charge .. He wants other /who/ to adore him, you know, if you check out most of these, they're, most of their big-big men when they're coming, all these praises they do to them, they cherish it a lot. So they always want to get it every day. And they want to dominate."

G-3a: "Ah, I think one of the things is this issue of jihad ... And sharia." [M01-Su][M09-Su][T07-Su][U07-Su][U13-Su]

Appendices

Ten months later, evaluations were by no means more charitable:

Ref-#281

A-3b(m,J): "I don't want to call it "different types", I say. [M: mmh] I want to say that among the Muslim brothers there are ones that are good and others that are evil."

M-1b: "Right. .. Can you tell the difference?"

A-3b: "Those ones that are good are the ones that dislike (), other, er, brothers or Muslim fellows [M: yu'] that are doing for the Christian (), [M: yu'] according to the good ones."

M-1b: "I see. And do you know the good ones from the bad ones, or ... can you distinguish them?"

A-3b: "Well truly, you cannot distinguish who is good and who is bad."

M-1b: "I see. Why not?"

A-3b: "Because they don't show- they don't show them- the good ones don't show themselves. [M: uh-huh] If they show up and they are the good ones, then they will be eliminated by /thea/, [M: yu'] the other brothers as well." [E02-Cu][M09-Cu]

So in other words, the difference is rather hypothetical. He is not speaking in his own voice here.

Ref-#282

A-3b(m,J): "So to say, left to me, I would say they [[the Muslims]] are bad."

M-1b: "Yu'-yu'. .. Why?"

A-3b: "Because their attitude is not saying anything good- not saying good about them."

M-1b: "Mmh. So what is their attitude?"

A-3b: "Their attitude of terrorising people." [M09-Cu]

On Muslims as neighbours:

Ref-#283

D-3a(f,F): "One has to be careful. [E: ((snigger, chortle))] If you are not careful, [M: mm], you might (fall a victim) especially now that they have all these <bomb blasts>, all these things. [M: mm] so you have to be careful, because you don't know the intention of him coming. [M: ok] You might believe him, but your (neighbour) will not agree. Next they will come and kill both of you, because you allow him to stay." [M01-Cm]

Ref-#284

G-3a(m,F): "Uhhhh .. til number one we should be prayerful .. [M: ok] and have to watch his coming here as coming out. Coming in coming out, but="

M-3a: "Ok"

G-3a: "= watch and pray. [...] Every step he move, have to watch."

F-3a(m,F): "So will, I will, I think I will advise him to leave. [M: mm]. If he, if he is the only one staying there, I'd advise him to leave, because on the () ((HHHH)) (this whole thing different something funny). [M: Ok] so it is better to advise him to leave, not to come back again."

M-3a: "Mmm .. in other words, you will threaten him?"

Appendices

F-3a: “No [M: ok]. Advise.” [T06-Cm][U13-Cm]

And on differences between Christians and Muslims:

Ref-#285

E-3a(f,F): “We DON'T believe to each other. I believe our things are different. They believe on Mohammed while we believe on Jesus Christ, so our belief and theirs is different.”

M-3a: “Ok.”

F-3a(f,F): “[agree together]”

E-3a: “So when you don't agree with someone, you cannot work with him.” [M02-CM][M03-CM][M09-CM]

Ref-#286

M-1a: “Then why-why are you a Christian and not a Muslim?”

B-3a(m,J): “ONE, I was born in it. [M: u-hu] ... and I understand it to a particular level. [M: mmh-mmh] And I've seen the Hand of God in people's life [M: mmh] in our own life, and I think I'm ok with that. [M: mmh-mmh] that's why .. I'm a Christian. One, because I'm born in it, [M: yu'] and I've :seen: the Hand of God, [M: yu'] in people's life, [M: yu'] and that will keep me going as a Christian. [M: yu'] Why, I never think, I will change my religion, [M: mmh] or to be a Muslim, [M: yu'] they're violent attitude. [M: mmh-mmh] So that one has put a full-stop there.” [M02-Cu][M09-Cu]

[...]

M-1a: “Then, where do you think this violence comes from, or this violent attitude, as you call it?”

B-3a: “In Jos particularly, or generally?”

M-1a: “In generally, amongst Muslims.”

B-3a: “It's from-from what most of them are saying, [M: yu'] it's :what: they're taught. ... [M: u-huh] ... by the Prophet. [M: by what prophet] [Yes]. And what baffles me most, is even their logo. ... [M: yu'] Their logo .. it's with sword. [M: yu'] It-it's a :clear: indication, .. [M: yu'] and they're practicalising it. [M: yu'-°yu'°] So I related that lego- ahr, that logo and their attitude. [M: yu']” [M04-Cu][M06-Cu][M09-Cu]

Concerning opinions on the goals and actions of Muslims, even the more differentiated respondents did not suspect any good intentions:

Ref-#287

B-3a(m,F): “The Muslims. (What I) saw, the Muslims are doing that is really wrong. [M: mm] They are forcing people .. on to their religion, on their own tradition. And they believe in this thing called jihad. .. And this jihad is :fighting: for-for-for-for for their religion. Either you live or you die. Or you follow their religion. One must (happen), or they died. They (cease to exist). And if you look at it, they have a logo that ought to do with sword. [M: ok].. That there is :so: much belief I this – in this sort of a thing. And what is happening in Jos, to relate it to that, they are trying to .. to-to bring that jihad. They want to force us to follow their religion, because Jos is a .. it's a Christian-dominated environment. [M: mm] They want to .. overturn it. [M: ok] So that is what I saw that .. they're, they're doing that is not right.” [M04-Cu][M09-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#288

E-3a(f,J): “You know, Muslims, there is this additional thing that they said, em, that you are being used to (a fowl), does not stop you from killing him. ... [M: yu'] Killing the fowl. [M: yu'] Being an animal, you're being close to animal. Like us, you keep dog here but can still eat the dog. [M: yu'] You know, the fact that you're still close to a dog, some dogs are kept in the home as pet, [M: yu'] but still at time you still kill it and eat the meat, so you imagine how they are, [M: mmh] like in my area I have, em, we have neighbours, Muslim neighbours, but then, they're kind of like, you can't just predict them, [M: mmh] they can do and undo. [M: mmh] So that's as able to .. not be close to them. ”

M-1a: “I see .. So when you say they're unpredictable, ... unpredictable ... what things .. could happen? Or do you fear could happen?”

E-3a: “They can destroy you .. [M: ah-huh] in a twinkle of an eye.”

M-1a: “Yu' ... And you would say that this is the case for all Muslims, .. or just for some?”

E-3a: “Few, or for al-almost all of them. [M: u-huh °u-huh°] Because I don't know, maybe .. it's their religion, .. [M: yu'] or whatever, but <almost> almost all of them, .. even the educated ones among them, but, er, it's .. worst with the illiterates. [M: yu'] But then the educated ones are not left behind.”

[...]

E-3a: “Well, the education makes them safer because they can read and write, so at least you can help yourself. You know, my perception and yours [M: mmh] will be- is different, [M: mmh] because our motives and understanding varies. .. [M: yeh] So your understanding of something might be different from the way I will view my own. [M: yuh] So if you have the ability to read and write, I think .. at least it will help you on the long (career).” [M09-Cu]

Ref-#289

B-3a(m,F): “This is the land of Berom. [M: mm] They give them land to stay, to rent, place to market, [M: mm] but in long run, they are looking .. for them to rule, those that give them that land. I think this an example that I will never forget. I will not want it to repeat itself. I think that-that is enough for us to answer this question.” [D08-SM][D09-SM]

Ref-#290

B-3a(m,J): “Well, I feel Muslims are those that believe that-that their prophet Mohammed ... [M: yu'-yu'] I cannot talk it down of a Muslim, [M: yu'] because I'm not in it. [M: yes] I that I hear is them say them say. [M: yu'] And I don't want to use that as an issue, [M: yu'] because I want to- if I want to say something, I want to say what I really know. [M: yu'-yu', I see] I know that Muslims are people who believe in prophet Mohammed, [M: I see] and that's it. And they fought those .. that are not following their religion, to follow it by force. [M: yu'] That is just it.” [M09-Cu]

Appendices

The image of **“The Other” in conflict situations** is rather more pluralistic in terminology, although still Muslim in essence:

On Muslims:

Ref-#291

B-3a(m,F): “Yes, very well, I don't afraid of Muslim. [M: ok] Because the truth, as I'm talking (it to you) today, [M: mm] my house in town, I still live with Muslim, directly opposite. In crisis, they brought me out. [M: mm] Even yesterday, it was a Muslim who took me out. Yesterday, yesterday. So me, I don't see Muslim as a threat.” [M03-Su]

Ref-#292

G-3b(m,F): “Actually, the truth is this. You see, I've never seen a situation where Christians started fighting. (2.0) [M: yu'] They always started. But I don't see, I don't, nothing's the best, because they kill-, they come to your h-, my house. That is not that we watch them burning our properties, killing your family, killing everybody. [M: yu'] Definitely you have to defend yourselves.” [C03-Su][C10-Su][C11-Su][M09-Su]

Ref-#293

G-3b(m,F): “We are just like, .. because even in this area, they usually come there to settle that they are looking for peace, which :after:, I believe that after the meeting, they will go and have another meeting [M: yu'] between themselves, [M: yu'] [F: laughs] before you meet in the evening they will come and attack the people [M: yu']. Because they never come in the morning-, they should-, they won't come in the morning, they won't come in the afternoon. [M: yu'] It's always in the evening. When people are asleep.” [C03-Su][C10-Su][M03-Su][U05-Su]

On Boko Haram (all references were from the second contact session cycle, since although the phenomenon had not yet touched Jos by the time of the first, it come to dominate the second unprompted):

Ref-#294

A-3b(m,F): “(Yeah, what, I just want us to) define the point why I said so. The government have been calling the Boko Haram [E: mmh] for [:negotiation:] [E: negotiation], they refused. [M: mmh] And their refusal shows that, .. and because of their refusal they have been intimidating the government themselves. .. That is why I say that, the more they bomb churches, so-so we bomb- because they refuse to negotiate anything, not even with the government. Talk more of peaceful () between Christians and Muslims.” [C03-Su][C13-Su][D05-Su][M01-Su][M10-Su][P03-Su]

Ref-#295

B-3b(m,F): “Firstly, who has – who is Boko Haram?”

E-3b(f,F): “Muslims”

B-3b: “I listened to the President's interview the day before yesterday. ... And the President say, he can not negotiated with a faceless group.”

E-3b: “They are faceless-”

Appendices

A-3b(m,F): "Because they refuse to reveal themselves."

B-3b: "GOOD!"

A-3b: "He has been calling them, they refused."

B-3b: "GOOD!"

A-3b: "Fine."

B-3b: "[If] ... If you look /ff/, if you look at all the peace treaties and most Muslims that are talking, .. they are <denouncing> Boko Haram."

A-3b: "Which is a lie."

E-3b: "They do. [D: they do] [C: MM!] There are mallams-"

B-3b: "They are denouncing Boko Haram."

E-3b: "Yes. There are Mallams that were killed."

B-3b: "It's not all mosques that are supporting Boko Haram.="

E-3b: "Because they are telling them the truth." [C13-Cm][D05-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm][P03-Cm][U05-Cm]

Ref-#296

G-3b(m,F): "You see, this Boko Haram, it's a name. They are just using it for a name. They can just cover up. [M: mmh] Really, they are Muslims that are Boko Haram, they are the ones. [F: ((snortingly laughs))] They are just (using covering up, there- it's lying that they're using in Jos too) [F, E: ((laugh))], see too "

A-3b(m,F): "Cover up."

G-3b: "Just cover up."

A-3b: "Over their mess."

G-3b: "Over their mess." [C13-Sm][D05-Sm][M07-Sm][M09-Sm][M10-Sm]

Ref-#297

B-3b(m,F): "If you look at the Boko Haram, [F: (It's horrible)] is it today, .. they are saying it is not a religion something. [M: yu'] But I've been asking questions. The bomb blast that has been been happening, if not for last week, [M: mmh] no mosques have been bombed. [M: mmh] For one, [M: yu'] it was only last week that I heard that .. there was an attempt to [B: chase ()] () in Kano which is, which is not proving. According to Facebook message direct, they said they are – they are .. they are .. [F: detonate] not about to detonate, they are putting the allegation .. on the SSS [[State Security Service]], that the SSS, they want to do that, and they are even saying that they that are fighting jihad, .. [M: mmh] cannot go and destroy where they are worshipping their God. [M: yeuh] So what are they telling us as Christians?" [C11-Sm][M09-Sm][M10-Sm]

E-3b(f,F): "And they claim we are worshipping the same God."

M-1b: "Yu' .. mmh. So a- are Boko Haram religious or not, that's-"

G-3b(m,F): "THEY ARE RELIGIOUS!"

M-1b: "[They are religious?]"

G-3b: "[I HAVE SAID IT]="

B-3b: "[I have said it]="

G-3b: "=[IT HAS BEEN PROVEN.="

B-3b: "=[It has been proven."

G-3b: "=[They have- they are fighting Jihad. [They have said it].="

A-3b(m,F): "They are fighting for [a Muslim state],="

G-3b: "=[any attack] any [attack they give]="

A-3b: "=[Islamistic] state="

G-3b: "=[any attack they do."

M-1b: "So that [()]-"

G-3b: "[So they] do come and claim it [M: uh-huh] and serious,-"

Appendices

E-3b: "They claim [responsibility]"

G-3b: "[They claim] responsibility, [B: ()] so it's religious, as far as I'm concerned. [M: yu']"

A-3b: "They are fighting for a more Islamic state in Nigeria." [C04-Cm][C10-Cm][M07-Cm][M10-Cm]

M-1b: "Yuh. Well, are there people saying that maybe it's because like social grievances, or economic needs that-, and political motives that they are, they fighting? What do you, when you hear these arguments, what do you say?"

B-3b: "Definitely, definitely, once when you want to do something, you look at .. every opportunity which comes your way, use it in backing what you're doing. [M: mmh-mmh] Yes, there are, their grievances, we know that, .. [M: yu'] but :we: are not, are not looking at it from that aspect, [M: yu'] because anything you don't come out and see, this is your problem. [M: yu'] You would never see it as a problem as far as I'm concerned. .. [M: °yu°] They have been saying that they have been fighting jihad, and that is the basis we know. And if they are claiming that they never told the president what to do, or what not to do, [M: mmh] IF they are fighting the president, if there is social and economical problem, they should go and bomb the Aso Rock [[Presidential villa in Abuja]] why the church? ... [M: yu' .. °yu°] They should go and bomb the government office, let's know [[so we can know that it's not religious]], why the church?" [C02-Cm][C04-Cm][C10-Cm][M07-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm]

Ref-#298

B-3b(m,F): "Because today. If you see there is bombing in this church, you will see them, they will be running away. Now why are they running?.. In my own opinion, Boko Haram are terrorist group. .. [M: mmh] ((phone rings)) And they are mostly .. Muslims. [M: yu'] That how me I see Boko Haram. [F: mm °yes°] They are mostly Muslims themselves, and :they:. And they are not :all: Muslims, there still good Muslims, still clean Muslims. [M: yu' .. °mmhmmh°] There are some that are innocent, they know nothing about it. :If: they, if they attack the church and they are running because they know the Christians will retaliate and if the Christians retaliate, any Muslim they see they will kill .. (I assume). [M: mmh] Because these, they do the same. .. [M: yu'] But this, I don't believe all Muslims are Boko Harams." [C10-Cm][M09-Cm][U11-Cm]

M-1b: "I see. Ok. [B: (but they-they-)] Wh-what is a Muslim? What is a Muslim even?"

E-3b(f,F): "It is a religion."

M-1b: "Mmh"

B-3b: "Muslim are a set of people [B: yes] that believe on [X: Islam] the principles of prophet Muhammed, that their prophet Muhammed, [M: yea'] they are Muslims." [M06-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

M-1b: "Right. .. So .. would you agree that .. they believe in the principle of .. [B, F: Prophet Muhammed] prophet Muhammed? Right. So, what you're saying ... both Boko Haram and normal Muslims, they all believe prophet em Muhammed and his principles?"

E-3b: "Yes."

M-1b: "So you're saying though that the same set of principles can lead to .. extreme terrorism and on the other side peaceful Muslims? Wh-wh-what is going on here?" [[potentially leading]]

A-3b(m,F): "Ok. The truth is, I don't know what their Qu'ran .. said, because I don't know, I did not read the Qu'ran. (2.0) But .. from all <from all from all the> people that are Muslim, I don't know whether it's true or not, but it is said that they believe that the Qu'ran, /it enc-/ the Qu'ran it encourages, em, jihad, which I don't know. [M: mmh] and have never verified that as a fact yet. [M: mmh] But they said that the Qu'ran

Appendices

encourages jihad. [M: mmh] Which if the Qu'ran encourages jihad, then I don't think that a Muslim man is a person that hate Christianity [[I think he meant to say the opposite]], because jihad and Christianity cannot work. .. They repel. That's to me."

[[Self-contradiction. First he says that he doesn't know the Qu'ran, then he says that he knows what is in it.]] [C13-Cm][M05-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm]

G-3b(m,F): "Yes. .. What I want to say is this.. If you- If you go to their history, .. [M: mmh] that's history, the history of Muslims, ... [M: yu'] ((clears throat)) em, they're after jihad. (3.0) em, and everywhere they are, wherever there is Muslims, .. [M: mmh] .. they want to be ... they want to be [F: on top] on top, ... [M: mmh-mmh] and :even: though they are leaders, .. they are the rulers the ones who are ruling, [M: mmh] they will kill anyhow, .. [M: yu'] as far as you are not a Muslim, that's there religion. [M: yu'] .. As far as you're not a Muslim, even though I tell you today, these people are leading, .. today they will go to church, and they will kill people, >because that is their religion, if< you :trace: back their history, .. they are just after jihad." [C13-Cm][M07-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm]

Ref-#299

F-3b(m,F): "Ok .. the Muslim man, (3.0) [M: °mm°] (2.0) I don't th-th-think the Muslim man to be the Boko Haram, sect, terrorist group. (2.0) [M: yu'] because the terrorists, the Boko Haram sect have their own principles and their own religion, their own way .. [M: yuh] of handling things, or their own way of doing things. [M: mmh, coughs)]) The Muslim man has his own different way .. of life and other things. [M: yu'] So, er, .. to some extent ... they have some similar (3.0) ideas. [M: mmh] ... So I don't think the Muslim man to be the complete man or the complete soldier of- .. under Boko Haram. [M: yu' .. mmh] ... Because of (3.0) yuh ... some ... wounds are last year, (2.0) the attacks started a-around Maiduguri. Biu .. Yobe, Yola, [M: mmh] Kat- Kano, all the Muslim st-Islamic states [M: yu'] before coming to this side. So .. for each to start there, that means .. it- they-they-they want to .. they want to complete, they want to that the .. their ((rustling in the background)) ... they want to make sure ((more rustling)) (2.0) they want to make sure that they don't, are not bias or .. they are not .. a-after one religion or another. [M: yu'] Want to be sure- they want to be sure that .. what they came in to do .. has been achieved [M: yu'] but (acting with the) ((clinking of cups for serving something to drink)) the Christian and Muslims. .. [M: mmh] (3.0) The Muslim .. or the Boko Haram is different °from the Muslim° ... and Christian man." [D05-Pu][M02-Pu][M07-Pu][M09-Pu]

Ref-#300

A-3b(m,J): "They develop a kind of .. <ehr> .. how do I say, ... rebel group, [M: uh-huh] and which they used it .. to destroy places of worships, especially if they are Christian. .. [M: yu'] You are not safe wherever you go if you see people like that. ... [M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

[...]

M-1b: "I see. Tell me more about the rebel group you were talking about."

A-3b: "The rebel group I am talking about is call- .. they're called Boko Haram. .. [M: yu'-yu'] Which Western education is an abomination, that's the interpretation of it." [M10-Cu]

Ref-#301

G-3b(m,F): "I have question: what is Boko ?((cock clucks vigorously)))"

B-3b(m,F): "Mm?"

G-3b: "What is Boko?"

F-3b(m,F): "Education."

Appendices

E-3b(f,F): "Edu- is-is based on education."
G-3b(m,F): "But the question I ask is, in this mos- [C: education] [F: education] in this their mosque, is there no educated people?"
M-1b: "I think there [are, yes.]"
E-3b: "There are. .. So many."
A-3b(m,F): "There are educated people too."
G-3b: "So if Boko Ha-"
F-3b: "[The majority of them are educated]"
G-3b: "[if] .. then why not go to the mosque and burn- and bomb the mosque because they are educated?"
E-3b: "They want to eliminate [Christianity.]"
A-3b: "[They are fighting]="
E-3b: "They want-"
A-3b: "=for Islam state."
E-3b: "Islam state belongs [to them]"
A-3b: "[That is the state now .. contrary contrary]"
B-3b: "[Let me .. let me tell you their problem]"
E-3b: "[They want to Islamise us.] They say in the next generation they don't want to see a Christian existing in Nigeria."
B-3b: "What- what these people are really doing, .. they are really fighting Western education. They are not even fighting education in total.=" "
E-3b: "Western [education-]"
B-3b: "[=Because] they are still educating their people in terms of the .. ehh .. what do they call it? This their [F: Arabic] Arabic :schools: and the rest. So they are fighting Western education. They feel that we are being ruled in Nigeria by the Western world. This is one of their major problems. They want to initiate :sharia:, and everyone should bend down to the rules and regulations of :sharia: by you not sitting to a lady like this, by a lady not putting on trousers, by a lady covering herself, A to Z. That's what they are advocating, that's what they are fighting for.=" [M07-Cm][M09-Cm][M10-Cm][P02-Cm]

On the permeability of boundaries between "The Other" and "Us":

On the possibility of marrying Muslims. The one female respondent in the second contact session cycle (E-3) cannot contemplate it:

Ref-#302

E-3b(f,F): "[I can't] marry a Muslim, I can't marry a Muslim. [M: uh-huh, yu'] I can't marry a Muslim (really)." [E03-Cu][E04-Cu][M01-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][T07-Cu]

Then a debate ensues on how such marriages come about:

Ref-#303

B-3b(m,F): "Some-some go for materials. .. [M: yu'] Some go for-for :selfish: benefits .. [M: yu'] that they see without looking at the religion's background, or looking at implications." [E08-Cu][E09-Cu][E11-Cu][M01-Cu][M02-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#304

B-3b(m,F): “[If getting] this Bible is my priority, some will say, let me just go and get the Bible, and anything that happens, [none of] [E: none of] our business. [E: yu'] [M: yu'] So some are not even looking at it from the Christian angles, so they are just looking at the material things they will achieve, [M: I see] and that's most of the cause.” [E04-Cu][E08-Cu][E11-Cu][M02-Cu][T01-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#305

F-3b(m,F): “Also for love. (4.0) [M: yu'] Also for love. [...] He decide to love a Muslim girl and get along with her, by her [M: uh-huh]. Without looking at .. what will happen afterwards. ... [M: yu'] As far as she's ready to [F: love me back] love me back, [M: yeh] accept the implication afterwards too.” [E03-Su][E04-Su][M01-Su][U03-Su][U06-Su]

Ref-#306

B-3b(m,F): “I have an example in our area. [M: ye'] There's an imam who got married to a Christian woman. [M: mmh] There is NO Muslim in that area till date, that man is a Muslim, and he still stay and mix with us. Till today, till tomorrow, he's still there now as I'm talking to you. [M: right] Showing that man love, showing him the truthfulness, [M: mmh] He do go out and tell his people the truth. .. [M: yu'] They hate him for it. .. [M: yu'] And he do tell them that you people are the ones looking for trouble. For instance, the fighting that happened in Kaduna, ... just last time, a Christian, a Muslim fellow in Kaduna, ahm in Kaduna called one of the <Muslim fellow here, [M: yu'] and said we've been indoors 24 hours curfew no going out, they killed a lot of our people and the rest. The fellow dropped the phone and kissed ((kissing noise)), you people like looking for trubble, ahr, trouble, you people should-should :feel: the trouble there, should feel the heat. :If: this fellow can be telling him that from here, that means the fellow has :seen: the truth, has :known: the truth to some extent for telling his fellow down in Kaduna that they are the one looking for trouble. ((cock clucking loudly in the background)) I think that if we can be showing such love to those that are really innocent, that is why I keep on saying that we should not innocent ones, [M: yu'] we should not attack the innocent one. [M: right] When we make them understand, bring them close, [M: yu'] I think that, those we can-can-can ((cock gets close and loud)) have room to share the Gospel to those who refuse to understand, [M: yu'] :but: nevertheless, we will not be (fooled) and won't fold our hands. Anyone who attacks, we will always defend.” [C08-Cu][E04-Cu][M01-Cu]

On conversion of Muslims to Christianity.

Why convert?

Ref-#307

M-1b: “Right, yu', so that would be ok. ... I'm wondering, why would a Muslim convert .. to Christianity. ... Why?”

B-3b(m,F): “It's-it's, I look at it as .. as being enlightened. .. [M: mm] And getting more understanding, better of what you've been. [M: yu'] ... Example: I have, these two phones. [M: mmh] {holds up his two mobile phones} (2.0) {holds up old phone} This is the only phone I know. ... [M: yu'] This is the only phone I know, opportuned to touch. [M:

yu'] ... I never know that I can use my phone to browse. .. [M: yu'] I never know that I can listen to music. .. [M: yu'] I never know that I can get news on the phone. .. [M: yu'] :When: this phone comes up {holds up new phone}, I see those facilities. Me I accept this phone. .. [M: yu'] Me, I feel I, I'm now changing .. my priority to this, because this is what I really want. Because I've seen what I want here. .. [M: yu'] So I felt, they have :seen: the light, [M: yu'] the truth, the peacefulness .. [M: so-] of being a Christian. .. [M: yu'] They've seen the distress they've been going through .. [M: mmh] of being a Muslim. So who don't want something which is bigger or preferable?-" [E07-Cu][E15-Cu][M02-Cu][U07-Cu][U15-Cu]

Yet for the most part conversion is invoked by God without Christian behaviour as agency:

Ref-#308

A-3b(m,J): "They should have an encounter with God, just as .. Paul, Saul [M: uh-huh] had with Him, when he was going to Damascus." [C12-Su][D03-Su][M01-Su][T02-Su][T04-Su][T067Su][T02-Su]

Ref-#309

M-1b: "Ok.° Now, if, emm, if you're a Muslim, I, er, I'm assuming you would agree it would be good if he were to convert to .. to Christianity, right? So why would a Muslim like to become a Christian?"

A-3b(m,J): "Because, if a Muslim was to become a Christian, it's possibly becau- ... there's- the possible reason is because it might be that it must have been what happened through a personal encounter with God, [M: mmh] and realised his :ways:, the other religion [M: right] was not the best religion for him. [M: yu']."

M-1b: "Now, supposing the that the encounter which the Muslim has had, not with God but with :Christians:, has been that they have visited his house, burnt it and killed his wife, (2.0) how open do you think he would be .. for God, I mean, ehm, wh-wha- putting yourself in his perspective, .. emm, wh-why should he still want to change to- turning to Christianity, you know, having met Christians attacking him, why would he want to turn to Christianity, even if he does in- have an encounter with God?"

A-3b: "That really would be difficult .. for him. That's why :except: he have an encounter with God Himself, [M: mmh] or no human can () and beseech him and preach Christ to him, and yet listen to him, [M: mmh] because that- .. that :scar:, [M: mmh] created by-, created by destroying his family will remain in his heart in him forever. [M: mmh] He will hardly forget it, so no Christian like me going to him, () accepts me."

M-1b: "Mmh. But if it comes to the heal-, ok supposing he encounters .. God, he say, 'ok, it's maybe right that I should become a Christian', and he comes to church. .. Ahh, and he says-, wonders, ahm, 'ah, these are the people who attacked me', how can he overcome this-this feeling? "

A-3b: "He can overcome the feeling by .. acknowledging the fact that .. they attacked him when he was .. when he wasn't .. or when he was .. not yet born again, when he did not yet have an encounter with Christ. [M: uh-huh] He might have a concrete reason, to- to know that those people were not wicked then. They were the ones that were wicked, [M: °right°] that led to that. [M: °right°]" [M01-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][T04-Cu][T07-Cu]

On Christian love for Muslims:

Ref-#310

E-3b(f,F): "This still, we-we show them love. ... By buying things from them in the market. ... [M: mm] and .. for those ones that we work with, we still show them love, because .. in organisations now, .. you will discover that maybe in a group of .. in a ... a ... a membership or whatever- however will I put it? .. Like, in a group of ten maybe you will find just o-, just .. a single Muslim, [M: mmh] and he's- and :yet: .. they still <show him that love>. [M: yu'] But if it were a Christian that is among them, I doubt if he'll still be there. [M: yu'] They will certainly kill them, so we still show them love, [M: °yu°] by .. still moving along with them, blending with them, buying things from them in the market, and so on." [C13-Cm][D05-Cm][E04-Cm][M03-Cm][U06-Cm]

Ref-#311

F-3b(m,F): "To some- to some- to some extent, there is no love between the Christians and the Muslims. To some extent." [D05-Cu][E04-Cu][M03-Cu][U06-Cu]

Ref-#312

G-3b(m,F): "We've already showed them love, if they say we are worshipping the Lord, we could have attacked them." [C03-Cu][D05-Cu][E04-Cu][M03-Cu][U06-Cu]

Ref-#313

M-1b: "Yu' .. yu' ... so how- so how, :how: can we show Muslims love?"

E-3b(f,F): "It's difficult to do it, but God- "

G-3b(m,F): "Without the grace of God, sir, it will be very difficult.="

E-3b: "It's difficult, [:seeing: what is happening.]"

G-3b: "=[Seeing what this crisis] is today .. [°M: mmhmmh°] You will see a Muslim killing your brother, killing your father, it's difficult. .. [M: mmh] Destroying your property."

E-3b: "Something you've-you've-you've [D: ()] laboured :fr years:="

G-3b: ">Something you've laboured for years, it will just be gone someday<."

E-3b: "=[Just within a twinkle of an eye it's lost, [M: °mmh°] and you can't find it, so it's difficult [D: by the grace of God] (without) :God: [D: °by the grace of God°] ... [M: °mmh° .. °mmh°] It is the Spirit of God that is in us [M: yu'] that is making us to .. :still: blend with them." [C10-Cm][C101-Cm][C13-Cm][M01-Cm][M03-Cm][M09-Cm][T02-Cm][T07-Cm][U06-Cm]

Ref-#314

A-3b(m,F): "Actually, he has .. ((clears throat)) said the most important thing. [M: mmh] showing the Muslim love, .. [M: yu'] but I have a problem here which, .. how do you know the good Muslim, which is the question up to now, which I don't know how to answer the questions. .. [M: °mmh°] ((cock reaches new audio climax)) because somebody can () the truth, .. [M: yu'] and meet ... his fellow Muslims. ... He's among those that brought evil. .. [M: yu'] (2.0) So of truth, if you can know the good Muslim, .. the good ones, and you show them love, they can <be> .. converted to Christianity. [M: yu'] And what baffles me is that how to show love now. If you know a real fanatic, a <:real:> ... Muslim [M: mmh] that does love peace, does love Christianity, .. [M: yu'] that you know when he's come- or when-you when-you when he comes across you he will kill you. I wonder how you can show love to such a person. [M: yu'] that one needs, <err>, God, the personal

Appendices

encounter with God. Just as Paul, so [M: °mmh°] had with Christ Himself. [M: °yu°]
>Because there are some people, or you can not change them of bring them to Christ
except to have a personal encounter like< so :many: confession we have from the
<Imams> who repent or all those Boko Haram. .. there own is a personal encounter ..
[M: mmh] with God.” [C13-Cu][E04-Cu][M01-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu][T04-Cu]
[U03-Cu][U06-Cu]

Exploring the **relationship between ethnicity and religion**:

Of Yoruba Muslims:

Ref-#315

E-3a(f,J): “In Nigeria, ... there are Yoruba Muslims, and there are northern Muslims.
[M: mmh] ... Like the Yoruba Muslims, they are even surprised by what is happening,
[M: yuh] because there you will find the same blood, brother from the same home, but
having different religion. .. [M: yu'] You understand? [M: yu'] So you if you just raised
your hand to kill your own blood, how would you feel? .. They don't practice- I feel the
Northerners, it's their values. [M: yu'] You know, a <real northern Muslim> loves power.
He loves to be adored [M: yu'] ... so probably their own perception about things, about
life, like if you go to .. to Lagos, .. [M: mmh] both the men and the women go to the
mosque to pray [M: yu'], but in the north, they don't go to the mosque to meet their
women. They look at women with inferiority complex. [M: yu'] So probably, .. yes, the
Muslims are of different types.”

M-1a: “Why do you think that this is, that in the north they are different than in
Yorubaland?”

E-3a: “They are different because of their culture and diff- their values as well. [M: yu']
You know that when civilisation came to Nigeria, [M: yu'] the Yorubas got it first, before
all others. So they are exposed, [M: °mmh°] you know, .. they are exposed, [M: yu'] so
that alone is helping them. And, I don't really know, they read the same Qu'ran. ... They
enter the same mosque, but since they have an edge over the Northerner, you know
they're educated now? They read the Qu'ran themselves, [M: mmh] with the help of
whatever spirit, .. [M: mmh] you're able to enter into get the knowledge and interpret it
as well. [M: yu'] So you cannot compare someone with someone where the Mallam will
just read and tell you that this is what the Qu'ran is saying. [M: yu'] So they are
different because they are civilised ... [M: yu']” [M05-Cu][M09-Cu]

Of Berom Muslims:

Ref-#316

E-3a(f,J): “Not giving them a spirit. :All: Muslims are the same. [M: yu'] You
understand? [M: yes] Even the Beroms, the Berom Muslims, those ones can be-, they are
predictable. You can predict them. [M: yu'] Because, you are my blood, [M: yu'] and if
something is-, if they are planning even against, you except I'm :so: <wicked>, [M: yu']
that I cannot tell you, [M: yu'] but if something shou- is about to happen to you, I should
be able to tell you that something, it's going to happen to you, or something- something
is going to befall you. [M: yu'] So those ones are predictable.”

M-1a: “Yu-yu. ... And that's because they're of the same blood?”

Appendices

E-3a: “Yes, because they are the same, they are of the same, yeu, of the same blood.”
[D08-Cu][M09-Cu]

Of Hausa Muslims:

Ref-#317

M-1: “I see. ... Em ... And what of the Hausa who are Christian?”

E-3a(f,J): “Hausa who are Christians? .. [M: mmh] Tho-, we don't have problem. [M: yu'] Christianity, that really (jump) alone, ... it's like you, it gives you .. unusual understanding. It gives you .. an edge over others. .. [M: yu'] So those one .. are just, we're unique, [M: yu'] we flow with each other.” [D08-CM]

Ref-#318

M-1a: “Now, what of, em, the northern .. Muslims? I mean, they're different tribes. .. Em .. Here in Plateau you obviously have the Hausa Muslims, er, I think they call themselves the Jash- Jasawa- [E: snorts, quietly] ”

E-3a(f,J): “Mm, well, ... are they- are they .. yes there are Muslims, [M: u'] but- but I know that there are real Muslims, there are Hausa Muslims, who don't have a dialect. .. [M: yu'] And there are Muslims that have dialects, [M: yu'] like .. you can find a Berom who is a Muslim. .. [M: yes] have a dialect, he's a religion, [M: mmh] you understand? But if you find a <typical Hausa man>, [M: mmh] a typical Hausa man, that it the Bayajida's descendants, .. [M: yu'] those ones, it is the religion of passion. .. [M: yu'] They use their own with violence. .. [M: I see] And at times, even if something should happen, they don't spare – those ones that (), [M: yu']”

M-1a: “So, um, ... you'd say that these Muslims, of-of-, the Hausa Muslims, are also against the Muslims who have dialects?”

E-3a: “Yes. There are Muslims that have dialects, just as I said, the ones in the West ... are different from the ones in the- in the ... the North. [M: yu']”

M-1a: “So, .. ((coughs)) .. so when you talk about the mistrust of, em, I guess of Muslims, or, unpredictability, .. ahm, how is that with the Berom Muslims, how do they fit into this? (2.0) [E: <ahm>] [Are they] also unpredictable?”

E-3a: “No. ... Though at times I don't know, it's just like the-the ... *something they give them in water*. [[in Hausa]]” [C13-Su][M09-Su]

Of Fulanis:

Ref-#319

E-3a(f,F): “Also, the recent attack that happened. In /Rion Mor/ somewhere down there, ki ba? That the Muslim Fulanis were saying, the, the Berom people stoles [E: their cows] their cows. So they wanted then to attack them, and afterwards, we heard those cows stolen were caught in Bauchi, that the fellow Fulani men went and stole the cows of their fellow .. of their fellow Fulani, mm, /qui/. So you imagine, something like that, it can contribute .. they have to check and see or see the accesses first, the possibilities of Why? How? Which way? Before attacking. /wo/. Because they wants they like the attitudes of fighting and others so they, they just want to did whatever way they want to do and the government will sit down quietly and [M: ok] they want to talk about it.”
[D08-Cm][D09-Cm]

Ref-#320

E-3b(f,F): “Like in the ((cock crows)) village, .. my village, just .. the last two weeks, (1.5) a cousin of mine was killed by Fulani herdsman. And this one is real, you know they are the ones, [M: mmh] because its only .. us .. and them. They are in the bush while we stay in the (2.0) [M: town] town, .. or the village. .. So a cousin of mine was jus- the main road, the normal road that he used, he passed there to go and pick [[up]] his brother. .. He did not even get to where he was going to, they killed him, .. and up to now, they've .. not .. found the dead body, nor ... the bicycle he used. [M: mmh]” [C04-Cu][C08-Cu][C13-Cu][D05-Cu][M03-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#321

E-3b(m,J): “It's like in Jos I have not heard, I have not seen .. Christians who go to attack the Muslims. [M: mmh] It's always the other way round. In some villages of recent, like my own local government, [[name]] local government, of recent, last month, or the last three months, <so> many .. villages within that local government were attacked by Fulani herdsman. [M: mmh] .. And the thing is, the government is not even doing anything about it. Christians have never gone out to attack. In my village I can still remember the week by when they said Fulani came. They gave them land. They built houses for them. ... In fact, they even farmed their farmland for them. They feel, “these are my fellow brothers”. .. They are now there to stay, and now, ... they (raised) their kids, they are now the ones .. :killing: our own people.” [C03-Cu][C05-Cu][M08-Cu][P03-Cu]

Ref-#322

E-3b(f,F): “Like what is really happening there, .. I think .. its, up, a fight for ... They want to like .. :collect: the land from us. ... [M: mmh] And if they are able to succeed, they will. .. These people are well armed, sir. [M: yu'] They are very .. they are well armed, and most are over- since they didn't- you don't have any-, you don't have the spirit of fight in you. Why would you even keep a gun in your house? But it's like these people, right from the word go, it's like they have it at heart. We have a very vast land there, .. [M: mmh] and maybe they want to .. they want to capture the land. ... [M: I see] So that's the [fight]-”

M-1b: “[So it's about] land.”

E-3b: “No, it's also about being religious. .. But yet, they want to capture the land as well.” [C03-Cu][C05-Cu][M08-Cu]

Of Igbo and Yoruba Christians:

Ref-#323

M-1a: “I see, [E: yes] and this would also apply to like Igbo and Yoruba Christians?”

E-3a(f,F): “As well. Like when I went for service, though I served in the North as well, [M: mmh] but we were surprised by “ah, how comes you are from the north and you are a Christian? You know, we try to explain to them, we are Christians as well. [M: mmh] It's just that we speak Hausa as a general language and those- that does not mean that we are Muslims. [M: yu'] You know, when they see a church where they are speaking Hausa, they will be surprised, that, “hey, It's, this is a Muslim church”, but I said, it's not a Muslim church. [M: yu'] They are Christians as well, but it's just their tongue that's different. ... [M: mmh] So a Christian in the North, and that in the West and East are the same. [M: yu'] We flow together.” [D08-Su][M02-Su]

Appendices

Of other northern Christians...:

Ref-#324

E-3b(f,F): “[There] are, there are, you know there are Hausas, [M: eh-heh] and there are ... they said in Hausa, Hausawa and there are some there without Muslims. [M: yu'] So there are Hausa Christians as -as well. [M: yu'] Like if you go to Maiduguri, there are indigenes there that are Christians. [E: Christians] Right?”

B-3b(m,F): “[Yes. Mostly from Biu.]“

E-3b: “[If you go to Mubi], you find Christians, if you go to Adamawa, you find Christians. Bauchi here. [C: Sokoto, even Katsina] [Even here in Jos] there are people that speak Hausa, ko? [C: yes] [E: yuh] Ok, those ones are migrants. They might have migrated to here. [M: ye'] But if you go to all those Hausa states, there are [E: Far-Norths] <Christian Far-Norths>, there are Christian .. Hausas. [M: yu'] .. So those ones, they can blend, since they they-they-they [believe] ... [B: in our religion] [E: the same religion] [we have the same faith with them.] [D15-Cu][E04-Cu][M02-Cu][M08-Cu]

... and early Christians:

Ref-#325

E-3b(f,J): “They-they-they were able (3.0) to ... to do it, because ... they were united. ... [M: mmh] There was love. ... There was sharing. Nobody ... holds back what he have. If I have, and my brother does not have, ... they shared. .. There was love and unity that was binding them together. But these days, like if you come to ... Plateau here, somebody will say .. we are Christians here, yet somebody will say, “I’m Tarok”, this one will say, “I’m Magabu”, this one will say, “I’m Berom”. You know? [M: mmh] The difference :we: create. (Mix) ... It brings more harm to us as Christians.” [C12-Cu][D03-Cu][D12-Cu][E14-Cu][U06-Cu]

Finally, agencies of **government** and **security forces**, while obviously not being intrinsically ethnic or religious (although certain wing of them are often attributed ethnic or religious identity) are also seen as party to the conflict:

Ref-#326

E-3a(f,F): “Security is everybody's business. [M: ok]. The securities, Nigerian securities are not reliable. [M: mm]. Like in places that crises have happened, [M: mm], even places on communities that were attacked, the report, ah, most of the reports are (), eh, securities attacked them. [M: mm] So even the securities are not trustworthy. Nor are the security of your own self. You have to be :very: conscious.” [P02-Su][U13-Su]

Ref-#327

G-3a(m,F): “I mean, the question is this: em. This crisis issue of Plateau State. There are, em, people that are behind this, only that those people are the government, and the government knows that these are people who are behind this. Why is it that they do not go and arrest these people?” [P02-Su][C'6-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#328

F-3a(m,F): “To, they, I think because, maybe they are more powerful than the government. (2.0) There are some people that are more powerful than the government, so maybe they are such category. (2.0) I think this is one of the reasons, /sha/” [C02-Su] [C06-Su]

Ref-#329

E-3a(f,F): “Like, er, like what happened yesterday, what, why he said government (), government officials have been in all these things. Imagine, that place, the-the fight of yesterday, this place has not, did not .. gone there for worship since 2009. .. Em, you know in Jos there are no-go areas, there are Christ-, there are areas that a Christian cannot just go, [M: mmh] and there are areas a Muslim cannot go. We've placed our boundaries, and yet these people now go ahead to that place to worship. After the whole thing government are now sending securities to go and ... and say, guard them. You know, it's not proper, they would have just allowed the (fullness) to go like that. So me, I didn't like what our government do yesterday, they would have just allowed them. Since they know there are no-go areas, like now, a Christian cannot just go to, and go over like he wants to go and worship there. It's not possible. [M: ok, do you] It's your corpse that will come back.” [C02-Cm][C06-Cm][C10-Cm][P02-Cm]

G.7.2.3 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

References which respondents make to **virtuous behaviour**:

Ref-#330

D-3a(f,F): “By extending .. a hand to the needy .. less privileged. [M: mmh] .. preaching the Word of God ... telling people about the Good News .. helping others, so many” [U16-Su]

Ref-#331

B-3a(m,J): “But if you look at it from the Christian perspective, (it had) say we should forgive ourself and we should forgive .. your neighbour .. [M: yuh] seventy times seven times., [M: yu'] no matter what the case may be. To :live: as Christlike life, you have to be patient. .. [M: mmh] with what you see around you, whatever to go bad.” [T01-Cu] [T03-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu][U06-Cu][U14-Cu][U16-Cu]

On **role models**:

Ref-#332

D-3a(f,F): “My mum ... Because :she: <always> tell us to pray. ... before going into battlefield. Before going to sch- before doing everything. So I do love her, and she's my mentor.” [T06-Cu][U16-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#333

F-3a(m,F): "I think God is a perfect role model to follow up. Jesus Christ, the perfect role model. .. Afterwards, maybe you can decide to take a parent and or others, but I think Jesus Christ is better." [T03-Cm][T06-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#334

E-3a(f,F): "Just like he said, the perfect role model is God. But on earth I have role models. Men of God, you know, I cherish the way they lived their life.";;"Like me, the immediate past Reverend's wife is a role model. I really cherished that one. You know. I envy the way she does her things, I wish I'm married to behave the ways she does. Though my Mum is a role model, but beside my own home, this woman is really really the role model." [T05-Cm][U16-Cm]

Things worth **sacrificing one's life** for:

Ref-#335

E-3a(f,F): "If I will preserve my generation, [M: mm] if I will save others, I will .. give up my life. [M: ok]. Many have died as a result of that, many have fought so many battles to save their generation, so I should not act different." [D08-Cm][D09-Cm][U12-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#336

F-3a(m,F): "Some of them, ok? I have never come across a Muslim that I can take him as a role model [M: mm]. But, it depends on his – on his activities and his life. ... But I don't think I can take a Muslim man as a role model." [[cue: Muslim role-model]] [D05-Cu][M09-Cu]

How respondents **experienced and took part in the last crises**

Ref-#337

F-3a(m,F): "What happened, they tried, they killed our, ar, our fellow Christians and they do that, [M: m], we tried to defend ourselves, so, I tried to defend myself, my family and my community."

M-3a: "How did you do that, how?"

F-3a: "I (3.5) by going out .. to ride out together with them." [C03-Su][C13-Su]

Ref-#338

G-3a(m,F): "We went out, because if we wouldn't, they would come and meet us and destroy our properties, so we have to go out to go and chase them to .. to go and face them. And that's what exactly happened. [...] And they actually run away, °that's it°." [C03-Cm][C11-Cm]

Ref-#339

D-3(f,F): "If that what you're pursuing is right, do it, to the :best: of your ability. If today, the only thing before going, make your way right. Ask God to give you victory. But if God take you from that, eeh, battlefield, you can still give God the glory. Ok, your family, she just give God the glory. But I can give my life .. to Christ. Because last – during

Appendices

January, if they're fighting, I always (sit inside), but last year I said, 'let me go out', even I will die, let me die. Because .. I hate seeing people humiliating others, [M: mm] because of something. So. I can give." [E01-Sm][T07-Sm][U16-Sm]

Ref-#340

M-3a: "Did you, did you participate, in maybe, em, like say burnings of the houses or something like that?"

F-3a(m,F): "Yeh, sure ... [M: ok / G: ()] (2.0) I did. [...] But recently sure, the recent crisis, like the last year. I was not a participant."

M-3a: "Ok"

G-3a(m,F): "°He° [F: ()] can I say, we are the victims, sir. I think I was in Jos , as 2001. [M: mm] In .. that particular () was there [M: mm], so the thing was horrible, was °kai! °, was bad."

M-3a: "Ok .. but, em, what do you .. was that a good response or a bad one as a Christian?"

F-3a: "To me, it's ok, because ="

G-3a: "You can't want them to come and kill us. ="

F-3a: "= and the Bible says, you have to protect yourself."

G-3a: "= and they were coming to this church, to come and destroy this church." [C03-Sm][C11-Sm][C13-Sm][D03-Sm]

Ref-#341

E-3a(f,J): "I stay around [[name of ward]]. [M: mmh] The last crisis I was about going out in the morning. That was the one I witnessed. Personally last year, I was .. doing my youth service, [M: °mmh°] so I .. I was not at home. [M: yu'] But 2008 crisis I remember vividly that morning, I was about going out, because I work somewhere, [M: yuh] So I was about going to work, [M: uh-huh] then (1.5) my mum just go- I, ahr, left the home [M: yu'], she now called me that, where am I? They said the town is not safe to go. Before I know, I was looking for bike to climb, no bike, no bike was there ready to carry me. The next call I received was a call from a friend, he said that they just raised fire in their house. So I now came back, and my Mum said, ok, we should try to pick maybe some clothes [M: yuh] and probably my credentials. [M: yuh] And as I am thinking I don't even have the strength to carry any clothes. It is better I pick my credentials. If I survive, I will believe that ... God will surely .. open doors for me. But she was just like I should may try and pick one or two things, you survive, nobody will be ready to give you clothes to start up your life. I didn't pick anything, I just carried my credentials and we stand at the main road, and before we know it, the next moment was just fire everywhere. This areas was just total blackout. [M: yu'] We have Muslim neighbours around us. So the people, ahr, the youths that came from this side, [M: yu'] they were coming that they should show them the houses of the Muslim, because already the Muslims were :destroying: Christian home elsewhere in Bukuru. And some churches [M: yu'] had been razed with fire. So they came that we should show them Chr- Muslims' homes here. [M: yu'] We were just standing there, sha- if I had a weapon, sure I will help. [M: yuh] Because I cannot just sit down and watch <what them .. do what they were doing>. [M: yu'] So the boys among us showed them, they raised fire, the next moment I started crying, Father, I was just calling all my friends, I said just pray for us- oh [[local expression]] we don't know what is happening. I can't even .. see my house. Don't know whether the house is standing, or not. [M: mmh] It was a bitter experience, which I will not want to experience again. [M: yuh] So that's it. [M: I see] And we did not sleep at home that day, we have to go to a nearby ... community [[Zawan]]. [M: yu'] My cousin happened to marry someone from there. So we went there, took (our beds), she

Appendices

was like, maybe you should eat now. I said, me, 'I can't eat', oh. But then the calls I received from friends, and the contacts, they were keeping in touch, my friends were just keeping in touch with me. That relieved me. [M: yu'] But it was a bitter experience. The houses of our neighbours, they were .. burnt to ashes, [M: yu'] I felt bad about it, but there is nothing I can do. I can't help the situation." [C08-Su][C09-Su][C11-Su][C13-Su]

Ref-#342

B-3a(m,J): "The Muslims, [M: right] because we learnt that they killed one or two people. [M: yu'] And, ahr, they shoot some people, which- I went to the hospital and I saw the one they shoot. Immediately, [M: yu'] and I don't know the one that is dead, because they said they had taken them to the- to the .. hospital, t-to the mortuary. So I was- I was :angry: too. [M: mmh] That's just the truth, I was :angry:. [M: yu'] So :HOW: do we prevent this situation not to escalate? that was my point. [M: mmh] And these people too, the Christian youth and how to defend .. their environment. [M: yu'] So during that time there was this, er, serious chaos, [M: yu'] that we are trying to protect. This people have weapon and we still don't have weapon too. Let's keep out of this, let's stay out of this thing. I was difficult to control, this thing. [M: yu'] Not until-"

M-1a:"Sorry, so who had weapons and who didn't"

B-3a: "These Muslims, they have weapons. Yu'. And Christians are carrying sticks and stones. [M: right] So, we're like telling them, this, em, weapons, this which you are carrying, it's more :harder: than your. [M: yu'] So if you :go: there, you will be :victim:. [M: yu'] But to bring the situation down, we have security agent [M: yu'] and some are calling me from town, how is the situation here, like, because they know I am here. So, I was looking at it, trying to give them explanation, [M: yu'] we need more soldiers, we need more .. security agent, which they did and picked up, [M: yu'] and they brought things to calm. [M: yu'] [M: mmh] And that situation. I think I play a very big role in that. [M: yu'] I know that all the Christian youths that are around, when they saw the soldier men and their gun, they are more calm, facing straight, [M: yu'] nobody could come out and really talk to the soldiers. [M: uh-huh] And :me:, I believe the soldiers really need somebody to talk to, [M: yu'] to give them direction and what to do and not what to do. And give them list of what really happened. I took a bold step, [M: yu'] came out on the road, [M: yu'] bodily, the gun is facing me, I don't care. [M: yu'] Maybe it will shoot me. I just become my mind, that if I'm dead, I'm dead. But I believe that this is for me to know the inside. [M: yu'] I walked up to the soldier and gave them explanation. And tell them where the- some of the guns are coming from and the rest, which they respond. The situation was calm. [M: mmh]" [C03-Su][C08-Su][C13-Su][E15-Su][U13-Su]

Ref-#343

B-3a(m,J): "Yeah. .. When I was going to town yesterday, I didn't know anything was happening. [M: yu'] I dropped in terminus, I got a bike. [M: yu'] I was going around Enugu Street, down to Mashala Junction. And that's .. where the incident is really taking place. ... [M: yu'] So, I told the Muslim man I was going to dismiss, then he told me-, he called (money) [[give money]] that it is over. [M: yu'] I said, look, I've been going to this place, this is a normal morning, why? That's when the stool comes up. [M: yu'] That this area he want's to go, it's not safe, that there's a problem, and there's-this-there's-this-there's-this-there's-this. Sometimes we hear there is problem and the rest, when we go there, we confirm there is nothing. [M: yu'] So I say, "let's just go". [M: yu'] So we go with him, when we got to the scene, he told me, this is in a serious way, let's just go back. [M: yu'] And he even told me, what really happened, because I went to the extent and asked what happened, [M: yu'] he told me that he's a Muslim, [M: yu'] and he

Appendices

always tell me the truth and that he will tell me the truth. There's a particular group they call Izala, [M: yu'] that :yesterday:, they were not supposed to do- to be their Salah day, [M: yu'] and they insist that they want to do Sala [M: uh-huh] yesterday. [M: yu'] And they wanted to .. (Isi and Gol Rukuba), forgotten the particular area, [M: yu'] they want to pray, [M: yu'] and :mostly:, their Salah, when they want to do this their Sala, this those that drive bike. [M: mmh] they ride roughly, they go with sword, they draw sword and the rest. [M: yu'] That they went to that area, that they're doing that, [M: uh-huh] and they are shooting guns. [M: yu'] So the people there could not resist to what they are doing. [M: yu'] It's like somebody is coming to intimidate you in your own particular domain. So they tried to tell them to stop. [M: yu'] That's where the thing escalated. Then he said as a Muslim, what are those said are doing, it's very wrong, [M: yu'] he will never support, and he will never be in support. [M: yu'] And I think, God, a Muslim man and he's telling me this. [M: yu']"

M-1a: "[He knew you were a Christian?]"

B-3a: "Yes. He said?"

M-1a: "He knew you were a Christian?"

B-3a: "Very well. He told me that you could look at him again. .. He's a Muslim. And what his people are doing, he :don't: like it. .. And between you and me, he took me to Terminus. I stayed in Terminus for one hour, [M: °yu'°] to look at situation, [M: yu'] Terminus was calm, everywhere was ok, and the Muslims are still in the Terminus, the Christians are still buying and selling in that Terminus, [M: yu'] and after that, one hour and thirty minutes as I left then returned to area here, [M: yu'] so I think it is just .. like that. .. So I think, if a Muslim can have such heart, .. and understand to that level, [M: yu'] who am I to judge him, [M: right, yu']" [C08-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu][M04-Cu]

Ref-#344

B-3a(m,F): "I think I did a lot. Because, there were calls from outside. There are people that wanted to come for backup. The military and the rest. And there are some military that are .. misleading things. [M: mm] They're doing it wrongly, so I-I took (the bold) step, I don't know what will happen. It's a (big risk) on me. They send everybody off and I walk :straight: to them, straight up the main road. They're watching me, they're facing me with their armoured car and (the rest). I walked straight to them and our military men and the rest (of the things) to keep the situation calm. I think I played that role in it." [C08-Su]

And some accounts 10 months later:

Ref-#345

E-3b(f,F): "I experienced I had, er, was .. houses being razed in fire, [M: mmh] and houses close to our own building [M: yu'] was razed and ... [M: right] and I was scared like, maybe probably our own too [M: mmh] will get burned, [M: yu'] but thank God, ... God was able to help us. My younger brother was in the house, [M: mmh] and nothing happened to the house."

M-1b: "Yu'. .. I see. So you just remained in the house yourself?"

E-3b: "We were not in the house. We had to run for our dear lives. [D: for dear lives, yu'] We went to the barracks close to our house." [C08-Cu][C11-Cu][T02-Cu][U10-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#346

G-3b(m,F): "It was horrible, seriously. .. Because .. we were just- .. we were just in the house, .. and my father came and told me that they had started fighting. We were just .. I was surprised, the fighting as in how, and then before you know it, small-small children, they sent small-small children, they started cutting people's vegetables ... foodstuff in the market, [M: yu'] so, we now chase them, we now chase them, and when we were chasing them, they now sent their big ones and their elder ones start chasing us. Then .. our brothers, our elders too came, and that's how it started. [M: I see] And before we knew it they were in their mosque, so after they finished from mosque, before you see it, one, two seconds, everywhere is on fire." [C08-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu]

M-1b: "Yu' (3.0). I see, yu. ... And then, what did you do, personally?"

G-3b: "Everywhere was blocked, every road actually was (blocked)."

M-1b: "Yu' .. mmh. .. I see, so wh-what did you- how did you respond, how did you get out of it?"

G-3b: "Actually, we were running, then, we- came to a place, they surround us. [M: mmh] So I believe it was just God who sent a Muslim, the same Muslim, I don't know where he came from, [M: yu'] and he talked to then and they now leave us, [M: yu'] so we went to a Musli-, he now took us to a Muslim house. [M: yu'] So we were there. So around that six there was everywhere smoke, so they say, we should sleep in the house, [M: yu'] so we say, no; I say, no, we will not sleep there, because these people are not trustworthy, [M: yu'] so we left that place around that six in the evening and then we went to the station, the police station. [M: mmh] And that is where we spent the night there. .. Even the police station now then was not safe, because people were running, even the police, they should go out, like they were even running too. [M: yu'] So, the next day in the morning, .. it was God-sha, so it was God who saved us. [M: yu'] Because in the morning, ... we now ... went out again, now went to the University of Jos. That where we stayed until .. [F: after] until after the crisis even before we leave some ... Igbo mobile soldiers from- I don't know who called them, then came in and everything's calm." [C08-Cu][M03-Cu][M09-Cu][T02-Cu][T05-Cu][U10-Cu]

Ref-#347

M-1b: "What did you experience?"

A-3b(m,F): "Actually, it was a bad experience. ... To see people being killed, slaughtered like :chickens:. .. [M: mmh] houses being burnt, properties being destroyed. [M: yu'] Actually, it was a bad experience, [M: yu'] because it is that you fight or you run for your dear life."

M-1b: "Mmh. So what did you do?"

A-3b: "I had to fight."

M-1b: "Uh-huh. And what-, how did you fight?"

A-3b: "I have to face the opponents."

M-1b: "Yu'. How did you fa-, how did you face them?"

A-3b: "With our sticks, and our machetes, [M: uh-huh] we have our [F: stones] stones, we have to go after them as they come out of the house, where they meet. [M: yu'] Eventually, if you come across an enemy, because we called them enemies [M: yu'], you- you will have to kill him, .. [M: yu'] or you will be killed. [M: yu']"

M-1b: "So, whe-where did you meet the enemies, in the street, or in their homes, or .."

A-3b: "In the street."

M-1b: "In the street."

A-3b: "And some, that were still in their houses, if you go to their houses, get their house and they are still in their house, that's where .. they will be killed."

M-1b: "Yeu' ... right .. right. .. Em, so there's no alternative to killing them?"

Appendices

A-3b: “Ah there not, the other, the only alternative is to kill them. [M: uh-huh, °uh-huh°] that's the only- that's the only choice we have to kill them.” [C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu]

M-1b: “Would you agree with this, B?”

B-3b: “Not really, because ... not .. all, er, that glitters is gold. Some of these people you are killing, they are so innocent that they know nothing about it. For me, I don't call that as though I go to kill. I am defending myself, if you don't retaliate, I look at you. [M: mmh] 2008 .. I was in Bauchi Road .. when the crisis started. [M: yu'] I was indoors sleeping, but see, the crisis had started. I never believed. I said, let me go outside to see and take a look, just to see there was a man, there was blood all over him. [M: yuh] And everybody running and confused. I told my friend, what do we do now? A Muslim took out his bike and decided to help us out. [M: yu'] He helped, till Terminus. [M: mmh-mmh] We have opportunity to return home. [M: mmh] Just imagine, if that guy, we want to kill him, [M: mmh] or somebody kill him, who would help us? [M: mmh] Nobody. [M: yu'] So, I believe, sometimes, not killing them, that is the alternative. EXCEPT .. they want to kill you before you :defend: yourself. [M: yu'] That's my own opinion.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#348

F-3b(m,F): “I agree with him {points to C}. [M: mmh-mmh] Because the 2001 crisis was the worst crisis that I have experienced. [M: yu'] .. And then I was still at Gada Biu, I was at there, actually there at Gada Biu. [M: yu'] And I think that was the second crisis in Plateau State, ... after a long period of time. So the Christians and the Muslims were staying together. [M: yu'] (1.5) Enough Christians and enough Muslims, .. enough of them were staying in Gada Biu [M: yu'] when the crisis started. So, enough killings, burning up- burning up houses, breaking up shops and .. others, so ... the Chri- the Christians, when I heard killing the Muslims, because the Christians are much more than the Muslim there. .. [M: mmh] And even, some of them are in their houses, breaking into their houses, kill them. [M: yu'] The innocent ones, while some which they have weapons and try to protect their lives by fighting the Christians who also were killed. [M: yu'] But I don't think that it is necessary for .. killing the innocent ones.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][M03-Cu]

Ref-#349

E-3b(f,F): “Well, back then, we didn't go out to attack, albeit to defend ourselves. .. We .. went to the nearby police station [M: mmh] at the barracks that was close to our house. [M: yu'] So the men were the ones .. defending the community.”

M-1b: “Yu'-yu', What did you expect of your men.. at that moment, that they were doing?”

E-3b: “To protect themselves, if possible to kill them.”

M-1b: “Mmh-mmh. .. em (2.0) So if you met, ahm, ... maybe one of your colleagues, your men later who said yes, I killed Muslims, so, what did you feel about him?”

E-3b: “I don't feel bad with him ((laughs, embarrassed)) [B: ((laughs)) [M: yu'] I don't feel bad, because I knew if they find him, [M: mmh], they won't spare him. [M: yu'] They won't spare my life. [M: right, right] So I don't feel bad if Muslims are being killed. Though at times I'm being moved [M: yu'], because anyhow, there are innocent ones among them. [M: mmh] But, but, nowadays I don't feel bad if there are Muslims being killed.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C12-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#350

A-3b(m,J): "I was- I was in the scene of the crisis, [M: uh-huh] in which houses were burnt, people were killed, .. properties were destroyed."

M-1b: "Where was this? Where was this? Here in Bukuru?"

A-3b: "Yes. Here in Bukuru, but not only Bukuru, but (kind of where I'm residing)."

M-1b: "Yu'-yu'. So what-what happened that day or these days? What were you doing?"

A-3b: "I was there .. trying to defend my people, my territory and my life, .. [M: mmh] fighting for it."

M-1b: "How did you fight for it?"

A-3b: "We just faced each other like the Israelites and the Malachi did, .. [M: mh] facing each other, holding some (3.0) some <cans> in places, or cutlasses, [M: yu'] sticks, though some people are holding some sophisticated weapons as well."

M-1b: "Well, em, so how, did you come to be .. there? You, when did you hear of the crisis and when did you come to be .. at the battle place?"

A-3b: "Well, when heard of the crisis, I assumed there were Mu- the Muslim people trying to attack, .. we then attacked as well, trying to defend our own territory and our people. .. [M: yu'] So we have to rush, we have to leave the church, 'cos it was Sunday, [M: mmh] we have to leave the church service and go out. ... [M: right] Because it was in a communion service that most people missed that day because of that."

M-1b: "Uh. (1.5). I see, so where- was it far from the church that you were fighting? ... [B: (ah)] Was it far from the church?"

A-3b: "It was a bit far from the church."

M-1b: "Uh-huh. But still in Bukuru?"

A-3b: "It was around or Kanank here."

M-1b: "Ok (1.5) I see, and so you went to the scene and then tell me- tell me what happened, tell me, just tell me your experience, you know, how it was."

A-3b: "Really, it wasn't a good experience. [M: mmh] It's a terrible experience, [M: °mmh°] because there's no food to eat, even though you're hungry, you don't even have time to eat. ... [M: yu] You have to go and defend yourself. When you see a Muslim, the Muslim person, you have to :kill: him."

M-1b: "So you killed people?"

A-3b: "<Really>, we killed .. during that time."

M-1b: "Right. ... <Emm>, Tell me more about this .. killing."

A-3b: "Killing?"

M-1b: "Yeah."

A-3b: "It happened that when you get to a house, and you find the occupant of that house, you killed them you burned the house, you destroy all their properties. ... [M: mmh. Mmh] Moreover, people were <injured>, .. until the security mens come and intervene. [M: yu'] They shoot sporadically in the air, [M: mmh] everybody run, ... and look for a hiding place, except for those people who are very stubborn. It's when you are caught, (that they) can shoot you directly. [M: mmh] That's when we lost .. some of our people."

M-1b: "Yuh. So you actually yourself were involved in raiding houses, killing people?"

A-3b: "Really, I was involved."

M-1b: "Yu'. Em. What kind of people were killed?"

A-3b: "People?"

M-1b: "Yes."

A-3b: "Our opponents, the Muslim fellows."

M-1b: "Mmh-mmh. ... How did you experience this, doing this?"

A-3b: "How.."

M-1b: "When you were .. burning houses, killing people, how did you experience this?"

Appendices

A-3b: "Actually, I was .. very excited. Or am excited whenever I found myself destroying properties that belongs to the Muslim fellows."

M-1b: "Mmh. How- how do you mean excited?"

A-3b: "Very happy because I knew that if they come across mine, they would destroy something, they would destroy my own property. So I have to destroy their own, and I feel happy destroying their property then."

M-1b: "Mmh. .. I see. ... Em, so what kind of Muslims were you- were they, were they young people, old people, children, women .. ?"

A-3b: "The plain truth is that .. both <old>, young, ... and to some extent women have been killed."

M-1b: "How did you, as a Christian, <ahm>, (3.0) I believe since 2003 you .. converted to Christ. How do you .. em (2.0) look at this theologically, or how do you .. how do you go into this battle with- with- with Jesus by your side? Can you – can you tell me more of what .. this looked like?"

A-3b: "The truth of the matter is .. I think that if not that Christ is on our side we could have been destroyed long before now."

M-1b: "What would have been destroyed?"

A-3b: "Look, we have all Christians having been destroyed around this place long before now. [M: mmh] Where I think that God has been on our side and God has been faithful to us. [M: yu'] Because ... the kind of preparation the Muslim fellows were doing. ... It was a kind of a serious preparation. They have every - :every: ammunition on ground, .. [M: mmh] to fight us, to eliminate us. .. But it was Christ that was working that help us to even :overcome: .. their strength."

M-1b: "Right. ... I see. So if Jesus were here today, fighting along with you, leading you, what would he be doing, .. in your opinion?"

A-3b: "Well the truth is, I can't say what really Jesus Christ will- could have been doing then. .. [M: mmh] Because His Ways are not our ways. No-one understands what is His next step. Only he knows His next steps."

M-1b: "Right. .. <Emm> (3.0) There are also Christian ideas that say that Jesus ... they ask themselves, what would Jesus have done, <ahm> say that Jesus would not have .. ehm .. been violent. .. Would not have-have killed people to protect His community. What do you think of- of these views?"

A-3b: "That's why I said earlier, .. I don't know His thoughts, His Ways are not our way. [M: yu'] But fact is, the Israelites, they fought battles. [M: mmh-mmh] And King David was one of the kings that fought most of the battles, because the (higher) battle in the Bible, [M: yu'] that even before he went to the battlefield he asked of God's guidance first. .. [M: yuh] So I really doubt .. that statement. [M: mmh] Not fully that- .. we cannot fold our hands and say that <Christ> will fight the battle for us. [M: yuh-yuh] Because I know that we have the power. God has given us the power. We are to protect, defend ourself. [M: yu'] We are not to look for trouble but we are- we have to protect ourselves. [M: right] I cannot just fold my hands and watch the enemy, [M: mmh] using machete, killing me, [M: yuh] because I have Jesus. [M: yu']" [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][E03-Cu][M03-Cu]

How one should respond to **security threats**:

Ref-#351

B-3a(m,J): "Em, in crisis situation, what really is happening in crisis situation, I try to understand this scenario first. [M: yu'] Since I know myself, I've not .. fight .. real fight, .. [M: mmh-mmh] but like the last one that happened, .. I tried to make peace. [M:

Appendices

yu'] With- with, em, .. with the .. two parties, by calling on soldiers. .. I'll :be: with the soldiers. [M: yu'] I know myself, to be with a chicken, it's a problem to me, [M: yu'] more or less killed a human being, [M: yu'] :IF: .. I meet a Berom Muslim, if he try to hand me, that's what is called self-defence, [M: yuh] I'll defend myself. [M: yu'] I will not be a fool to be silent. But :IF: he will be in peace, .. try to negotiate on a round table, [M: yu'] I think I can do that. [M: yu']" [C08-Su][D08-Su][M01-Su][M03-Su][U07-Su]

Ref-#352

M-1b: "Mmh, right, so how can <we>, or how can Christians :defend: against the kind of, ahm, attack? This-this incessant, er, suicide attacking. How can- how can one defend against it?"

A-3b(m,F): "Do. .. How Christians can defend is to attack back."

E-3b: "What you mean?"

M-1b: "Who .. who do you attack?"

A-3b: "We attack mosques as well. .. As much as they attack churches, we attack mosques so that they know that they are not intimidated by their acts. Just like Israel and Gaza, [M: Ok, so-] Israel don't look for trouble when Gaza then killed one Israelite, Israel kill [.ten: of them] [D: ten of them] [F: ((laughs))]"

M-1b: "So this is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, is that right?"

A-3b: "If it's for the Muslim fellows, then I think yes."

E-3b(f,F): "You think that that will solve the problem?"

F-3b(m,F): "Ok. In an emergency [It will solve the problem]."

M-1b: "So where would this lead us, where would this lead us, if, if we just attack mosques .. as Christians?"

A-3b: "It will lead us to a state of :chaos:"

M-1b: "Uh-huh. Is that what we want?"

A-3b: "[F: no] [Actually,] that's what they [want]." [C02-Cu][C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C12-Cu][C13-Cu][D01-Cu][D02-Cu][D03-Cu][D05-Cu][M01-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#353

B-3b(m,F): "We said, for the first time I said to myself, :if: security can take their job serious the way they did on Sunday, I think we will never have problem. [M: mmh] I went to Bauchi Road, I passed Bauchi Road again and again and again and again, ... even in this mess, [because why?] [F: be careful] I was confident of what I was seeing. ... Me too, my eyes were shining. ... I was looking front and back. (2.0) Some of the things that-that were averted, it's-it's a common (man) [[it doesn't take any superhuman being]], because that's why we are conscious. That's the alert, it's not an eye for an eye, .. [M: yuh] but it's just a self-defence." [C03-Su][C12-Su][D01-Su][U13-Su]

Ref-#354

M-1b: "You don't think-. So you think by attacking mosques, you, that's the best way to take out Boko Haram?"

A-3b(m,F): "Actually, (3.5) :YES: .. Since [F: °()] <why I said yes>, I'm answering on my yes. ... Because, they're all Muslims. ... And they are extremist Islamists, they are fanatics. [M: mmh] ... and they received their training, most of they are Boko Haram, .. they are from all these there mallams, and they've undertaken serious research, most of them. [M: mmh]" [C13-Cu][D05-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#355

A-3b(m,F): “The truth is, this church, assuming they [[Boko Haram]] had their ways, they could have bombed this church. Because they are into bombing churches anyhow [M: ((cough))]. Because most churches are not safe by them. [M: mmh] They are hunting churches just the way a hunter hunts in the bush. .. [M: yu'] So I believe, even though they have not bombed the mosques, they will still bomb our churches.” [C10-Cu][D05-Cu][D13-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

Respondents' **analyses of causes** of the crisis:

Ref-#356

M-1a: “So, em, wha-, why did they-, why did were these Chris-, Christian youths burning that particular house?”

B-3a(m,J): “It-it-it's out of anger. [M: uh-huh] They want to revenge, [M: yu'] what was did to their own fellow, [M: yu'] and that's just it.” [C03-Cu][E03-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#357

G-3a(m,F): “[There are] Christians who are selfish. Some [F: we-] because definitely they cannot read, they cannot come to your house and start killing you just like that, because they don't know their environment, but that's how (deal magic) how does, how does people know this place even to come like that? [M: ok]. That them is other that Muslim that is sitting there, a Christian brother that he gave him some money to /er/.” [D04-Su][U14-Su]

Ref-#358

E-3a(f,F): “They say right from the time of John the Baptist the Kingdom of God suffered [violence]=” [C03-Su][C13-Su][D03-Su]

Ref-#359

E-3b(f,F): “A verse in the Bible says that .. right from the time of John the Baptist the Kingdom of God 'suffereth violence and only the violent taketh it by force'.” [C13-Su][D03-Su][D05-Su][E15-Su][T01-Su]

The respondents' **defence of and apology of Christian actions**:

Ref-#360

B-3a(m,F): “From my own perspective, this is a question I've asked one thousand and what times again .. And I don't know if God will really really forgive us. [M: mm] .. God said we should forgive seventy times seven times. [M: mm] They ask a Christian, and, er, from what happened in Jos, we have been so so so patient that from the beginning, if they start this thing, we will run, leave our house, and take everything away. And go and find somewhere to hide. And come back and see that they destroyed the house and (the rest) to the extent that children and women are being killed. .. That if in a normal circumstance, in a (war front), it's not .. ok .. for your position to kill your women and your children. [M: mmh] So I think enough is enough. So for us .. to .. to stop them, it's not really good, but we have no option than to go back. We call this self-defence. We are defending ourselves. From the onset of crisis to date, I've never heard of when

Appendices

Christians go and attack. .. Even the recent one that happened, they have to attack, we have to defend ... I'm not advising anybody to go and fight anybody, but if they come, there's no option, we have to attack (any violence). We have to protect the environment, that's just it." [C03-Su][C04-Su][C13-Su][E15-Su][M03-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#361

E-3a(f,J): "Though the Bible say that vengeance is of the Lord. [M: yu'] As I earlier said, we can't fold our arms and watch them kill our youths and burn our home. Like I remember during Jan-, er, 2001 crisis .. in fact, there were many Christian youths, children and women that were saved by Christians. [M: yu'] But when we discovered that they don't do same, if they- in fact, there are women that were slaughtered, Christian men that were slaughtered by Muslim youths. When Christians discovered that this is what happened, we .. started reacting as well, [M: yuh] though they don't- we don't do our own so obvious." [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][D04-Cu][T01-Cu][T02-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#362

M-3a: "Will it be right under any circumstances to attack Muslims?"

E-3a(f,F): "We don't attack, we only defend." [C03-CM][E15-CM]

Ref-#363

M-3a: "Right, thank you for that response, but will it be good under any circumstance to attack them?"

F-3a(m,F): "Well, our religion, it not teach us to .. to ="

E-3a(f,F): "To [do that]"

F-3a: "= to do that. So you're not supposed to do that. /Bo/. em. When ="

E-3a: "It comes"

F-3a: "= comes, we-we, we're supposed t-to defend ourselves"

M-3a: "Ok. You want to say something?"

G-3a(m,F): "What I want to say, er, but our Bible teaches to retaliate (or to protect), but as .. maybe .. as the crisis break out we have to defend ourselves, can't just stop our worshipping to come and kill us just like that ="

E-3a: "God will even hold you responsible."

F-3a: "God will even hold you responsible."

G-3a: "= I know, how. We have to do something." [C03-Cm][D05-Cm][T01-Cm]

Ref-#364

A-3a(m,F): "Bible let us understand that vengeance is for the Lord [M: mm], not for man. [M: mm] And I <think> I want to recommend the Christians in Plateau for that. Because, as my brother here has said earlier, the truth is, they have been :attacking:, ... [M: mm] we have been defending. [M: mm] Under the circumstances, I've never seen a Christian attacking, and up to date, most of the attacks, or if not all, are from the Muslim brothers. .. [M: °ok°] So I think. .. It's not proper for us to attack." [C03-Su][M01-Su][M03-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#365

M-1b: "°mmh° .. I have a question. Where would you see .. the difference between attack and defence?"

A-3b(m,F): "Attack and defence?"

Appendices

M-1b: "Mmh."

A-3b: "When you are, when you are attacked, to know you're attacked, that is somebody must have approached you, .. [M: mmh] with aaa, with a – with a dangerous .. arm, or weapon. [M: yu'] Then defence .. is when you are trying to protect yourself from being engaged in harm, [M: mmh] by that person who launched the attack. ... [M: right] But in the defence, it can involve .. :you:, >but the other< but killing that person who attacked you is part of the defence. Because it's possible that if you don't kill him, .. he will certainly kill you. .. [M: mmh] And that sort of thing .. in Nigeria, mostly in Plateau State [now]."

M-1b: "[So is] it, so is it always clear if you are attacking or defending?"

A-3b: "It's better that we defend."

M-1b: "Yes, it's better you defend, but do you know if you are actually attacking or do you know if you are actually defending?"

[...]

A-3b: "I'm .. defending."

M-1b: "You're always defending."

A-3b: "°Yes." [C03-Cu][C13-Cu]

Ref-#366

M-1b: "Now, the people, the Muslims you attacked in the house, or you defended against in the house, from their point of view, they are sitting in their house hoping everything will just calm down, do they see this as an attack, or do they see this as you defending yourself?"

A-3b(m,F): "They will see it as a defence. Why? Because their people approached Christians. And Christians in the act of defence, they have to send them away, .. because if left, they will cause many damage to the Christians." [C03-Cu][C13-Cu][D04-Cu][D07-Cu][D15-Cu][E15-Cu][M09-Cu]

M-1b: "So-so would you also agree that, er, .. that the peop-, that a Muslim sitting in his house, does the- Christians defending themselves outside by basically attacking their houses, .. he would see this as Christian .. defence, or what do you think he would say?"

B-3b: "I disagree. [M: mmh] Number 1: not all Muslims are Boko Haram. I repeat myself. [M: mmh] Boko Haram have link with the Muslims. [M: mmh] Not all Muslims are Boko Harams. I see Boko Harams as a set of Muslims that believe in a particular principle. [M: mmh] (2.5) Some of the .. the-the Muslims, they will tell you that Boko Haram Muslim is peace and they preach peace. ... [M: mmh] .. That's what me I know. [M: yu'] So I look at Boko Haram as a terrorist group .. [M: mmh] :linked: with the Muslims." [C13-Cu][D05-Cu][M09-Cu][M10-Cu]

M-1b: "Yep. .. I see. So you yourself, where would you limit defence and attack?"

B-3(m,F)b: "I limit defence, [M: uh-huh] when .. they approach you, [M: yu'] .. and you protect yourself from being killed or harmed [M: yu'] by killing them. [M: yu'-yu']. I see that as an- as a defence. [M: mmh-mmh] Attack, I see it as when they are in their houses. [M: right] You go and attack them. [M: right] You go and :kill: them. Which I don't agree with that. [M: mmh] Because even the Bible .. don't teach us that. [M: yep .. °yep°] So I limit attack [M: mmh] .. as .. killing them .. [M: mmh] when nothing is happening, [M: yu'] and defence, as defending yourself .. [M: mmh] from being killed by killing them." [C03-Cu][C13-Cu][D05-Cu][M01-Cu][T01-Cu]

Ref-#367

G-3b(m,F): "Actually, the truth is this. You see, I've never seen a situation where Christians started fighting. (2.0) [M: yu'] They always started. But I don't see, I don't, nothing's the best, because they kill-, they come to your h-, my house. That is not that

Appendices

we watch them burning our properties, killing your family, killing everybody. [M: yu'] Definitely you have to defend yourselves." [C03-Cm][C10-Cm][C11-Cm][M09-Cm]

Ref-#368

B-3b(m,F): "Not that an eye for an eye, I don't want to attack anymore, no matter what you do to me today. [M.: yu'] But if anybody come around the church, want to do anything in the church, I will KILL HIM!" [C03-Cm][C12-Cm][C13-Cm][D05-Cm][M01-Cm][U13-Cm]

Ref-#369

M-1b: "So even the-the elder- older people, the ol- the women amongst the Muslims, they were attacking you, that you went to their home and-"

A-3b(m,J): "They were not really attacking us. They left their home. The women, some of them left to police stations, [M: mmh] some of them were at homes. [M: mmh] "

M-1b: "So if they weren't attacking you, why did you go to their homes?"

A-3b: "They attacked us approaching our homes, they are the ones starting burning our homes. [M: mmh] They started burning first. [M: right] Destroying our youths, children. [M: mmh] And the women, before we start retaliating and destroying their people as well." [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C13-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#370

E-3b(f,J): "It's like in Jos I have not heard, I have not seen .. Christians who go to attack the Muslims. [M: mmh] It's always the other way round." [C03-Cm][C05-Cm][M08-Cm]

On how Jesus/God would/does respond:

Ref-#371

A-3a(m,F): "I think, if it's Jesus Christ have done so many things during His days. [M: yes] Sometimes they fight battles. They have the Israelites to fight battles. Sometimes, He performed miracles. So for me to say that this is actually what Jesus Christ will do, I know Jesus Christ can perform miracles. Maybe the weapons might not work .. and it will get through that :this is Christ:. ... On the contrary, He might decide to .. to :destroy: them as He did He helped the Israelites. Go and give you power of them. They are destroyed. During the time of Gideon, they even fought themselves and killed themselves. It was the hand of God. So I think God can decide to destroy them <or>: can decide to perform a miracle." [D12-Cu]

Ref-#372

A-3a(m,F): "I think there was a period of the law in the Bible and grace ... In Genesis, when () the Bible say that Jesus Christ regret .. ((snips finger)) .. He regretted creating man. Because of the evil, ... That shows that Jesus Christ Himself was :angry: .. with us. That is why He even planned, He said He would destroy the world with fire. [M: mm] So that man will feel that pain. ... So now, we are in a period of grace in which He says that His grace is sufficient, that is why He's been saying that Christ is His Son to die on, er, the Cross .. for our sins. [M: mm] ... And .. let me just use the, let me just use the .. in the (olden days) in the way .. (olden) in the period based of the New Testament – Old Testament reader, [M: mmh] ... He destroyed people. ... He destroyed people as well. Because if you harden your heart, God can destroy you. Because if you know, He will

Appendices

lead many people astray. [M: mmh] So to me, actually, I cannot decide which one God will destroy them, because He created them, but God is not happy with evil.” [D12-Su] [T03-Su]

Ref-#373

F-3a(m,F): “Er, As we've :heard: [M: mm], as we've :read: from the Bible, [M: mm] is a forgive, He has a forgiving spirit .. so to me, I think He's going to forgive them, .. allowing them to stay there. [M: mmh] .. an um, and make make them His friends .. [M: °yeh°]. .. So that due to the present situation we have now, we try to make them our friends, but .. it's as if they don't need our friendship. So .. it's now thus it's not necessary to have their friendship .. but Jesus Christ .. is very important, and He .. He said love is a () [M: mmh] to, I think He, we're going to :love: them, to whichever extent, we need to ..” [D17-Cu][M09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu]

Ref-#374

E-3a(f,F): “God has been so faithful. [M: mh] to us ... here in our own () in particular [M: mh]. Because you can imagine someone coming to you with a gun, a sword, and you, you are just holding a stone, and yet, the power in that stone will still destroy him. We still kill even some of them. So God will definite – Jesus is – is definitely going to protect – He has been protecting us, and He will surely do it (3.0) [M: °ok°] So I feel Jesus will protect me, they are coming. [M: °mm°] God can even, in fact, confuse them, can make them fight themselves, can make them turn back. (2.0)” [C03-Su][D12-Su][T02-Su][T03-Su]

M-3a: “Ok ... and you mean that Jesus can protect you and then maybe destroy the Muslims?”

E-3a: “Sure! (2.0)”

M-3a: “So, are you still try to say that, em, maybe Jesus doesn't love them?”

E-3a: “He loves them, but He don't like, .. you know, God loves everybody, you know, even when you are doing the-the wrong thing. He still really loves you, just that He's not happy. He loves you irrespective of whether you're a Muslim or a Christian, as far as you believed on Him. [G: ((coughs))] and you confessed, he will, he loves you. Jesus loves everybody.” [C03-Cu][D12-Cu][T03-Cu][U06-Cu]

Ref-#375

G-3a(m,F): “(Actually, He has been protecting us), ah, He has been protecting us even in the recent crisis, even in the recent crisis 2008. ((coughs)) Actually, you saw the hand of God, because the kind of weapon, weapon these people are using. [M: mm] What are we to do, we don't weep- ... anything, it's only [E: stones] stones and [E: sticks] sticks. And actually, people has, I believe if God will definitely protect us. If they are coming that Jesus Christ is there to protect us. If He means to destroy the people, He will destroy them, but I know He will look for a solution not to destroy them, because He know them too.” [C03-Cu][D07-Cu][D12-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu]

Appendices

Proposed action **towards a solution** (prescriptive):

For the Christian side:

Ref-#376

G-3a(m,F): "I think that, I think what we need is prayer, pray, which should be to God ... is prayers ... should go to our (next) to pray. That is the best solution, prayer, .. and should (try to be there sort of like as she say to preserve, to add things, favour to life). And also go as a Christian." [C12-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#377

G-3a(m,F): "And always we have the differences, so .. all we have to do is pray, and we are just praying for God to bring peace. Definitely, when there is peace, we can (preach to them). [M: ok] God is the peace." [C12-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#378

C-3a(m,F): "It's not as a good Christian, it's not proper for you to just go and start fighting, go and start, maybe, you look for-for problem, for trouble. It's not good for you to just go and start fighting. (°it's not proper°)" [C13-Cu]

Ref-#379

A-3b(m,J): "The violence has never been ended by either the Muslims or the Christians. ... [M: mmh] <The> violence is always ended by the Security personnels." [C13-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#380

M-1b: "What can Christians do, c-can the Christians do, churches do to end violence?"

A-3b(m,J): "((snorts)) Really, the violence is () (2.0) :Church: (2.0) Church needs to pray to end the violence. ... That is the major measure the Church needs to do, [M: mmh] is prayers." [C12-Cu][T06-Cu]

M-1b: "So what good does praying do?"

[...]

A-3b: "Praying: with heart. .. Because even the Bible says we shall ask and shall be given. [M: yu] If we ask God, our Creator, He have the power to end the violence. [M: yuh] But seen humanly, the violence cannot end, except with the intervention of God Himself. [M: yu'] So prayer will play a very important role to end this violence."

M-1b: "Yu'. ... So what do you pray for concretely, what do you pray for, when you pray for peace?"

A-3b: "We pray for p- What do we pray for? [M: yu'] We pray for God."

M-1b: "Yu'. You [pray for God]"

A-3b: "[We pray for] God, to :touch: their lives. [M: uh-huh] " [C12-Cu][C13-Cu][D03-Cu][D12-Cu][M01-Cu][T02-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#381

E-3b(f,J): "The solution to it is .. for us to preach peace. .. [M: mmh] to live peace, .. and .. to take it to God in prayers." [C12-Su][T06-Su][U07-Su]

Appendices

For the Muslim side:

Ref-#382

G-3a(m,F): "Somebody told me yesterday that they, the Musli- aware that, - the Muslims are saying that when they should attack us, and when we go to try, they tell us that we should forgive, that we shouldn't attack them [M: mm]. So I was laughing, but actually, it's to forgive them and to show them the example. (2.0) Because I believe in this Plateau State we have never gone and attacked them. That's number one. It's only when they attack, then we have to defend ourselves, we can't just sit down and watch them." [C03-Su][C10-Su][C12-Su][D17-Su]

Ref-#383

A-3b(m,J): "The only thing I think can bring peace back to Plateau is (2.0) when ... the Muslim fellows realise, .. that .. they don't have to fight .. to capture a state. (2.0) You know, as they continue fighting I don't know peace will be restored to Plateau, continue fighting. [M: yu'] Because their aim is to capture the state. [M: yu'] And that is :impossible: to me, because the Christians must not fold their hands and watch them capturing the state. .. [M: mmh] So they have to realise first that they are- they have to realise that they are visitors in the state. .. [M: yu'] So they are not- they are not to rule the state. If they capture the state before peace can be restored." [C12-Cu][M01-Cu][M02-Cu][U07-Cu]

M-1b: "So, emm, .. when you are, emm, .. attacking their homes, em, (2.0) does this not drive them into a situation where they feel they must also attack?"

A-3b: "Well, we're not the ones that attacked first. They attacked before we defend. .. [M: yu', uh-huh] So the ones that forced attack us [M: right] before we .. came out in mass to defend our territory and attack them as well." [C03-Cu][C12-Cu][M01-Cu][M02-Cu]

Ref-#384

A-3b(m,J): "I said earlier that most of the terrorist have (), [M: mmh] and they have to (go off), they have to meet the people. [M: °mmh-mmh°] And beg them, and seek for peace, and promise not to do anything funny again." [C03-Cu][C12-Cu][D17-Cu][M01-Cu][U13-Cu]

The church's role towards a solution:

Ref-#385

B-3a(m,J): "Church? [M: mmh] Well, ... yes I would say so. Because the church is always at its defence. .. [M: yu'] And at most of times at the receiving end. ... [M: yu'] :If: somebody keeps hitting at you, hitting at you, I think you ought to start .. to defend. [M: yu'] Because the Bible makes us to understand: If your hand .. will make you not to be under the Kingdom of God, but it off. ... I think se-se-self defence is not a sin. [M: yeh] (Church) has been praying that we'll be self-defence. .. [M: yu'] We youths always come to the church to defend the church, because most the time, you understand, the want to take their attack to the church. [M: yu'] Churches have been bombed. [M: yu'] Churches have been, er, .. have been attacked, [M: mmh] pastors have been killed, [M: yu'] so the church plays roles of being self-defending. [M: m']" [C03-Cu][C12-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#386

B-3a(m,J): “Same that applied to the church, [M: yu'] mosques should do the same. [M: ok] <Organise> a round table talk. [M: yu'] A dialogue, that a Christian would be involved, that the :community: will be involved. We have no right to say one of us to this or not to do that. [M: mmh] Everybody have his own life that he wants to live. [M: yu'] But, in a particular land, there are rules and regulations, that :if: you belong to that particular land, :you: must abide by it. And if we think of that, there will be know problem. [M: right] Christians and Muslims are fi- are fighting in Plateau State. [M: yu'] I have Chris-, em, Muslim friends. [M: yu'] We still call, we still eat, we still do everything together. [M: yu'] After everything. Most crisis I've been in, and they're the one bringing me out. What will (I realise) to those kind of people.” [U09-Su]

Ref-#387

B-3a(m,J): “Thank God for the government of the day, to <involve> youths in it, immediately in the environment, in terms of security. [M: mmh] :Church: should be organising a dialogue ... [M: yu'] between the Christians and the Muslims, [M: yu'] and the particular host community. [M: yu'] For each and everybody to understand itself better. [M: mmh] I think nobody can protect my home as can do. [M: yu'] Because I know the in and out of my house. [M: mmh] When they want to come to my house, I know where to run to, be that he's coming as a stranger, he won't really know where I am, or where to go out to. I think :if: the Muslims, .. the Christians, .. the whole community could understand themselves down to that level, I think we will get a particular result, [M: I see] if we are waiting for people to come from outside to come and give us results, I think it will not end.” [C12-Su][D03-Su][D08-Su][P02-Su][U09-Su]

Ref-#388

B-3b(m,F): “The Church has been doing it, .. it's been by preaching peace, and telling us, the followers .. to be patient .. and [rely upon God] [D: upon God]. [M: mmh] I think if the peace can be preached more, and more and more, [M: mmh] to an extent within us as members, [M: mmh] to show the Muslims a good example and a good life, I think .. leave everything in the hands of God, with the help of God, things will be ok.”

Here, even though the church is particularly called to seek a solution, the answer is just to leave it in the hands of God

G-3b(m,F): “In fact, the Church are trying, [M: yu'] adverts you see, they preach peace in adverts in television, programmes, they are organising programmes. .. [M: yu'] They are trying.”

F-3b(m,F): “Actually, it's true.”

M-1b: “What kind of programmes?”

F-3b: “Christian programmes.”

G-3b: “Christian programmes, and .. concerts. [M: mmh]”

A-3b: “[Seminars]”

G-3b: “[Peace seminars]”

A-3b(m,F): “[Peace concerts]”

G-3b: “[Committees]=”

F-3b: “=[Advocating .. peace] .. conferences.” [C12-Cm][D11-Cm][T02-Cm][U07-Cm]

They all seem comfortable about this approach to peace-building.

Appendices

Ref-#389

A-3b(m,J): "It seems, what Church will do is go to go down on their knees, .. because "the battle is mine", says the Lord. Those who fight by forces will see death, and those those who fight on their knees will see victory. So we can only contact peace when we go back to our knees. ... [M: mmh] ... prayers." [C12-Cm][D12-Cm][M01-Cm][T01-Cm][T06-Cm]

And with breath-taking inconsistency:

Ref-#390

A-3b(m,F): "We should pray. If we pray God will certainly have His way. It [will enlighten the situation]."

I.e. God could not have His way if we didn't. So He needs us to reach His ends?

What He probably means is that God will make our way work.

B-3b(m,F): "[We will pray] .. not to fight.="

G-3b(m,F): "We will not fight."

B-3b: "[We will now pray] .. and defend."

A-3b: "Sure"

F-3b(m,F): "We will defend, more of defending."

E-3(f,F)/B-3b: "Watch /abu/ watch and pray."

all: ((laughter))

B-3b: "That's what the Bible says. .. Watch and pray."

F-3b: "More of prayers. :Less: of the attacking. "

B-3b: "((laugh))"

E-3b: "Yes. And the defending, because we've never attacked."

G-3b: "We've never attacked!"

F-3b: "More of the defending, and more of the prayers."

G-3b: "We've never attacked."

F-3b: "((laughs)) .. Less of the attacking."

M-1b: "What should the Muslims be doing?"

A-3b: "I think God, [F: we leave them] when we pray and God answer that prayer, I think those-"

G-3b: "They will take a cue from us."

E-3b: "And they will repent."

A-3b: "They will just repent. Rather than bringing bomb, [they will be breaking bombs]"

E-3b: "[If they don't repent], [C: ((laughs)) they will perish." [C03-Cm][C12-Cm][D12-Cm][E15-Cm][T01-Cm][T06-Cm][U07-Cm]

Respondents' understanding of **peace**:

Ref-#391

G-3b(m,F): "We are just like, .. because even in this area, they usually come there to settle that they are looking for peace, which :after:, I believe that after the meeting, they will go and have another meeting [M: yu'] between themselves, [M: yu'] [F: laughs] before you meet in the evening they will come and attack the people [M: yu']. Because they never come in the morning-, they should-, they won't come in the morning, they won't come in the afternoon. [M: yu'] It's always in the evening. When people are asleep." [C03-Cm][C10-Cm][M03-Cm][U05-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#392

B-3b(m,F): “Yes, er, I wanted to say something. I, in my own opinion, I feel bad [M: yu'] if :any: innocent person is being killed, be it Christians, Muslim, or-or Pagans. [M: yu'] But I never feel bad when anybody kill anybody in the process of defending himself. [M: yu', mmh] That is my own opinion. In terms of this peace process, in the last two weeks, we have a .. a peace meeting [M: mmh] from the, er, peace department from the university of Jos. [M: yu'] So the Muslims are talking about peace. [M: yu'] And I asked the question, it's high time we stop making noise about peace, but start acting peace. [M: mmh] If you really want peace, you have to practice peace [M: yu'] and stop talking peace. [M: yu'] ... We can't sit and .. sign up an agreement, so what do they call it now? Something that is [signed up] [E: memorandum] :Memorandum: for peace [D: peace] between the Christian and the Muslim. At that very same day you will hear an attack, at not less than 24 hours, in a village, [D: uh-huh] and you expect those people, because they are serving God, they are Christians, [M: yu'] to keep quiet and not to retaliate. [M: yu'] It will not be possible. [M: mmh] There will be never, there will never be peace without acting peace. [M: yu'] If they are calling for peace, they should practice peace and there will be peace. I know Christians are peacemakers, because if you are not peacemakers, no Muslim can preach in Plateau State. If we really want to fight, if we start up and fight, and Plateau State will put themselves together, people from other local governments, as Christians we come together and then I'm telling you, no Muslim will stand it. [M: mmh-mmh]. So we wanted peace. We want peace. And we want to practice [peace.]” [C03-Su][C05-Su][D04-Su][E04-Su][E15-Su][U07-Su]

Ref-#393

B-3b(m,F): “Peace means, not looking for one's trouble, [M: mm] in my opinion. [M: mmh] You know that doing this thing is not right, [M: yeah] but I want to do it, to see what you can do. [M: yuh]. I'm not - I'm not pretending, I'm not practising peace. [M: yu', I see] I want to invoke your spirit to attack me, [M: mmh] and that's what I see.” [U07-Cu]

Ref-#394

A-3b(m,F): “Peace means a. state. of. <calmness>.”;”When there's a state of calmness, .. I mean a state whereby, you <are free from terror, terrorism>, [M: yu'] elimination, .. kidnapping, and other sorts of violence, [M: right] and so on.” [C13-Cu][U07-Cu]

G.7.3 Tarok senior cohort sources

G.7.3.1 Evidence related primarily to world-views

The respondents' **self-understanding** as to why they exist and what their **purpose on earth** is:

Ref-#395

C-4(m,F): “Adam disobeyed God, then God sent him in front, so still even as God punished him, that doesn't mean that God rejected him. God again still looked for a way that he would be rescued. For that reason ... I have the tribe that the man created. That

Appendices

is the tribe I belong to in this world, so I am from that tribe. So God Almighty Himself is the one who created me in this world for a purpose.” [D03-SM][D14-SM][T01-SM]

Ref-#396

A-4(f,F): “Because of Adam & Eve’s sin we are here, but we have no authority, and He may call you anytime.” [T01-SM][U14-SM]

Ref-#397

D-5(f,J): “Worship & serve God, as light of the world because of His legacy of Jesus Christ. Done by following God’s commandments.” [E09-Su][T03-Su][T05-Su][T07-Su]

Themes of **high priority** in life:

Ref-#398

A-4(f,F): “Christianity is important.”;; “Because [...] I got life that God suffered and gave because of me.” [D14-Sm][T07-Sm]

Ref-#399

C-4(m,F): “Because He died because of my sin, that’s why Christianity is more than anything to me in this world.” [T03-Cm][T07-Cm][U14-Cm]

“Christianity” is given prominence rather than God. It is as if the religious system as such somehow “works” better than it being intricately based on a relationship with God.

Ref-#400

D-4(m,F): “Then it is God who will bring peace more than any thing”. [D14-Cm][T02-Cm][T07-Cm][U07-Cm]

The desire for peace is made possible only through God’s agency, so God should be followed to this end.

Ref-#401

A-4(f,F): “Then I would have said that the best to do is to look for forgiveness, [E: :mm:] to forgive my sins, because I should have everlasting life.” [D17-Cu][D13-Cu][U16-Cu]

Ref-#402

D-4(m,F): With reference to Tarok traditions, where people have experienced this sort of thing in their natural religion, “If I am sure that I have one day left for me to die, then pertaining all things that I have, I will reduce them. I will eat very well before I will die.” [D16-Su][E13-Su][E16-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#403

C-4(m,F), Like those who died with Jesus on the Cross, if he would die tomorrow: “I will confess to God Almighty so that He might forgive me.” [D03-Cu][D14-Cu][D17-Cu][E13-Cu][T01-Cu][T03-Cu]

In private, much of the biblical imagery disappeared. Rather, more worldly concerns emerge. The struggle to free oneself from the ignorance that Muslim overlords gains prominence.

Ref-#404

B-4(m,J):”Need chieftom and LGA [as freedom].“ [P03-Su][U02-Su]

Ref-#405

B-4(m,J): “The greatest thing is that we Tarok people that are here as slaves to Muslims...” [C13-SM][E04-SM]

Ref-#406

B-4(m,J): “We don't want to eat [[cheat]] people. That is why we don't want to succumb to their instructions [[agree with their sayings]] . That is why they rejected [[or hate]] us. Yeah, so this is the end of the talk that “we don't want to remain under some people any longer”. We have sat and become tired. [[waited or had patience for long enough]]“ [E15-SM][M09-SM][U02-SM][U15-SM]

On the question of what causes accidents and illness (or “stumbling and sickness”):

Ref-#407

A-4(f,F): Identifies bad thoughts as an agent of misery: “What usually causes sickness and stumble is because of your thoughts which can cause sickness to you. Your thoughts can make you to stumble because you may be thinking that this person should look straight and that thought may draw your attention back, and you may not realise that before there is a stone and all of a sudden you will will hit your toe on it. And that has caused a problem between you.“ [E01-Cm]

Ref-#408

C-4(m,F): “What usually causes sickness is sometimes that you had something in your mind that you must do a certain thing or give yourself in doing something else, or some hard labours. So that you will achieve that goal, then along the line, it may likely injure you .. so you won't be able to make up the requirement you had.

The other one we have again is that, a ... the society you are living in. If you are living in a society that is corrupt, then the attitudes that will be going on may cause heartbroken which may lead to hypertension in you [M: mmh]. If you are entering a society that is not good, this can cause problems to you that could lead to your sickness. A ... another one is staying in government in your life as you are living. Government will frustrate

Appendices

you, you will become frustrated because what is good for government to do to you, specifically, then they will not do. What is given then, for example, supposing it should be good that a certain share that is mainly for people like civil servants is not being given to them, they are being deprived, and that is when some people will die and leave their entitlement, they are outside there. That is the effect there is from government, and that will make some people to die with their compounded problems at heart, because of that.

So these are the things that add to the cause of stumbling to man. If you are being attacked by a sickness ((coughs)) and you ... it reached to the stage of death, then that is stumbling. So there are many other things numerous to mention that serve as contributors to that. [M: mm] For example, this issue of crisis, assuming if crisis, and there's no living in peace, and living in peace is everything in totality. If there is peaceful coexistence, even in town, and there is no peaceful living, what it will give birth to is sickness to people that are even innocent. One may also be involved because of that lack of peaceful co-existence. So being peaceful in life, then peace is the most important things in life. So these are the things that are in cause, are illness and (... death). Thank you.“ [E01-Cu][P02-Cu][U07-Cu][U14-Cu]

Ref-#409

B-4(m,J): „To those who believe? It has power to those who are using it, I saw with force [[strength]] there. But to us, we can say that it doesn't have that power, but they, because of the fact that when you go contrary to anything there, then you won't be spared by anybody [[can't go unpunished]]. So they depend on that power.“ [D16-Su][E16-Su]

Ref-#410

D-5(m,J): „Sickness per se ((coughs)) .. sickness may come to somebody through some bacteria.“;„Things of spirit doesn't cause stumbling, doesn't cause sickness, because unlike my belief is that things of the flesh, there is a blessing in it. So there is hitting of the toe in it [[in the flesh]] and sickness.“ [E11-Su]

On the subject of **life-after-death**, there are traditional comparisons with the Christian view:

Ref-#411

D-4(m,F): “[[Christians]] will go to where God is“, whereas Tarok non-Christians say „the person will turn into a masquerade and talk or speak with a different tone“. [D08-SM][D16-SM][E13-SM][E16-SM]

Ref-#412

D-4(m,F): „So to Christians they believe that when you die, you must go to where God is, and if you go in faith, you shall rise to life as those who believe in God.“ [D08-SM][D16-SM][E13-SM][E16-SM]

Ref-#413

A-4(f,F): „Death has been in existence ever since from the beginning that there is death“. Unlike the traditionals who may resurface as a masquerade, the Christian will „stay with Jesus at that fine house that He has prepared.“ [D16-CM][E13-CM][E16-CM]

Appendices

Ref-#414

C-4(m,F): "A man who died and if he is a Christian, then he is a soul, a spirit that does to God Almighty." [D08-CM][D16-CM][E16-CM][T04-CM]

On the respondent's understanding of the **Nature and Agency of God:**

Ref-#415

D-4(m,F): "God created man; so what is good in the life of a human being is to live in peace. After [[besides]] living in peace, you will follow God [[be a God follower]]. Then it is that God who will bring peace more than any other thing." [D14-Sm][T02-Sm][T07-Sm][U07-Sm]

Ref-#416

D-5(f,J): "God created me because I should worship Him, serve Him, to do His work through serving as the light of the world, as before he left, he set for us a legacy, that is Jesus Christ." [E09-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#417

E-4(m,F): "God made the universe and put a human being there to be His servant and worship Him, ... :yet: we have no fear of God with us. A human being is the last person whom God made, after making all other things, non-living and living, but it's made a man (2.0) and gave him sense to worship Him. BUT when you look at it, today a human being is the enemy of God. (2.0) A human being is the enemy of God, because he fell [X: ((coughs))] to the others of God, requiring of God. So, we still need to be in order and worship that living God as we came to this world, so we would not know when we [X: ((coughs))] go to heaven [M: mm] and we are supposed to be prepared at all times for what is coming. Because He will come not as a chief, not as a queen and not as anything else [X: ((coughs))], but as a poor man, so we need to fear God." [D03-Sm][D10-Sm][D14-Sm][T04-Sm][T07-Sm]

And a little later:

Ref-#418

E-4(m,F): "Nobody fears anybody. All fear goes to God, because He is the Alpha and the Omega. When do you fear me? You can fear me, you only give me respect. Get what I mean? ... Due respect, because I know this a man in a position that I should respect, that I give him that respect, <GIVE respect to those to whom respect is due>. And fear whom? Fear God. .. Fear God. .. Fear God. So to me as a human being, you only respect a human and fear God, because God can do and can do now. So you have to give Him due respect, I mean due fear with the Ten Commandments. So I think there is not fear, only respect in human being circles." [D14-Cu][P01-Cu][P04-Cu][T07-Cu]

Appendices

The **relationship with God** also derives an action imperative:

In the following, we find a very anthropomorphical idea of God:

Ref-#419

B-4(m,J): “Well, a church to me, that a church we should follow what is in me, especially that we should follow my Creator. At that time, I did not know Him, and as I came to know him, it is to me a must to follow that man who created me. Yeah, the man who created the whole world and created me, then it is good that I follow him.” [D01-Su][T04-Su][T05-Su][T07-Su]

Intercession to God in prayer is important, especially when death is near:

Ref-#420

D-5(f,j): “What I will do is, I will give my life to God in the first place, I will pray, “may God forgive me my sins that I've committed.” [D17-Sm][E08-Sm][T07-Sm]

Attitudes towards **other religious systems**:

Ref-#421

D-4(m,F): “Those who are non-Christians are saying that if someone dies, he will turn to be a different thing. Like Tarok, they said the person will turn to a masquerade, and talk or speak with a different tone.” [D08-Su][D16-Su][E13-Su][E16-Su]

Ref-#422

C-4(m,F): “Ah ... ah man who died and if he is a Christian, then he is a soul, a spirit that does to God Almighty. And for those who are unbelievers in Christ, they believe that their belief showed them, they'll become a different thing entirely, which is called masquerade in Tarok, 'Orim'.” [D08-CM][D16-CM][E13-CM][E16-CM][T04-CM]

(The two quotes are related as they occurred in the same focus group dialogue and build on one another.)

Traditional religion is still very much seen as the ways of the forefathers:

Ref-#423

B-4(m,J): “I've even forgotten the year [T: mmm], so I will say that it was from there that many of the Tarok people abandoned worshipping other things and followed Christianity up to day. Now the whole Plateau, everyone has a tradition, culture and custom of worshipping things, and they came and abandoned it, some of them turning to follow Christ. At that very time we grew, we came back to follow God and left the cultural customs of our forefathers.” [D16-Su][E15-Su][E16-Su][T07-Su]

and

Ref-#424

B-4(m,J): “That is to say, those traditions are the ones today meaning that we have understood. The missionary came in and we have now understood, and we are preaching the Gospel to them little by little. They are repenting, that thing is going to die.” [D17-SM][E15-SM][E16-SM][T04-SM]

But the same respondent does nevertheless attribute power to the same belief system, albeit with signs of religious relativism:

Ref-#425

B-4(m,J): “To those who believe? It has power to those who are using it, I saw with force [[strength]] there. But to us, we can say that it doesn't have that power, but they, because of the fact that when you go contrary to anything there, then you won't be spared by anybody [[can't go unpunished]]. So they depend on that power.” [D16-Cu][E16-Cu]

Throughout the contact sessions the perceived **threats** voiced during discussion consistently concerned Muslims. Although never titled as “threats”, they nevertheless surfaced either as traumatic accounts, or as a force intent on disrupting the good life:

Ref-#426

B-4(m,J): “The way a Muslim follows to force me to be a Muslim is because my religion. Right now I am a Christian. As I am a Christian, a Muslim has his own different religion, and he makes me by force to follow, and I said I won't follow and that is why he is persecuting, because I didn't follow his way. This is where I'm disturbed.” [C01-Cu][C08-Cu][E04-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][U03-Cu]

Not many references arise which would permit us to isolate the agency of **evil** in respondents' thinking. Mostly, evil arises in description and moral judgement of the behaviour of other groups, be they tribes or Muslims. Satan as an agency of evil does figure:

Ref-#427

A-4(f,F): “A man will die and if you are Christian, you will go on the way, you will go and get everlasting life, but he who is a non-Christian will go and be a servant to the satan.” [D16-SM][E02-SM][E13-SM]

Ref-#428

D-5(f,J): “Evil things, just as the Bible says to us, it says that keeping malice is not good, gossiping is not good, stealing is not good, as ... murdering is not good. Give due respect

Appendices

to your parents. If you give maximum respect to your parents not, then that is you have done evil things.” [E02-SM][U14-SM][U16-SM]

And then goes on a little later to describe another tribe:

Ref-#429

“I saw how they are derailing, that the Ankawi children who have been trained into a higher institution; this one will kill the child of that one, that one will kill the child of this one, just to retard other people’s progress, and that is the story I learned from “Oyegwo” they kept killing the children of their land, their relations. “ [D09-Su][E02-Su][E14-Su][E15-Su][U03-Su][U16-Su]

But then again, the force of evil does become evident in opponents:

Ref-#430

C-4(m,F): “Those who are not Christian, I’ve said it, (like you ...) like Muslims too, they do fear me so, because their fear is that I have Jesus inside me, so all their crony ways that they will do pertaining me, maybe to do me a certain evil, then when they see me, they’ll become afraid and shake, they will fear me.” [M09-Cu][T03-Cu][U03-Cu]

Note: The term “fear” in the Tarok is ambiguous with the meaning “respect”.

In the course of the three contact sessions two comments are made with **eschatological content**. These are both unprompted. The first is made in the course of a general characterisation of God.

Ref-#431

E-4(m,F): “[[spoken in English]] So, we still need to be in order and worship that living God as we came to this world, so we would not know when we [X: ((coughs))] go to heaven [M: mm] and we are supposed to be prepared at all times for what is coming. Because He will come not as a chief, not as a queen and not as anything else [X: ((coughs))], but as a poor man, so we need to fear God.” [D03-Su][D10-Su][D14-Su][T04-Su][T07-Su]

The second comes in a general description of an emergency situation where a personal world is destroyed and an eschatological expectation, indeed longing, can be readily anticipatable:

Ref-#432

D-5(f,J): “[...] As I just enter the house, my husband said I should come out immediately, the Muslims are here coming and I came out and saw smoke everywhere here. The

Appendices

foodstuff I fetched with me, I just pack some refuse [[rubbish]] and put on it there, then I kept moving, and I even saw one woman about delivering, men were running, women were also running. Then that woman went and knelt down, as I saw that, a thought came into my mind from the Bible. As it says about the end time. So as I'm thinking, one woman said, 'fire, there is fire on the roof'. So there immediately I thought of Lot's wife, then I said 'don't worry, come let's go'. So we turned again and from Langtang we do attend church [...]" [C08-Su][C11-Su][13-Su][D03-Su][D10-Su][M08-Su][U03-Su]

G.7.3.2 Evidence related primarily to identities

On the question of one's self-understanding:

Ref-#433

D-5(f,J), on the question of who would you say you are if I met you in Abuja: "I will say, I am a Tarok (3.0) Apart from telling my name, [T: mm]) that who I am, [T: Yeah] then I will say I am a Tarok." [D09-Cu][E15-Cu]

Ref-#434

B-4(m,J): "Tarok to me, that is, that is the name, .. since we were born that is the name that was given to us, and it is that same we were called with. So as I grew, that is the name I saw on us; and for me to say that there is something I need to follow upon, I did not. So that is our name exactly we grew with." [use of Tarok prompted] [Su-E15]

A notion of the Tarok as inherently good is often conflated with "Christian" (the two are often collapsed into one):

Ref-#435

E-4(m,F): "[[spoken in English]] A Tarok man as a nation, ... 75 percent of a Tarokman is a Christian, ... you get me? 20 percent are traditional worshippers, and 5 percent are unconcerned minds, not in the church, not in the masquerade, or so what. And :if: a Tarok man is a Christian [X: ((coughs))], there could be no problems in Tarokland. You hear me? Hear me well! But today a Tarok man is the :worst: culturist." [D08-Su][D15-Su][E15-Su][E16-Su][U16-Su]

The Tarok are seen as progressive and morally good. Western education and Christianity are associated with progress:

Ref-#436

B-4(m,F): Tarok wants to progress, even as we are seated here [...] I think he is the giant of this state in all." [D09-Su][E15-Su][U16-Su]

Appendices

With progress he includes the importance of Western education and Christianity:

Ref-#437

B-4(m,F): "Schooling then was interpreted that it is slavery to be done to us, that is was why at that time (then) a Tarok didn't understand it. [T: mmm] But still he knew that to leave people was there. [T: mmm] But now a Tarok man has understood it fully that this is how to walk, this is the way. And that made our sons and daughters to be something today." [E09-Su][E15-Su][M02-Su][U02-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#438

D-5(f,J) defines Tarok as a peace-lover: "A Tarok is that person that lie living in peace, he doesn't want to insult anybody at all time. Always, he likes to live in peace with everyone." [E15-CM][P04-CM][U07-CM][U16-CM]

But part of the Tarok identity of not being Muslim or being slave to Muslims overlords is not far away:

Ref-#439

B-4(m,J): "We don't want to eat [[cheat]] people. That is why we don't want to succumb to their instructions [[agree with their sayings]]. That is why they rejected [[or hate]] us. Yeah, so this is the end of the talk that 'we don't want to remain under some people any longer'". [E15-SM][M09-SM][U02-SM][U15-SM]

Ref-#440

B-4(m,J): "We Tarok people that are here as slaves to Muslims." [C13-SM][E04-SM]

Ref-#441

B-4(m,J): "His is the way that this thing has started ever since, but did not stop. There was a youth then, they make our forefathers, traditional rulers, traditional rulers in different locations were selected that they must be Muslim followers, If not, they wouldn't be elected as traditional rulers. [T: mmm] They were forced to Islamise [T: mmm] by compulsion, so later stood on our feet that whoever that will Islamise will leave our traditional stool for us. That was when our people returned to us as non-Muslims. That was when I know that this people are forcing us to follow them, and they said if we won't follow them, we are not good people, so let's leave this land completely for them. And we did not follow, that we must follow them." [C01-Cu][C02-Cu][E04-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu]

In relation to the Fulani, who are also overwhelmingly Muslim, there is the functional description of the Fulani as a nomad, while the Tarok is described as a man of the land, a farmer:

Ref-#442

B-4(m,J): "Our [[Tarok and Fulani]] relationship is that where you've cultivated and left it to regain, it lost its fertility. Then a Fulani man will come and inquire from you to settle there. Will you agree? He can't settle in the bush, but he will settle near a Tarok man in a place he has shifted from it to farm somewhere else. There the Fulani man will come and settle." [M08-CM]

Appendices

Two respondents independently expressed an affinity with the Berom (“Berom” was unprompted in both cases):

Ref-#443

B-4(m,J): “When you look at it, you will see our attitudes are all the same.” [E15-Cu]

Ref-#444

D-5(f,J): “Is there any ethnic groups like Tarok? ... I know only one that is Berom whom I stayed with some of them, I've not always found them involved in fighting, because I attended my teacher's college there. So as I observe their ways of life, they are not found wanting in this area of fight.” [D09-Cu][E02-Cu][E14-Cu][E15-Cu][U07-Cu]

Yet one identified Humanity as the primary tribe:

Ref-#445

C-4(m,F): “Adam disobeyed God, then God sent him in front, so still even as God punished him, that doesn't mean that God rejected him. God again still looked for a way that he would be rescued. For that reason ... I have the tribe that the man created. That is the tribe I belong to in this world, so I am from that tribe. So God Almighty Himself is the one who created me in this world for a purpose. I my life, I'll serve as an exemplary crown of God Almighty's creation, the I stood as His ambassador in this world. That is why God gave me power to rule over everything in this world that was created apart from a human being my colleague.” [D08-Su][D12-Su][D14-Su][D15-Su][E09-Su][T02-Su][T07-Su]

In terms of the image of **“The Other” in general**, a difference is made between Christians and non-Christians. Belonging to God is regarded as making a transformative difference to one's identity and being:

Ref-#446

A-4(f,F): “Because everybody has blood in his body, even the person that we are talking about, he himself can also think, only that he doesn't know the name of Jesus, that is why his own thinking varies from our own thinking.” [T03-Cu][U11-Cu]

While the terms “Fulani” and “Muslim” are often conflated, “Muslim” is used almost exclusively in context of strife and conflict. When peaceful interactions are discussed, the ethnic term “Fulani” is more often adopted and then usually employed to describe an economic relationship. In relation to the Fulani, who are also overwhelmingly Muslim, there is the functional description of the Fulani as a nomad, while the Tarok is described as a man of the land, a farmer, however without a peaceful relationship.

Appendices

Ref-#447

B-4(m,J): "Our relationship is that where you've cultivated and left it to regain, it lost its fertility. Then a Fulani man will come and inquire from you to settle there. Will you agree? He can't settle in the bush, but he will settle near a Tarok man in a place he has shifted from it to farm somewhere else. There the Fulani man will come and settle."
[M08-Cu]

Here the (Muslim) Fulani are nomad, while the (Christian) Tarok are settlers. But the researcher's attempt to extrapolate a peaceful relationship were rebuffed:

Ref-#448

B-4(m,J): "The life between a Fulani and a Tarok will not be peaceful, because whoever that hits his forehead on the ground cannot stay for long without quarrelling. Someone may change at any time, so I cannot say there is peaceful co-existence you have between you. And for your love for a man that hits his forehead should be such that you take care of your life." [D08-CM][M08-CM][M09-CM][U07-CM]

So relationships obviously remain strained and wrought with mistrust. Danger is never far away.

Where the conversations turned to the image of **"The Other" in violent conflict situations**, the divide is mainly between Christians and non-Christians, though functionally, "The Other" in the vast majority of cases is either the Muslim or the Fulani, with the two identities usually being treated as synonymous.

Within the conflict dialogues, Muslims are treated as a constant threat with a specific agenda of forceful conversion to Islam or extradition:

Ref-#449

B-4(m,J): "What makes it bad to me in it, is that, he wishes that I should stop worshipping my own God and come to him. If not I will be killed, [killing me]." [E01-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#450

B-4(m,J): "What I observed, .. and I'm so disturbed about it, .. is that, they killed our people so much that they must follow what they are doing or else we shall pack and leave this land. If not, then we should be killed and our people also were killed. So this is what I saw and that thing really disturbed me so much, and I'm worried." [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][C13-Cu][M03-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#451

B-4(m,J): "He is the man whom our religious worship is not the same, he hits his forehead; a Muslim that is it, he is the one who totally doesn't want to see you that is calling in the name of Jesus Christ." [M09-CM][T03-CM]

Ref-#452

D-5(f,J): "[Because you didn't follow their religion], they wish everyone should follow that their religion, to hit your forehead on the ground." [C10-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][P03-Cu][U05-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#453

B-4(m,J): "The people that hit their forehead and they want to see us, then they cut this place to Wase apart from us, then you will imitate their ways of farming also. Then the Emir's will makes us to farm for them, then we became fate of with that. It is even our forefathers who could realise that this is slavery. Then we said, "let us separate ourselves that we need our own separate local government, let it be given to us, we are up to the task that we should be given a local government". There they instantly said, "Wase town is with the exception of us". Then it is that we want only, they plan war against us, we fought a little, then the Emir of Wase went to connive with Fulanis to fight us, to an extent that Fulanis kept killing our people far away in the hamlets. We never knew, we were relaxing here, they would go in the pretence that they are going for a meeting before they will come. The Emir of Wase kept going about telling people that "no, crisis will not erupt, crisis will not erupt, but already, they've started killing our people through villages as they came in this direction, and on the date of 2nd July, we got a message that our people were facing a crisis at a village called Waɗata, and as we were contemplating, then a very high tension burst up in Kaɗarko. There then two or a child was brought there that was shot up by an arrow or bullet. That was when we realised that, ok, there is war, these people are really fighting us, and before we stood up from there, I will say that either four or so to appear to us there, it that not? [M: mmm] Then we saw smoke in Wase, our fellow Christian neighbours were attacked there to be killed, then they came out and fled, and the church was set ablaze, and it all burnt down." [C03-Su][C08-Su][C13-Su][M08-Su]

There is a push and pull in this relationship in that religious belonging is an important identity marker, and resistance to the overlords is *per se* to not be Muslim:

Ref-#454

B-4(m,J): "This is the way that this thing has started ever since, but did not stop. There was a youth then, they make our forefathers, traditional rulers, traditional rulers in different locations were selected that they must be Muslim followers, If not, they wouldn't be elected as traditional rulers. [T: mmm] They were forced to Islamise [T: mmm] by compulsion, so later stood on our feet that whoever that will Islamise will leave our traditional stool for us. That was when our people returned to us as non-Muslims. That was when I know that this people are forcing us to follow them, and they said if we won't follow them, we are not good people, so let's leave this land completely for them. And we did not follow, that we must follow them." [M09-CM]

Appendices

Ref-#455

B-4(m,J): "Well, because that his religion serves as an inheritance to them, .. he who refused Islam will not be together as a slave, nor in the inner council." [M09-Cu]

Ref-#456

B-4(m,J): "That is, if they stay with somebody that is a non-Muslim, they won't like it, even in the whole northern region, they want everybody to be a Muslim." [M09-CM]

But then he says:

Ref-#457

B-4(m,J): "That is the people that you know, and not every Fulani in the Muslim religion is in support of the conflict, because they look at their flocks so that it won't affect, especially when it comes to the time of crisis, they thought their cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys, will be destroyed. Even like me here, I have cattle that are up to twenty in number." [M08-Cu][M09-Cu]

The self-description of Islam as the religion of peace is rejected out of hand:

Ref-#458

D-5(f,J): "They will just say it verbally, they will just say it verbally, but the religion of living in peace is not found in them." [M03-Cu][M09-Cu][U05-Cu][U07-Cu]

Then with emotional vehemence:

Ref-#459

D-5(f,J): "[Always fight, always] fight, always fight, as they stay they will show themselves indicating living in peace. Really, they will show respects and if you are in need, they will give you what you want, they will meet your needs, they will pep you the way that you will come into their religion. But when you went into it deeply, there is no peace, because a Muslim when you stay with him today, he is the one who follows Islamic religion. When you stay with him, your problems will be solved. He shows respects to you and can assist you in any way, even till date when he intended killing you, then it's only God that knows. But within that same hour, he will slaughter you." [C10-Su][E14-Su][M09-Su][P04-Su][U05-Su][U07-Su]

Marriage of one's off-spring to a Muslim would be a tragedy to the point of representing a virtual death:

Ref-#460

D-5(f,J): "It can't happen. ... I will try, it can't happen that my daughter should marry a Muslim (I will ...) and if she insisted and went, then I will not take anything from them

Appendices

because of that and eat [[refuse the dowry]], I will just leave her.” [E04-Cu][M01-Cu][U03-Cu]

Ref-#461

D-5(f,J): “Like in my own case, the time I was young, one Muslim man kept coming to me at Yelwa, so I told him that I don’t want it, then he thought maybe my father is someone who likes bribes. He came and said to him that “business man, I like you daughter”. Then my father said, “you like my daughter, Alhaji Musa? He said “yeah”. “Well, if you like my daughter, then convert and follow Christianity. Be a Christian, you will leave all women and keep to her alone.” So Alhaji Musa discovered that my father wasn’t a man who just at a sudden moment will take things from anybody anyhow to release his daughter for Islamic marriage then he left and forget my path. {{claps hands}} Because he did not grab my attention. He did not grab the attention of my father as well.” [E04-Su][M03-Su][M09-Su]

On the other hand, marriage to a Christian Berom – or a Christian Hausa, even a convert to Christianity, would be acceptable:

Ref-#462

M-1: “So even a Christian Hausa would be ok?”

T-4: “If any Muslim who turned away from Islam to be Christian, would you allow it?”

D-5 (f,J): “I would allow him if he is a Christian.” [Cu-E04][Cu-E14][Cu-M08]

Ref-#463

D-5(f,J): “My decision about them is that, since they have become Muslim, they have inherited that habit and the habit that they are doing, from those whom we have them closer here, someone here near to us that were converted to Islam. So if there's any little conflict about happening even not in this place, they will run into Wase where the Muslim are the people that hit their forehead on the ground. So the idea I'm having on them is that may God change their mind together with those Muslims just as the way God changed the heart of Saul who is Paul today to repentance.” [D03-Cu][D08-Cu][D15-Cu][E08-Cu][M03-Cu][M09-Cu][T02-Cu][T03-Cu]

She does however muse on whether peace could be established had everyone been converted to Islam:

Ref-#464

D-5(f,J): “[Because you didn't follow their religion], they wish everyone should follow that their religion, to hit your forehead on the ground. If chance were given to Babangida to register Nigeria under 'O.I.C.', he would have done it and Nigeria would have been an Islamic country. And if at all, it was successful that Nigeria is an Islamic country, the issue of this fight-fight wouldn't have arisen, because we would have been Islamised, but because our people persisted, then they will kill somebody if you refuse following their religion.” [C10-CM][M07-CM][M09-CM][P03-CM][U05-CM][U07-CM]

In fact, Babangida did bring Nigeria into the IOC.

As in other cohort groups, the Muslims are given a place within ones own religious system, in that they are described as the off-spring of Ishmael.

Ref-#465

C-4(m,F): “A Muslim always always don't sleep, like Ishmael, and Israel that were, that were born (Ishmael), so from those people, that conflict, it was God that said that it is He who refuses taking from their tradition, the Judah, not Isaac, because that he was given birth by a lady that stayed with them, and this is not a food [[benefit]] of tradition. And that was the genesis of the conflict, then after that issue, the time when children of Israel was in the land, they were told to go and capture [[occupy]] the land they were told to go and capture. So it was God that gave them that mandate to clear those people off and occupy that place. Though their land was there before, they left for another place, so they should clear them there. And they started to fight, and those people were thoroughly killed. So this is my opinion to the attitude of a Muslim doing to a [[Christian]] Tarok.” [C07-CM][D02-CM][D08-CM][M01-CM][M09-CM][T01-CM][U07-CM]

In her interview, D-5 chimes in with this view, in that there is something inherently troublesome in the “tribe of Ishmael.”

Ref-#466

D-5(f,J): “There's something a Nassara does say, heredity, then to some people, they inherited the attitudes of their heroes through genetical influence, and that is based in their blood, ... to some it is based in their blood the attitude of obedience and that of togetherness, but to some, since from the beginning they have inherited the habit of causing troubles, like the tribe of Islam. Ishmael was one whom God discover his attitude was different, so Abraham was asked to send that child away so that he won't see his eye. But God later sympathised with him and ordered he should be given water to drink. So since the attitude that has been is the one surfacing now. That is why whoever that joins Islamic religion will be interesting in terminating lives of Christians, and this came as a result of heredity.” [D08-Cu][D09-Cu][D15-Cu][E14-Cu][M09-Cu][T05-Cu][U16-Cu]

G.7.3.3 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

On the subject of **vice**

Ref-#467

E-4(m,F): “[spoken in English] Hear me well! But today a Tarok man is the :worst: culturist, because of what clanishness had told ((shown)) me that yes, IF I'm not .. if this man is not a chairman, he does not recognise me. If this man is not a Tummwat man, he didn't recognise me. If this man is not a sinner, he would not recognise me. If this man is not a bad man, he would not recognise me, and they are bad, Christianity is abandoned. Is abandon, because of clan problems. If a Tarok man could come together and get himself together, nobody would touch a Tarok man.” [D08-Su][D15-Su][E08-Su][E15-Su][U16-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#468

E-4(m,F): “And if as I earlier said, if a Tarok man is a real Christian, .. there could be no problem in Tarokland.” [D08-Su][D10-Su][D12-Su][E06-Su]

Ref-#469

D-5(f,J): “Evil things, just as the Bible says to us, it says that keeping malice is not good, gossiping is not good, stealing is not good, as ... murdering is not good. Give due respect to your parents. If you give maximum respect to your parents not, then that is you have done evil things.” [E02-Su][U14-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#470

D-5(f,J): “I was given birth at Ankawi Land [[Shendam LGA]] and I saw how they are derailing, that the Ankawi children who have been trained into a higher institution; this one will kill the child of that one, that one will kill the child of this one, just to retard other people's progress, and that is the story I learned from “Oyegwo” they kept killing the children of their land, their relations. If when the son of their soil is grown up and highly placed, that person will never come home. And I did not discover this in Tarok.” [D09-Su][E02-Su][E14-Su][E15-Su][U03-Su][U16-Su]

On the subject of **respect** (Note: “fear” and “respect” are the same word in Tarok, so although “fear” is used in terms of the original nature of the question, people respond in the sense of respect. To bring this out, I have left the responses with the word “fear”:

Ref-#471

E-4(m,F): “In the aspect of fearing is to be obedient, then the person who will fear me is our father who gave birth to us so many with our mother, then people that will begin to fear, because I am [X: ((coughs))] the first born, and I fear my father and mother and those who are next after me will fear me. If I will talk to them, then they must have to fear me because they are respecting me.” [E08-Su][P02-Su][P04-Su]

Ref-#472

A-4(f,F): “Those who fear are my children who fear me, because that I gave birth to them. God gave them to me, I delivered them and I am taking care of them until they are supposed to know God, then they must have to fear me well, because when it is they who do what is not right, then I will say 'don't' and they will leave it, so they feared me already. If we sit down like this, up to five people, then in a group and I have been made a leader, then it is a must that the should fear me. So that they can hear what I will be saying. As people fear me, that doesn't mean that I will wake up and eat somebody, or I will wake up and beat somebody, or I can do something to you that you will not understand, not like that, but fear me because I've already been made your leader as my children do fear me, because I've already been their mother. That is why they fear me. To say I have a rival maybe, and I am the first to marry that man, then those that came behind me must fear me, they will take instructions from me. But a man cannot fear a woman, rather a woman is the one to fear her husband up till date.” [E08-Cm][P02-Cm][P04-Cm]

Appendices

Thereupon...

Ref-#473

C-4(m,F): “Who am I that the people I gave birth to, them as others have said it then, they must fear me. The person who gave birth to me, I fear them and moreso, as per my position as a Christian, then whoever is not a Christian can fear [[≈ respect]] me so, (o ..., ma a ...)” ... “Like Muslims too, they do fear me so, because their fear is that I have Jesus inside me, so all their crony ways that they will do pertaining me, maybe to do me a certain evil, then when they see me, they'll become afraid and shake, they will fear me.” [M09-Cu][T03-Cu][U03-Cu]

In this, respect does come close to fear:

Ref-#474

C-4(m,F): “My wife even can also fear me well.” [P04-Cu]

Becoming so pious in expression that he loses his way:

Ref-#475

E-4(m,F): “Nobody fears anybody. All fears goes to God, because He is the Alpha and the Omega. When do you fear me? You can fear me, you only give me respect. Get what I mean? ... Due respect, because I know this a man in a position that I should respect, that I give him that respect, <GIVE respect to those to whom respect is due>. And fear whom? Fear God. .. Fear God. .. Fear God.” [D14-Cm][P01-Cm][P04-Cm][T07-Cm]

Working towards the **Good Life**:

Ref-#476

B-4(m,J): “You won't want to see your counterpart spoiled. A Tarok man can pick a child of his counterpart, sponsoring to schooling if he is not in a position, [T: mmm] that is progressing. In those says, we never knew of Western education, [T: mmm] now that he has seen us here then, we don't know of schooling.” [E09-Cu]

Ref-#477

D-5(f,J): “A Tarok is that person that lies living in peace, he doesn't want to insult anybody at all time. Always, he likes to live in peace with everyone. He doesn't like crises to disturb someone. Except you insult him.” [E15-CM][P04-CM][U07-CM][U16-CM]

On discussion of **reconciliation and forgiveness**:

Ref-#478

A-4(f,F): “If I am left with just but a day (3.0) If a day .. is left for me and I'm aware that I will not see tomorrow, then what I suppose to do in my life is to repent and I have to

Appendices

confess, that if there is any sin that I have been doing, maybe I provoke that one, provoke this one. Then I have to apologise. I have to go to them and tell them that they should forgive me, so that I will be able to make everlasting life.“ [D17-Su][U14-Su]

Ref-#479

D-5(f,j): “What I will do is, I will give my life to God in the first place, I will pray, 'may God forgive me my sins that I've committed'. And maybe there are people that I offended. I will also tell him to forgive me those whom I could not see them. Maybe I will send for them to come so that we will discuss things that cause problems to us. So that we can forgive one another, then I will give my heart to God wholeheartedly. [...] will give myself and I will beg for forgiveness, He should forgive me where I offended Him or I run short of, so as I've earlier said, and if there is any problem, I will say it and I may even call a Reverend or any () Pastor to come and pray for me, and I too will make an effort in prayers.“ [D17-Su][E08-Su][T07-Su][U14-Su]

Ref-#480

A-4(f,F): “But if I had conflict with somebody different and that, that I should take revenge on another would be unfortunate. If someone offended me, the Bible says, you should forgive him as yours has been forgiven too. So if somebody did something wrong to me, then I will either leave him or tell him, that 'this what you did to me and I'm not pleased about it', (n ...) I will tell you all what I know, so you cannot kill me. There is nothing you will do to me, except you may feel angry. But already, I've told you the truth. Instead of telling you that you have provoked me, I will then leave you and take the grievance to revenge on a different person. Then it is not good at all.“ [D03-Cu][E03-Cu][T01-Cu][U11-Cu]

The moral action of **revenge** emerges in many discourses, often with biblical underpinning:

Ref-#481

D-4(m,F): “It is maybe not good that I should burn the house of a Muslim. The issue of a crisis is separate, the issue of peaceful living is separate. Fighting, as to say, if I'm involved in a fight with someone, the person will make an effort to terminate my life, I myself as well will make an effort to terminate his own life too. If he is burning my house, I will also make an effort to burn his own house too, because we are facing one another with him. So because of the crisis, it is then good that I should burn his house, but if not because of crisis, that there's peaceful co-existence, it won't be good that I should set his house ablaze. [...] Though the Bible told us that we shouldn't retaliate evil for evil, but because of crisis, this is because even the children of Israel from the beginning of the world, they themselves fought, they got burnt some places before they went and stayed there in that place, so it is right that I should burn his house.” [C03-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][M01-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#482

D-4(m,F): “Will I want to retaliate, that issue will not even go out of his mind and that will lead to affect his grandchildren. He will like to revenge that which was done, he will keep telling the story of that incident to the point at which them grandchildren will come to know about it, so they will want to take revenge on the clan of the other person

Appendices

who first offended. But to Christians, as they do study the Word of God, it is said that you should not allow the sun to go down with you holding someone in your mind, so he will forgive the other person without even allowing the sun to set, talkless to hold the grudges to their grandchildren's clan. So it is good that whoever is a Christian should forgive that person and never retaliate. But he who is not a Christian will insist on retaliating, so for this earthly living, such has been happening.“ [D03-Su][D17-Su][E08-Su][T01-Su][U11-Su]

And immediately afterwards:

Ref-#483

D-5(f,J): “[in response to why they retaliate]] Well, God said to us in the Bible that we should not revenge, but as you are together with someone, and he always pressurises you, so we can do just that to defend our life in another way; That is why we do it to them.“ [C03-CM][C04-CM][T01-CM][U11-CM]

But then she says:

Ref-#484

D-5(f,J): “Well, it is not good that we should attack them, except they should bring attack to us, then we'll try and defend ourselves, that is all. Because that is what the Bible says.“ [C03-Cu][D01-Cu][M01-Cu][T01-Cu]

More specifically on **response to threats and violence**:

Moral predicament; biblical injunctions good, but not always practical:

Ref-#485

A-4(f,F): “All Muslims said, if you kill a fellow human being, there's a reward, but to us ever since then, the Bible says that all unnecessary bloodshed will come upon me. But to me, that I've been born of blood, I deem it fit to retaliate to a Muslim. Though I was the one who talked last that it is not good to retaliate, but upon the lives and properties destroyed by this Muslim man, I felt the pain so much, so it is proper to go and burn the Muslim house.“ [C04-Su][C11-Su][M01-Su][U03-Su][U11-Su]

Ref-#486

E-4(m,F): “All we know is a revenge that is the law of Moses, [[A: ((laughs))]. you understand? Jesus Christ came, many Pharisees, I mean many people, [X: ((coughs))]] asked him a question. .. [X: ((coughs))]] “This is the law of Moses, what of you?” He said “I did not come to abrogate it, but to complete it”. And what is the completion of Jesus Christ? He said, when one slaps you on this cheek, give him the other one. .. Jesus was (ignore us) of the world [X: ((coughs))], you hear me, and today .. we still come back to the law of Moses, because the wo- the law of Jesus has not become manifest. It will come in the third generation. The law of Jesus has not come to manifest. It will come in the third generation, .. whereby, sleep,- slapping (). As this woman has earlier said, and

Appendices

that is the plain truth, the Israelites fought many wars before getting into the promised land, .. and today, if we as Christians could not retaliate, you could have not even met a Tarok man here. .. So it is obvious that when you slap me, I will slap you.“ [C03-CM][C04-CM][C11-CM][D01-CM][D02-CM][M01-CM][T01-CM][U11-CM]

And to crown it:

Ref-#487

C-4(m,F): “So to me the retaliation is the best to be done to a Muslim, hundred times left to me, because if, again the ethic taught us that if you have not been given your mandate right here on earth, then where will you be .. before worshipping the true God you are worshipping? So it is a must that you take your mandate right now before you'll get an opportunity to worship God. For example, if when you go to Kano now, ... when you go to Kano now, there you will understand that, for a Christian to have a place, a small portion of the land to to erect ... a structure for the worshipping of God, then [E: is not gotten like that] is not gotten [E: n'n] like that, so we shall continue to leave them to keep killing us (we can't) we do look at them, then at the end of the day still, we are not in this world talkless of worshipping God. So to retaliate is obvious.“ [C07-Cu][D02-Cu][D05-Cu][M01-Cu][M09-Cu][T01-Cu]

(These last three quotes are linked in dialogue)

What happened in the last crisis:

Ref-#488

D-4(m,F): “At the time of the last crisis, I think we tried, we Tarok, to defend ourselves. So the Muslims came and burnt our houses, so we were able to defend ourselves and kill them off. They didn't burn us, so many things were done at that time of crisis. I killed Muslims so that they will not come and attack us.“ [C03-Sm][C06-Sm][C09-Sm][C13-Sm][D09-Sm][M03-Sm][U11-Sm]

It follows that revenge and defence become conceptually very similar.

Ref-#489

A-4(f,F): “Yeah. During the last that came, we though we then did not have what to fight with as said, sling, an arrow, the house of the arrow [[scabbard barrel]], stones, so it is men that will carry these, but we women will hold with us gruel following them behind so that when they are tired and thirsty, then they will drink, then they will be pushing them, and more so, they were already afraid. [E: it's true] They decided to go back, then our people came down home, that is why we are still here in this place. If not, we[C09-Sm] wouldn't have been here any longer.“ [C03-Sm][C06-Sm][C09-Sm][C13-Sm][M03-Sm][M08-Sm]

Appendices

Ref-#490

C-4(m,F): “What I did during that time was that, on the third, we went for orientation against the forthcoming election then at Gwuiwan-Kogi, then I heard and saw a fire starting to consume Ungwa Kogi [[i.e. a riverside place]]. This thing, this thing, many of them. For me to leave there and come, after leaving and I came, I was having a (a ... was around ...), I left there, I came at the back, I came and passed to go and collect my cattle from the Fulanis directly from their hand, I collected them and brought it. After bringing that then, I defended against Muslims inside, because they were burning our place, so I defended, defended at that time – full participation I defended, defended.” [C03-Sm][C08-Sm][C13-Sm][D09-Sm][M03-Sm][M08-Sm]

Ref-#491

D-5(f,J): “I encountered a lot of problem so much, I encountered problems so much, because at the time they were coming before we will get notice that there is war then, we saw our colleagues bringing loads, bringing those loads, as our colleagues were bringing loads including children wrap around their back with many loads coming with it suffering a long journey. And as I saw this tears started coming down from my eyes, and some of them, the children, they were coming along were killed on their way, husbands were killed, some were not killed, some women were raped by Muslim Fulanis before leaving them, they killed Christian members and their Reverends at a place called Safiyo. And the things that saw at the beginning of the crises was, around two o'clock, then I saw flames of fire and the smoke rising there (from the church, from the RCC). So we saw that smoke coming up then. We stood thinking the crises may not extend to Tarokland. So our husbands went and as they came back, they said the place is hot. That was on Thursday, so we picked our children that night into the bush, and before us was a lot of snakes that night. But still that night we kept trekking, and we went, nothing happened to any of us, then so we came and slept at open spaces. The day broke then I went back to go and fetch food stuff so that we would eat any my children over there before we hear the way forward pertaining the crisis. As I just enter the house, my husband said I should come out immediately, the Muslims are here coming and I came out and saw smoke everywhere here. The foodstuff I fetched with me, I just pack some refuse [[rubbish]] and put on it there, then I kept moving, and I even saw one woman about delivering, men were running, women were also running. Then that woman went and knelt down, as I saw that, a thought came into my mind from the Bible. As it says about the end time. So as I'm thinking, one woman said, “fire, there is fire on the roof”. So there immediately I thought of Lot's wife, then I said “don't worry, come let's go”. So we turned again and from Langtang we do attend church. So as we came one Sunday like this, so already they've come intending to attack us in the church [/ gwd ... redr/] gunshot nearly shot my husband, then he escaped and he came and picked me on his motorcycle. As I climbed the machine, a lot of bullets behind us. They killed about eleven people that day apart from women.” [C08-Su][C11-Su][C13-Su][D03-Su][D10-Su][E03-Su][M03-Su][M08-Su][U03-Su]

On what they did to protect themselves:

Ref-#492

D-5(f,J): “What we do is this to stick to them on this our world. Men of ours did not even sleep, guarding them by the boundaries, so they won't have ways to penetrate and attack us. And for them we were ever ready to face them.” [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C10-Cu]

Appendices

Ways forward on how to **resolve the conflict**:

Ref-#493

D-5(f,J): "Let's keep on praying. For God said to us that our weapons are in prayers. So what we should do is to pray. Em, for the Lord said, with Him everything is possible. With God things are possible. That is what the Lord told us. So let us depend on God, that is why it has been happening like that, so let us keep on praying committing ourselves, especially when going to bed and at the time of eating." [C03-Su][T02-Su][T06-Su][T07-Su][U10-Su]

G.7.4 Tarok youth cohort sources

G.7.4.1 Evidence related primarily to world-views

On the question of future plans for the **next five years**:

Cohort 6 participants all agree on the importance of education:

Ref-#494

D-6(m,F): "In ... my life then I like schooling. (1.5) I discover schooling to read, to gain employment so as to help my relations." [E09-Su]

Ref-#495

E-6(m,F): "To me, I will like to ..., I will like to do teaching. ... The teaching of that which will help me in my family." [E09-Su]

Ref-#496

E-6(m,F): "Well, I wish that in my life I ... should school and as in the reading, I should be able () to catch up with the challenges of the day. To enable me to help myself, like casual work not necessary with government. Any work () even handiwork, or farming. So that it should help me. The one that I will just do to help me earn a living, and also those who are at the back, my own children, brothers and everyone including my own community that I'm living in." [E09-Cu]

Ref-#497

C-6(f,J): "Where did I want to be say in the next five years to come? I want to be in school at that time and what I want to do is to further my education." [E09-Su]

Cohort 7, meanwhile, take a particular interest in peace:

Ref-#498

A-7(m,F): "That thing which is the greatest in my life is to live peacefully, because that, if you want to do something in your life, there must be peace before. So that is the greatest in my life: to live peacefully." [E09-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#499

B-7(f,F): "That thing which I want in my life is peacefulness [[fine to sit]], living in peace, so-to-say, ... it is greater than everything [[all]]. ... Let there be no sickness. Though it is human to fall sick, living in peace is more than everything." [E09-Cu]

Whereas E-7, interviewed on his own, values both education and peace:

Ref-#500

E-7(m,J): "What is precious to me in my life is living in peace, because before one can take a step forward to do something is when there is peace." [E09-Su][U07-Su]

Ref-#501

E-7(m,J): "Yeah, of a truth as of me here .. I'll .. I want a big thing that is alive [[to achieve something important]]. What I want is, I want to gain admission into a higher school. This is in the sense that the one I'm having with me is not much higher to me, I want to move forward in education." [E09-Su]

And then compounds the two:

Ref-#502

E-7(m,J): "Living in peace will help me because the time I will go to school, I may be able to finish at the time expected, (but ..) if there is no living in peace, the time that I am supposed to complete my school, I may not complete it." [E04-Cu][E09-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#503

E-7(m,J): "I am looking for a position of councillorship ((coughs)) in my ward because I have the mind of developing the place I belong. Then as of now, personally I had the intention of aspiring for the post of a councillor in my ward, because I want to see the ward developed. But without peace, the vision may not become a reality." [E08-Cu][E09-Cu][U07-Cu]

And then:

Ref-#504

E-7(m,J): "The politics that I will want to practice are the free and fair, and the other one that we can enjoy or ... or hear the voice of people when they are lacking and to help them?" [E08-Cu][E09-Cu]

On our **reason for being** here:

Ref-#505

D-6(m,F): "I am in the world. Man hates to be in the world because of some reasons, for that reason God is making you come closer to him and achieve on earth. You will achieve in the aspect of helping people, or you will achieve in the aspect of mobilising people through converting them to come to repentance and worship of God. .. Also, you will achieve in the aspect of giving assistance to people, so that they will earn their living in

Appendices

a better way, or you will achieve through helping people to be able to eat and drink. So there may be some ways. (3.0) So it is God that made you to be in the world.“ [D17-Su][E06-Su][E07-Su][E09-Su][T07-Su]

And then:

Ref-#506

E-6(m,F): “It is God that prepared that we should be on earth. Because he sat down [[rest and think]]. After he sat down and created the earth, then he said to himself that it is good that he should look for somebody that will take control over this earth. That is why he created man like me, and he gave me some work to do. To take care of living things, to look after people's health, to help people that may come and see me all in a way that is proper to help. Whichever way that God made me afford helping people, I'll help. That is more of the reason why God created me on this earth as will as to help preach his Gospel message every ...“ (4.0) Emmm .. Almighty God created man to be on this earth for a purpose. A ... the reason is that, ah, on this earth and the way we are seeing ourselves on top then, God created us not alone. There are so many things on this earth. Some are living, some are non-living things, but because the way God created us in his own image, then that is why he gave us dominion over all other creatures on earth. That is why we have power over our livestock on this earth he gave us. We have power to go and preach the Gospel to our brothers, be it our fathers, our mothers, because they should repent to that we'll come and inherit the everlasting life that he prepared for us. Because basically that since we grew up [[meaning: according to our life experience]] nobody has any right to beat someone on this earth except Him. That is why it is good that I should follow Him, so that I will get everlasting life.“ [D17-Cm][E06-Cm][E07-Cm][E09-Cm][D17-Cm][T02-Cm][T07-Cm]

Things with a **high value in life** are discussed usually in terms of what participants would do if they had one day left to live:

Ref-#507

E-6(m,F): “Let us get prepared that any time we should be close to God, because we don't know the day we shall die. (3.0) So I will pray and get closer to my God, I will guide my ways carefully so that I will not be taken by surprise.” [E13-Cm][T06-Cm][T07-Cm][U16-Cm]

Ref-#508

D-6(m,F): “it will be good that, mm, ... you will discuss with your people on what should be done so that after you have died, there will be no trouble. Mmm ... can set you to arrange what you have, supposing this thing should be done this way. Especially a family man, it will be good that you should write your will (instruction) that in my absence, people should follow your instruction that this should be done like this based on what you have, so that your family will benefit from. You can even (2.0) redress where you know that you have problems. You can even pray to God for forgiveness, so that you will die a death of blessing and go to the good house that is prepared for you.” [D17-Cu][E08-Cu][E09-Cu][E13-Cu][T06-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#509

C-6(f,F): "That thing which is the greatest in my life and important is that the attitude of God serves as the greatest and most important thing to me." [E09-Su]

Ref-#510

T-5: "What will you do if you are being told today that you are left with just one day in this world?"

C-6(f,F): "I will pray that the very day I leave this world I should be able to see God [[everlasting life]]." [T06-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#511

C-6(f,F): "That thing which is the greatest in my life and important is that the attitude of God serves as the greatest and most important thing to me."

T-5: "What is it that you think is God's belonging or God's thing, things that belongs to God?"

C-6: "That which I think is God's belonging is, even we that God created us on this earth, is God's thing also."

T-5: "Why is it that is important?"

C-6: "It is because I believe in it." [T07-Su]

Ref-#512

D-7(m,F): "I will plead for the wrongs that I did to Him. ((laughs)), [[[C, D: laugh]]] ... Of a truth ((laughs)), (5.0) I will plead with God that I go my way." [D17-Cu][T06-Cu][T07-Cu][U14-Cu]

Ref-#513

A-7: "Like me now, and if said that I'm left with one day, and as a Christian, then I'll plead with God to forgive me. After finishing that then, he whom I offended, he is there closer, then I will plead that he should forgive me, because that life I did not have authority over it. Then I will look for whom we have every had grudges with. So that we resolve, so that even if I later died, even though I prayed that the Lord should forgive, but it won't be good." [D17-Cm][T06-Cm][T07-Cm][U14-Cm]

Ref-#514

E-7(m,J): "Living in peace that I am talking about is that which you stay with those who are near you without any problem between you. In your family you stay without conflict .. a ... Those people that you stay with and other different tribe, everyone relaxing, so you will stay without any problem like fighting. You will interact with one another freely without any problem." [E04-Cu][E08-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#515

C-7(f,F): "The greatest thing in my life is, the health of my body." [E01-Cu][E09-Cu]

Appendices

On the causes and nature of **illnesses and accidents** (“sickness and stumbling”, or “hitting of toe”), participants are for the largest part surprisingly non-spiritual in their responses:

Ref-#516

E-6(m,F): “Yeah, what brings [[causes]] sickness and stumbling is, to some people is a lack of body caring by themselves. Secondly, (there is something that follows then), supposing the things of the road (vehicle) that you will follow and when it is not in good condition, it will be good that you should take care of yourself by taking it to someone who has the technical know-how on repairs to check for you where there's fault, or it may disturb you on the way, it ... go with, things that may bring something like that again is through foods that one eats and can cause a lot of sickness, because not every food is allowed to be eaten.” [E01-Su]

Ref-#517

A-6(f,F): “Like mosquitoes, they do also bring sickness to many people, because it has been transmitting a lot of sickness right inside the body. Not even one sickness. Yes. Mosquitoes do cause sickness to people.”; “Like malaria, and typhoid. Even typhoid mosquitoes do cause people (...) even like HIV sickness.” [E01-Cu]

Ref-#518

E-6(m,F): “I look at the way (2.0) a lack of food in the body. Then, if I did not look at my body (2.0), to eat food that is not good, I have no money to eat that food. That shows poverty. Then it can cause me sickness because if that ... someone has a little wound and he does not buy some drugs to cure it, then that sickness will progress, because there is no medicine for it. So poverty is one that brings sickness into our body. A lack of glancing [[looking where you're going]], for one, to lift up his eye that where I am going, that will cause someone to hit his toe on the road that he is going on. So it is a must that one should watch and put his leg in a place where it is good to put them, then you will have not cause to hit your toe.” [E01-Cu]

Nevertheless, for some, illness's causes are by no means confined to biological processes:

Ref-#519

D-6(m,F): “Thoughts can also cause sickness, and hitting one's toe. What is being said is not that you will look at is as if it is that (...)[[lies]]. A lack of taking advice can also bring sickness and a hitting of toe. Thoughts can also bring (...) when you are told that it is not like that, then you will say it is like that [[lies]]. Then you know that you are dragging a little in your thoughts. This can cause toe hitting.” [E01-Cu]

Ref-#520

A-7(m,F): “Sickness then shows that something different which is supposed not to be found in the human body, thus. It's already in his body. After when that is already found in the human body, then his body can never work as it is supposed to. The problems is, you will feel it in your body. That there's a problem already, then you know that. That is sickness.” [E01-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#521

A-7(m,F): "What brings sickness is, sometimes through eating some things, sometimes through an enemy [[bad wishes on someone; poisoning; envy; jealousy, does not protect; killing, cursing, magic, charms, robbery destroy your home, fornication, adultery, mislead children]]. Then sickness will come, sometimes through hitting of toe, .. ACCIDENT. Then sickness will come." [E01-Cu][E11-Cu]

On discussion of humans' fate **after death**:

Ref-#522

C-7(f,F): "Yes. We really believe that if somebody died and if you are a Christian, then you will go to heaven. If you really believe that then, because there is judgement awaiting everyone. If you do good, your good deeds are there kept mainly for you. If evil then they are there for you. This means that if you die, then you will go to where God is. Even if one does evil, then it will go to where God is at your evil deeds [[meaning: even God is in the hellfire. You reap what you sow]]. It is there for you, waiting [[gives sleep]]. You will go and see." [E13-CM][T05-CM][T07-CM][U04-CM]

Ref-#523

D-7(m,F): "You are dead, as you have died, then your life is with God. Again, it is God that created us and we came into this world. He is the one who takes your life, so it is with Him." [E13-CM][T02-CM][U04-CM]

Ref-#524

B-7(f,F): "Death, if you are really a Christian, not that you just follow a Christian, then there is no judgement for you. Somebody who did not believe in God, then, it is he that judgement will pass on." [E13-CM][T05-CM][T07-CM][U04-CM]

Ref-#525

E-7(m,J): "Death then means the breath that was blown into a human being by God is out, the life that is given to a human being by God and the day that is taken way that show you are dead already. And when somebody died, you will not see him again." [E13-CM][T02-CM][T07-CM]

then

Ref-#526

E-7(m,J): "Pertaining the Word of God, we have been given an assurance that a .. death that is experienced on this earth is not death, because a ... breath that is in us is God's that breath into us and the time when man died, then the breath will return back to God. So there is hope for true believers that when you die, it is only the death of this world, so you are going to get eternal life from God." [E13-CM][T01-CM][T04-CM]

Ref-#527

E-7(m,J): "Those people who are non-Christians, (worship ...) they believe that there's God in existence, then to their own they believe that if a human dies, he will turn to

Appendices

masquerade, but still that masquerade even cannot come out openly for people to see, it will hide according to the belief of the traditional worshippers. But as they continue with their worshipping they do remember that there is God in existence.” [E13-CM][E16-CM]

On cultural and personal experience with death:

Ref-#528

C-7(f,F): “Yeah, that which I discovered a Tarok man does before now is that as Jesus died, in three days he rose. So Tarok people usually condole bereaved people in three days and go. Jesus died and His grave was covered with stone. So Tarok people put stones on top of the grave. So it is that one that I look at it, as if they are the same.” [D09-Cm][E13-Cm][E16-Cm][T03-Cm]

Ref-#529

T-4: “Those who were killed at that time, where are they now?”

E-7(m,J): “You know, I can't tell ...”

T-4: “*Why can't you be able to tell of their whereabouts?*”

E-7: “Because, a ... death as to say is something that nobody can tell exactly your whereabouts after you die. I have nothing to say pertaining death.” [E13-Su]

(Here E-7 displays a degree of agnosticism)

Participants are prompted to discuss the immanent threat of death particularly in the context of being faced with a single last day to live:

Ref-#530

A-6(f,F): “I will pray and plead with God Almighty, that he should forgive my sins. Anybody whom I've ever offended, then should forgive me.” [D17-Su][E13-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#531

E-6(m,F): “Had it been that it will be known to us that a day will be given to us that remains one day before I will die, then, that would have made me to prepared very well, and the fact remain, that the day is not known to anybody, then we shall be taken unaware, then let us get prepared that any time we should be close to God, because we don't know the day we shall die. (3.0) So I will pray and get closer to my God, I will guide my ways carefully so that I will not be taken by surprise.” [E13-Cu][T06-Cu][T07-Cu][U16-Cu]

Meanwhile, when challenged with the concept of **magic** as a governing force, C-6 rejects it:

Ref-#532

T-5: “As you have been able to look at it, that thing, when it's done, is it something that can just occur like that?”

C-6(f,F): “/Em'-m' / [[no]]”

Appendices

T-5: “Why do you look at it [[be of the opinion]] that this thing cannot just happen like that? [[ambiguous in meaning]]”

C-6: “Because their wishes were not host. [[What they desire is not what they get.]]”
[E10-Cu]

Much is said by participants on their **relationship with God:**

Ref-#533

D-6(m,F), on the subject of one day left to live: “You can even pray to God for forgiveness, so that you will die a death of blessing and go to the good house that is prepared for you.” [D17-Cu][E08-Cu][E09-Cu][E13-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#534

E-6(m,F): “You will be able to come closer to God because ... through prayers.” [D17-Cm][E08-Cm][E09-Cm][E13-Cm][T06-Cm]

Ref-#535

B-7: “Myself, I will want to be with my God at all times, because when I leave Him and go, I will hit my toe. So that I will not miss my life, [[I will remain with Him]].”

A-7: “Because I know that He is the Way.”

M-5: “Why is it that everybody so wishes that the man whom he should be with is God?”

D-7: “Because I know that He is the Way.” [T05-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#536

B-7(f,F): “He is the one if you go after Him, you will have life, so as of mine, I want that life. I've seen that things on this earth are useless because that is you see things on this earth and you have no God, then you have no pleasure to enjoy the future any longer.”
[T02-Cm][T03-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#537

C-7(f,F): “Before I will be with Jesus, then he suffered because of my life. He died because of my life. So it is good that I should be with him, even in the fire or water.”
[T02-Cm][T03-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#538

A-7(m,F): “Because of things of this world, money is something that you will take and give then. That thing which you want will be given to you. As a human being living on this earth, if you encounter a problem on your body, or of God's ministry, or through sickness. Or through foods, even among other things on this earth unless with money before it is achieved. Like of me here, if I am following Jesus with the whole of my heart, if there's that, money will make me forget about other things [[sorrows]].” [T03-Cm]

Ref-#539

C-6(f,F): “That thing which is the greatest in my life and important is that the attitude of God serves as the greatest and most important thing to me.” [E09-Cu][T07-Cu]

Appendices

C-6 speaks most readily of all on her **experience of God**:

Ref-#540

C-6(f,F): “I do come in contact with God in my life, because sometimes when I sleep and whatever I want in my heart and prayed to God Almighty, he will do it for me.” [T02-Cu][T04-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#541

C-6(f,F): “I can say it, in the first place before I'll get married as I'm married, before I will get married I said to God Almighty that if he agree, may he give me a husband that is really my choice, and he gave to me like that. At the time before I got married, I said I am the only one to my mum, she gave birth to. So I wish as he may bless me with a child, it should be a male child, and God kept giving me male children as requested. Then I came and said to God Almighty that the male children you gave me then, how I so wish that you should give me the one that will carry a mat for me [[a daughter, also “one who will wash for me”]], then God gave me. And as time goes on I said God Almighty, I'm pleading because I am alone, and I don't have anybody to help me, so I wish that you should help me with things of the hand [[money]]. God made me to be learning tailoring work, as I went to that work, again that tailoring work that I went then our colleagues with whom we are learning together, nobody knew it, that was at Auntie Mary Schools. But I was the only one who went and completed that school. Moreso, a graduation ceremony was organised for me and it was successful. So up till date and furthermore it is that tailoring work that is sustaining me. I think apart from that one there are other so many that God is doing for me.” [T02-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

[[Her experience of God is good and positive. Although her life is full of hardships, she still sees it all in a positive light.]]

The validity and power of other religious systems are also discussed, particularly **Tarok traditions and beliefs** which bear similarity to those of Christianity:

Ref-#542

C-6(f,F): “There is nothing.” [E04-Su][E16-Su]

Ref-#543

A-7(m,F): “There is. The on which I know, that corresponds with Christianity is like doing festivities. Some of the ground beer residue that sometimes splashes on the door wall and some fowls beaten on the wall so to remove its feathers and put on the wall gummed there. I think that if I'm not mistaken, then in the Jewish land, it is the same thing they are doing. Secondly, when it comes to festivities like burial ceremonies in Tarok, usually what Tarok often said by his mouth at the grave is the something that Christians are saying. So pertaining the issue of Bible, then it says that death is when somebody is about to die, and before going to the burial, they will say that “you, that is a Christian”, then that broad way there is a way to enter hell. So the way that leads to eternal life is so narrow. So it is the same thing as when an unbeliever will want to

Appendices

perform his burial, he will say, “now that you have fallen asleep, the way that is broad [[the broad-broad]] is not yours. The one that is narrow [[narrow-narrow]] is the way for you. So just for that one and as I thought over it, then I discovered most related to what Christians are doing..“ [D02-Cm][E13-Cm][E16-Cm][T01-Cm]

Ref-#544

B-7(f,F): “Yeah. A Tarok man has something is this way that if you do something, like committing an offence, like committing adultery, you must bring grains [[pound]], you bring an animal before you will be forgiven of such an offence. But to a Christian, if you repent before God, then you are forgiven.“ [D17-CM][E16-CM][U14-CM]

Ref-#545

D-7(m,F): “A Tarok man, in his making, he has a time set specifically [[reference to masquerades which come at a specific time, renovating graves, etc.]], but to us, we the Christians, we don't have a specific time. And at the moment we are doing our own. But a Tarok will wait until when the time for such come before he will go and perform his culture. As they used to go and do their cultural festivity, or worshipping the masquerade until when it's time has come before they will do it. But to us, we Christians, we are doing our own anyhow, anytime. This is what I saw in a Tarok man.” [D09-CM][E16-CM]

Ref-#546

E-7(m,J): “Those people who are non-Christians, (worship ...) they believe that there's God in existence, then to their own they believe that if a human dies, he will turn to masquerade, but still that masquerade even cannot come out openly for people to see, it will hide according to the belief of the traditional worshippers. But as they continue with their worshipping they do remember that there is God in existence.” [E13-Cu][E16-Cu]

Ref-#547

E-7(m,J): “Of course, yes, of course, at the time when somebody died and as people convey to the burial ground, in their leadership of service they do say “you are dead, the broad way is not for you, the road that is so narrow is the one for you”. So also to the Christians when someone died, it is there in the Scripture that the way to the grave is broad and the one that is narrow is the one that you must follow and it is not just very easy, if you do things that are not good. So even they themselves are also saying the same.” [D01-Cu][E06-Cu][E13-Cu][E16-Cu][T01-Cu]

G.7.4.2 Evidence related primarily to identities

On the subject of **Tarok self-understanding**:

Ref-#548

T-5: “Let's take for example, you told somebody that you are a Tarok, so what is the meaning of your telling that person that you are a Tarok? What does it mean?”

C-6(f,F): “So that the person will know me that I am Tarok.” [D09-Su][E15-Su]

Appendices

which suggests that C-6 sees the meaning of “Tarok” as entirely self-explanatory. However, after more prompting:

Ref-#549

C-6(f,F): “A Tarok is a human being, and supposing it will be good that if anything wrong is said so far about a Tarok, then it is good that they are corrected. Because in everything that one does [[attitude]], every language [[or ethnic group]] has their ways of doing things, so, your language is your ways of behaviour/attitudes.”[E15-Pu]

And:

Ref-#550

C-6(f,F): “In some years to come, I look at Langtang as different and there's development there more than that of Wase. And before Wase will progress in some years to come, the development of Langtang will be much more than now. Because the population of people in Langtang are many and they are Tarok. The Tarok people in life are not as dirty as Muslims. The Tarok land is different, when you see it is clean, but when you get into the Muslim dominated area it is as filthy as anything that you won't even like to breathe.” [D09-Su][E05-Su][E15-Su][M02-Su][M09-Su]

Ref-#551

A-7(m,F): “We are Christians. [[We people, go to drink God.]]”; “We are human beings.”; “We are Blacks, we are Tarok.” [D15-CM][E15-CM]

Ref-#552

C-7(f,F): “Tarok is the man who rejects no one, lest he rejects himself.” [E15-CM]

Ref-#553

D-7(m,F): “As the other one said, then, lest he hates himself, instead of him having a conflict with someone else.” [E15-CM]

Ref-#554

A-7(m,F): “Tarok as he is, of a truth, what I know then, if at all that everyone is like Tarok, I press myself not to be self-centred. Then I thought that people would have been living in peaceful co-existence so much. This is because if something came before a Tarok man, then he will always pray for peaceful living so much. The life of a Tarok man is, he doesn't want things that do not belong to him. He wishes to suffer and get for himself his desire, and again nobody should want to claim his own [[take away his things]] by force, that he has suffered and got it.” [E15-CM][T06-CM][T07-CM][U02-CM][U12-CM][U15-CM][U16-CM]

Ref-#555

B-7(f,F): “If to say a Tarok man then, left for my own then, Tarok ... is someone who has no problem with himself will sit down and behave like a fool [[pretending to be slow-witted]], but as foolishly as he behaves, but then tactically, because he seems to have selflessness in the sense that if his kinsmen is in trouble. Then he wishes to go and hear the way forward on how far? If it reaches the point that he should fight to the point of death, then he won't leave it. So this is what I know a Tarok as. At last then, a Tarok

Appendices

man never runs away from war, if it faces him. But he doesn't insult anyone." [E15-CM][U12-CM][U15-CM]

Ref-#556

D-7(m,F): "Yes, after that which I'm looking as he has said it, if at all, apart from this that I am Tarok, I must continue to learn what my father showed me growing up [[seeing him doing]]." [D09-Cu][E15-Cu][T03-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

Moving on to religious, i.e. **Christian self-understanding**:

Ref-#557

C-7(f,F): "That is what I had wanted to say. Then a Christian is someone who is obedient, and he has fear [[respect]]." [E15-Cm][M02-Cm][P04-Cm][T07-Cm]

Ref-#558

A-7(m,F): "A Christian is always a fearful person and full of forgiveness. And self-control. (4.0) A Christian, left to me then, is one who has believed that Jesus came and died for our sins to be forgiven and to be resurrected, then took away our sins [[something unacceptable]]. So a Christian today is of the opinion to carry the Cross that Jesus carried is to follow Him, as He came and died and was resurrected. So what will prove that you really accepted to follow Jesus, because He has come and died for our sins. So that which will show that you really believe in Jesus and you accept that He came and died for the forgiveness of our sins, then in that the Commandments that are written to be obeyed must be strictly observed without complaining about anything. You could follow strictly what has been said and human beings on earth will witness as it testifies to you that you are different from others. ... >That is what is good for a Christian to know<." [D17-Cm][E06-Cm][E15-Cm][P01-Cm][T03-Cm][U12-Cm]

In terms of discussions where the nature of **"The Other" in general** was discussed, this to a large extent was equatable to "Muslim":

Ref-#559

E-7(m,J): "A Muslim is: somebody who believes .. who believe that .. once he dies he (go) he has the hope .. of inheriting the Kingdom of God, according to them, that is why any – any time any moment they want to cause violence anywhere they found themselves, they want to cause violence because they believe that once somebody dead as a result of anything .. crisis, there is hope for that person to inherit the Kingdom of God. And the Muslims are the people that even see other people that are not .. er .. the other people that are not .. from their own families as no-people, because they believe if you are not a Muslim, if you are entering into mosque, then it means you are relegated to the background. That is how they live their life ... It's because we stay with them ... and experience such things from them." [C13-Cu][D01-Cu][D15-Cu][M09-Cu][T05-Cu]

M-1: "But what leads Muslims in your view, eh-h, despite this religion? What leads them to do such dreadful things?"

E-7: "I .. actually .. I .. I can't tell, because, it's like it's according to their own tradition and make them to be like that. Historically (3.0) right from the history of Muslim, they're the people that like violence than anything. And (am make) them even the

Appendices

generation it inherits it from, their ancestors, and the thing is even progressing up to date.” [C13-Cu][M08-Cu][M09-Cu]

M-1: “Are there Muslims who do good things as well, or :can: Muslims do good things as well?”

E-7: “Er, .. a Muslim ... if you are not a Muslim, no matter how you do something, it's not good to them ... [M: mm-h] ... But today, anything that you did to them on their own part as a Muslim can offend them, but to anybody, there's no problem.” [E04-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu]

[[In English!]]

Ref-#560

T-5: “Who is a Muslim?”

C-6(f,F): “Who is a Muslims? A man of hitting his forehead. Is that man who hits his forehead on the ground.”

T-5: “What do Muslims believe in? Or who are they?”

C-6: “The Muslims believe in Mohammed, again, they are people of hitting their forehead.” [M06-CM][M10-CM]

Ref-#561

T-5: “*So, if you see a Muslim, one who hit his forehead on the ground, then how will you think?*”

C-6(f,F): “*My thought over him is that what I worship is not what he worships. Then the everlasting life that I believe I will inherit, he will not get it.*” [M01-Cu][M02-Cu][M09-Cu][U06-Cu]

Ref-#562

C-6(f,F): “The difference between Christianity and Islamic religion is that, to us Christians, we believe that Jesus Christ is the One whom our God Almighty sent into the world, to die for our sins so that our sins be forgiven. A .. the Muslim on their side, they believe in just a mere ordinary human being, not the one that was sent from God as Jesus was sent.” [M02-CM][M06-CM][T07-CM][U14-CM]

Specifically, when discussing Tarok Muslims (this was prompted):

Ref-#563

T-5: “Some of the Tarok people have converted to Islamic religion. So to you, when you see them, how do you look at them?”

C-6(f,F): “I'll look at him as nothing before me.”

T-5: “For what reason?”

C-6: “Because my people are dying and he is the one killing my people, and when you read in their book, it says if you did not kill, then that person will not get everything in life.” [C13-Cu][D15-Cu][M05-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#564

T-4: “Among Tarok people who went into Islamic, how are you looking at them?”

E-7(m,J): “During this crisis, some of them that are Tarok and they are Muslims. During the crisis some of them went into Wase, staying together with them there. And .. even during the time that .. these Muslims wanted to go .. for attack to any of our people, it is them who will now give them direction, because they stay with us. They knew where we

Appendices

were settling, it's them that lead them .. to where the Tarok are settling ... Yes. That is what they did during the crisis. Most of the people, they were killed. It was those Tarok guys that stay with the Muslims that did all these things." [C03-CM][C13-CM][D08-CM][D09-CM]

It thus emerges that Tarok who become Muslims are seen as being as vile traitors who helped the Muslims attack during the crises. It is almost a corollary that only a Christian Tarok is a true Tarok. Religious adherence is as important – or indeed more important than ethnic identity.

Meanwhile, when turning to the “third force”, those of the Tarok traditionalists:

Ref-#565

T-5: “What do you think about a Tarok man who, who up to date is still worshipping traditions?”

C-6(f,F): “I'm thinking over it that he is not going to get eternal life, so I have sympathy over him.”

T-5: “Is there anything in a Tarok tradition that is related to that of a Tarok Christian tradition?”

C-6: “There is nothing.” [E04-Su][E16-Su]

And finally grouping references to Fulani, as an ethnic identity:

Ref-#566

C-6(f,F): “A Fulani is a human being, and the relationship between a Fulani and a Tarok is that a Fulani goes about into the bush, he don't normally stay in one place to build a house like a Tarok man does, and that some of them do build, but some didn't build. That is why God has already created human beings with them ethnic groups that is why everyone has it's tribe and he is called by that name, because he sleep here and there, sleep here and there.”

T-5: “So for that the relationship between a Tarok and a Fulani. Even though a Fulani sleep and take off any time to another place, then is the relationship between a Tarok and a Fulani good or not good?”

C-6: “Their relationship goes with Muslim.” [D11-Cu][E09-Cu][E14-Cu][E15-Cu][M08-Cu][T02-Cu][T07-Cu]

Ref-#567

C-7(f,F): “A Fulani is that man which at all times is found with a long stick with a machete and he usually moves in the bush and he has a shirt that he uses to wear called “caftan” [[ɗan ciki]] he is always found with. So, if you found him with that and you can see cattle always found closer, he will be looking after them. And if you discover there are no cattle there then, you will see him with a caftan and the machete, with the long stick he is holding, one must consider this man is a Fulani. Even if a Tarok staying or moving with a Fulani, and if he has these things, then he must be considered a Fulani.

Appendices

Or even as you dress the way a Fulani man dresses, then somebody may say, “are you a Fulani?” And you appear in such dressing?” [E04-CM][M08-CM]

Ref-#568

A-7(m,F): “There is grazing/keeping of Tarok livestock. A Fulani man used to come and pick up Tarok pupils to go and look after their cattle. Having finished taking care of the flock then, a Fulani will present it to the child a gift of a cattle for his absolute caring over his herds. He will bring it as an exhibit of his own. If he comes and takes proper care of it. So as I grew up, this was the relationship that I knew between a Tarok and a Fulani. The fact that he is a shepherd, he used to come and pick Tarok children.” [E04-CM][M08-CM]

Now turning to the image of **“The Other” in conflict constellations**, these are exclusively defined as Muslims. References to Fulani or “Tarok Muslims” never arises:

Ref-#569

T-5: “Why should Muslims come to kill Tarok?”

C-6(f,F): “Because they like themselves so much, wherever they are, they won't like other people to be there. As they are already highly placed, then they don't want Tarok to reach that same level/position.” [M07-CM][M09-CM]

Ref-#570

D-7(m,F): “A Muslim, is that not the man who hits his forehead every time he offers prayers, not of peace in his life? He wishes that in every place he should always be the head, and nobody should rule over him. And again, he should deceive people and nobody should deceive him. That is the man who is a Muslim.” [M02-CM][M09-CM][T06-CM]

Ref-#571

B-7(f,F): “A Muslim is a man who lies creating tension at all times, because he doesn't like peace. He will hate you so that he will make you come to where he is, so that he will be your leader.” [M07-CM][M09-CM]

Ref-#572

B-7(f,F): “A Muslim, the reason why I said he will make you follow him is that if he saw you going somewhere on foot, then he will say that he can pick you and go and drop you. The assistance that he rendered to you there then, he will never do to you free of charge, as the devil does. He will keep, pepping you tactically that you should collect this thing and go and cheat someone with it, and if you collected that, then you will later on get yourself involved in it.” [E02-CM][M07-CM][M09-CM]

To test the permeability of boundaries, the marriage question is raised with E-7:

Ref-#573

M-1: “You're married. Ok, but could you imagine have to have married a-a Muslim girl?”

Appendices

E-7(m,J): “Mm?”

M-1: “Could, er, supposing you were not married, em, could you imagine marrying a, a Muslim girl?”

E-7: “I don't. I don't imagine even-. I don't even dream of going to a Muslim girl,=”

M-1: “Yuh, [though-]”

E-7: “=[let alone] marrying her.”

M-1: “I see, but a :Hausa: Christian girl, could you imagine .. have imagined marrying someone like that?”

E-7: “If a Muslim .. that is, are now turned into Christianity, I think another one would be better off.”

M-1: “Mmm-h [E-7: /yessss/] I-I'm talking about, there's a small number of, eh, Hausa who have :traditionally: been Christians. [E-7: °eee°], would that have been an option, theoretically?”

E-7: “Yes. I can take it.” [E04-Su][E15-Su][M01-Su]

G.7.4.3 Evidence related primarily to moral attitudes

What respondents class as **virtuous behaviour**:

Ref-#574

E-6(m,F): “Your movement, everyone should live a life worthy of righteousness with God, because if God called you to rest, and God himself will be happy with you, moreso, everyone will know you parted in peace with all people and most will be happy too.” [E08-Cu][T07-Cu][U16-Cu]

Ref-#575

E-7(m,J): “*The narrow way is that to follow God's Kingdom is to keep obeying God's commands and it's not easy, but if you did not obey God's commands wholeheartedly, then to make heaven may not be easy for you, that is the meaning of the narrow way that I said.*” [D01-Cu][E06-Cu][T07-Cu][U04-Cu][U16-Cu]

On **role-models**:

Ref-#576

A-7(m,F): “As for me, it is my father and my mother.” [T03-Su][T05-Su][T07-Su]

Ref-#577

C-6(f,F): “here's one woman at the very time of crisis that we left for Langtang and as at that time, I wasn't involved in any activities and we had nothing then, so as I was sitting, somebody came and met me that Mrs Sauri said that a certain woman that they wanted to have come and lead the girls brigade of Pajat. So I went and told her that “*Mamá*, we have nothing, how can I be attending meeting when I have nothing? Moreso, I am schooling.” That woman told me that everything is in God's control. I kept sleeping, praying to God Almighty. So one day I went and sleep then God Almighty reveals to me in a dream that all those things that I am doing are not mine and just that the messaged delivered to me, I should not reject it. So I went and told the woman that I've made up

Appendices

my mind to join the Girls' Brigade, like that as we went for the Girls' Brigade thereafter, the woman would pray for me continuously. The woman kept praying for me, the woman kept praying for me. That was how we kept moving with that woman. So later, they took me to Dugu and that was in the year 2004. I went and attended [[training]] course of the Girls' Brigade there. After finished the course, I was promoted to a position of Lieutenant Officer of the Girls' Brigade. That woman bought a uniform for me. An offering of prayers was rendered to me in the church service at the time of Reverend Seri who was the on who prayed committing me and the uniform. Theny that woman said "this uniform I'm leaving it in your care, I know I am going to leave this world." The very year that the woman said these to me, just up to three months later, that woman – that woman left the world [[died]]." [C08-Su][E08-Su][T04-Su][T06-Su][T07-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#578

C-7(f,F): "Supposing I am a Christian, then the teaching that I'm supposed to do is the teaching of Jesus. The teaching that He did, I'm supposed to do what he did, that which Jesus did." [E06-Su][T03-Su][T04-Su][U16-Su]

Ref-#579

A-7(m,F): "He whom I'm supposed to use as a model in my teaching left to me is the leader of a church, because they are the ones who are supposed to show light, to show what is good to Christians. But if I discover a leader not doing what is right, then I will not emulate it just because he is a leader, but rather, I follow God." [D01-SM][E08-SM][T07-SM][U16-SM]

Ref-#580

B-7(f,F): "To me, the person whom I will imitate what he did is God. Because through the Bible that He wrote. If someone offended me and I am annoyed [[damaged heart]], then I will come and open and read, then I will look into it and say I've forgiven him, because God said that don't keep malice in your mind to bed [[drink sleep]]." [D01-Sm][D17-Sm][E06-Sm][T01-Sm][T03-Sm][T04-Sm][T07-Sm][U16-Sm]

On fear/respect:

Ref-#581

E-6(m,F): "Those who will fear me, there are many. Some of them that I'm older than them, they may possibly fear me because that I'm older than them. And God said, the one who is older than you,, him you should fear him. ... Secondly, maybe somebody may look at it that you are stronger than him, then he must fear you. Thirdly, to some people, they may look at it that maybe I have something at hand like a shield, and if a problem erupts between me and him, then I will use such a weapon on him, then that will make him to fear me because of that." [P04-Su]

Ref-#582

D-6(m,F): "Those people who will fear as someone has already said it, then that if you are stronger than someone, he must fear you. In terms of physical combat, you face each other. Then you overpower him, you beat him thoroughly, then he will fear you. And if you are meeting somebody's demand, then he can't talk to you anyhow, because of the reason that he considers you are stronger and that whatever things he needs, when he

Appendices

comes to you, you will give and that will make him to continue fearing you. (Some ...) the time at which people are together ().” [P04-Cu]

Ref-#583

A-6(f,F): “Like your child whom you gave birth to may fear you because of the reason that you gave birth to him. So it is a must for him to fear you.” [P04-Cu]

On the question of **sacrificing ones life** for a cause:

Ref-#584

D-6(m,F): “Somebody will give his life so that there will be freedom. How? Independent, if you want to get freedom, will you give your life? Because you are pressed. As somebody pushes you to the wall, you know you can't cross to the other side, then you will give your life. Maybe you may have a way out, or else you die. If not, you are just suffering there. You neither go this way, not come this way, nor take this way. And that shows that you are able to give your life so that you'll gain your freedom.” [U02-Su][U12-Su]

Ref-#585

E-6(m,F): “Like today, let's say as some of these things happen in Plateau State, [X: ((coughs))] then if I will be able to say that as of me, if I will give my life and that the issue of Plateau will resolve that, there will be no problem. That if today that I give myself to die and the problem of this state be resolved forever, [M: mmh] I can give myself to die so that the remaining people of the state should live peacefully.” [C12-Cm][U12-Cm]

Ref-#586

A-6(f,F): “I can give my life, because as our freedom here in Kadarko. We are of the opinion to get our own freedom of ourselves, and we haven't got it. And if is said today that I should give my life because for us to have our freedom. As Muslims rule over us, then they won't rule us any longer, then I can give my life. And that will be of great help to us, then I can give my life.” [M09-Cm][U02-Cm]

Ref-#587

B-6(m,F): “Giving your life for something and that you know the reason why, it is good, because you already know that where your life will go. And even if it is going to enter hellfire, and your relations are left behind, they will get the benefits and will live in peace. Then, giving up your life is not bad. (2.0) within these days. We are made to understand that ... thing in Embassy in Abuja. We believe that such an act was done by a single person who offered his life to come and do that. If not, such wouldn't have happened. Then like me here, it is good that if I will give my life to people and some attitudes even in Nigeria, and the whole world will come to a standstill that, yeah, this person has given his life already at last, then I could give, so that even that they fail, some then, live in peace. There's nothing again. Everybody should smile with one another. So I will be able to give my life because of things like that.” [U07-Cm][U12-Cm]

Appendices

Meanwhile members of the other cohort were less sanguine about their bravery:

Ref-#588

D-7(m,F): “*Kai*, that is difficult!” [U12-Su]

Ref-#589

B-7(f,F): “If because of God, then I may be able to give.” [T02-Su][T05-Su][U12-Su]

Thereafter the topic of peace re-emerges here too:

Ref-#590

C-7(f,F): “I will give my life because, if at all, I will give my life and there will be peaceful coexistence thereafter, then I will be able to give my life, even just because of Christians to live peacefully. Then I would be able to give my life if Christians will be able to live in peace.” [D01-Su][U12-Su]

But then A-7 reports taking loss of life into account during his actions :

Ref-#591

A-7(m,F): “I will give my life because I want to protect someone in the sense of life during war. At the time of crisis, as the killing of people is on, I will go out that I'm going to war, then I will take off on my way and go. As I went, there the intention is, if I will be facing some people, either I will go and come back, or I will not come back. If I did not come back, then it shows that my life is gone [[gone tiny]]. And if I happen to come back, then that shows that it is God that helped it that I'm back. So after I went to the front at the battle ground that then showed that my life, I am giving life, because to live peacefully [[*intam ikángkáng*]]. So I will be able to give my life, because I will want to see that there's peaceful atmosphere.” [D01-Cm][T02-Cm][T05-Cm][U12-Cm]

On how participants **experienced and responded to the last crises**

Ref-#592

E-6(m,F): “Yeah, sorry. Out of what we just discussed, left to me, it is good to burn the house of a Muslim because since the beginning of this thing (2.0), if you look at it critically, there is no place where it is said that a Christian has ever started chasing people away from a place. It has never happened [[been in our existence]]. Everywhere you will hear those people [[the Muslims]] saying that they are the only ones, they are the only ones, they are the only ones [[with the right to dominate]]. And before you will take a step to revenge, you will hear them, the security has come saying the government did not allow that to be done. Like what happened to us here last time [[the crisis]]. As we were sitting in our place [[living]], then we discovered people packing their loads just like that going about and running with it. And before we could do anything, we realised that there were burning houses. ... So even if you have the mind of a Dm Itenten [[a dumb snake]], one day it will arise [[the worst will happen]], because we too also have God, because their own God says, unless you cause crisis before you will not inherit the

Appendices

eternal life. So do we allow our own God to die [[give up our faith]]? Well, our own God said that it is not even good for us to fight one another. But because of our own fleshly thoughts, we looked at it that if we fight them back, then maybe He can help us.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C08-Cu][C11-Cu][C13-Cu][D04-Cu][D12-Cu][E12-Cu][M07-Cu][M09-Cu][P02-Cu][T02-Cu][U11-Cu][U13-Cu][U14-Cu]

and then:

Ref-#593

B-6(m,F): “Well, a ... to me I look at it at a level that brought the issue of burning the house of a Muslim that maybe he has attempted me once I kept quiet, he did to me again for the second time and I kept quiet because the Bible talks to us about this, that if someone slaps you, don't retaliate but turn to him the other cheek. And if he has done it for the first time, second time, the third time and I kept quiet, and when the pushing reached to the wall and he did it to me again, then it is a must that I should defend myself by slapping him too. Because I told him yesterday that you slapped me for the first time, I left you, and you did it to me the third time, then you are not the one who gave birth to me. Because God is the one who gave birth to me. Because God is the one who brought me as he brought you [[reference to Muslim]] too, so I will chase him so that he may feel the pain as he first chased me right ((children in background: “pig pig”)).” [C03-Cm][C13-Cm][C03-Cm][E12-Cm][M09-Cm][P05-Cm][T02-Cm][T05-Cm][T07-Cm][U11-Cm]

Ref-#594

E-6(m,F): “We went to several places, as we burnt houses so many, we picked some livestock many there and brought them it because women by then were not at home, so those animals we picked were the ones we cooked ate in place of food, guarding places.” [C08-Cu][C09-Cu]

and then:

Ref-#595

A-6(m,F): “To us, we were able to ... I was able to take off from Langtang with gruel at that time of the last crisis here. That time we brew gruel and carried it down there very early in the morning () so that we can give to those men who were at the battleground. That was what we did.” [C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu]

Which suggests that the response was planned in advance.

Ref-#596

E-6(m,F): “As somebody has already pointed it out, we men then, it is a must that if an attack is brought to us, then we should defend ourselves. And we really defended ourselves and we were able to send them back, and we ... some lives were lost, because as you go, you can't come back like that. As you went for hunting, it is a must that when you come across an animal, then you will kill it. So we did not come back like that. We

Appendices

were able to get our own share as they were able to get their own share from us too.”

[C03-Cu][C06-Cu][C08-Cu][D13-Cu][M03-Cu][U11-Cu]

M-4: “You talked of defence or protecting yourself. How?–”

E-6: “Protecting ourselves in the sense that since they left their place and came to us, then you cannot run just like that, you must move and be mindful of yourself [[your head]], then you will face them. That is what I mean or I ... er.” [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C06-Cu][C08-Cu][C10-Cu][M01-Cu][M03-Cu][M09-Cu]

Ref-#597

C-6(f,F): “At that time of crisis, I saw for myself many people were killed in my presence [T: mmh]. Others that I came and realised within me is this, at that time that I was around, I didn't have anything, but now I have something at hand.”;; “The people who were killed I saw were Tarok; and those who killed them were Muslim.” [C08-Su][C13-Su]

But then she says:

C-6: “At that time of crisis, I was not affected.” [C08-Cu]

Which allows us to conclude that by that she means not bodily affected.

Ref-#598

T-5: “Do you think it is permissible that no matter how, a Tarok man will just go and launch an attack on Muslims that we are fighting them?”

C-6(f,F): “No, no.” [C13-Cu][E04-Cu][M01-Cu]

On exploring the outer limits of acceptable hostility towards Muslims:

Ref-#599

M-5: “Is it proper that just like that for people to go and attack Muslims?”

D-7(m,F): “Very hard.” [C03-Su][M01-Su]

M-5: “What makes it hard?”

B-7(f,F): “Because whoever that is following God then, God said that don't be rude and offensive to anybody. To go and attack them is not good.” [C03-Cu][E06-Cu][M01-Cu][P01-Cu][T05-Cu][T07-Cu]

M-5: “What is it that is difficult to you about it?”

A-7(m,F): “Yes, what makes it difficult to me in it is that, to start going, because God did not agree that human life should be terminated. Like me here, if who somebody came to me, intended killing me, that I will defend myself. And on defending myself, if I happen to kill him, then. But for me, to rise up and go, it's hard. Because God created man in His own image, that is, it is not good to kill a human being.” [C03-Cm][D01-Cm][M01-Cm][P04-Cm][T04-Cm][T07-Cm]

M-5: “What makes it hard for you?”

C-7(f,F): “I'm grateful because as it is hard for me, it is also like that, because that I look at that body which also seems like mine. Again, that life belongs to God and that makes it difficult for me there to rise and go. If not for any reason happening, to rise that I'm going to kill them, it will not be easy for me.” [C03-Cm][D01-Cm][M01-Cm][P04-Cm][T07-Cm]

M-5: “What makes it difficult for you there?”

D-7: “Well, it is difficult, because it won't be possible, as like now or maybe a Muslim already knows that he is our enemy, as we are sitting, maybe we are already seated like this, then we saw him, he came and slapped a certain woman and she fell on the ground.

Appendices

And I happened to be there with my weapons, then I would kill him, because he brought an attack on us is here. Simply because we are Christians. So he doesn't want us at all, at all. He doesn't want us. That's when they leave us [[when the crisis ended]], then we used to go to their own area, that is why he disagreed with us so much. [[They did not have the freedom to go to Tarok places because of what they did]] Because we know the way to the Truth, we can never join that Muslim religion. That is it that is most difficult in it so far." [C03-Cm][M01-Cm][M02-Cm][M09-Cm][T04-Cm]

On the other hand, in his interview, E-7 clearly illustrated how he had overcome any moral inhibitions to attack Muslims:

Ref-#600

E-7(m,J): "At the time of crisis some people came and attacked us, killing most people who are my relations, among which my people were to ten and more that day. So I was furious, in great anguish, and that made me feel as if I shouldn't stay in a place where I am right now any longer.";; "Those who killed them were the people we fought with, the Muslims and the Fulanis. That they brought that attack one Sunday like this when it was after the church service immediately, they nearly met our people in church (God ...) they killed those people." [C08-Su][C13-Su][E03-Su][E13-Su][U03-Su]

Ref-#601

E-7(m,J): "At that very time they came, they kept bringing attacks on us, then even me here, I went, we came and took the decision of going, so we went early in the morning before six o'clock, then we've already started the operation at the time they were just waking up from their bed. A ... that was the time that we went and we were able to attack them also. Because, theirs usually come midnight or exactly as the same time that we went." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu]

M-1: "I see ... tell me about this, .. eh, I suppose, counter attack. What happened, and how did you go about it? ... What were you feeling that day?"

E-7: "Ah, I feel the way [[how]] we went and did then, we usually take off in the night at around nine o'clock and gather ourselves in one place somewhere, then we shall go gradually to where they are, then we sleep until the time that the day is breaking which we enter places and the reasons that we went is because they've gone round ((cough)) causing a lot of destruction on our farms and I feel that we should go and retaliate, that is why we gathered in the night in agreement to reach their place at that place people sleep on grasses in the night and on the day break then people start operation." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][U11-Cu]

M-1: "Mmh. .. I see ... So, what happened during the attack?"

E-7: "During the attack we (2.0) killed a high number of the ... and when the time went, the ... the army people that were there to give us, they had this information immediately. [M: mm] Now they started pushing back our people, and as a result of that, the army, the soldiers, they succeeded in killing around 7 of our people that we went that day .. [M: °mmh°] But .. we .. we claimed so many lives there [M: °mm°] that day." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][P02-Cu][U11-Cu][U13-Cu]

M-1: "What emotions went through you that day? ... What things did you feel?"

E-7: "Yeah, because if we go that very first day and we are successful, then, as they first brought attack to us and kill our people and we in turn happen to kill a number of their own people that time. As I come home that day I was very happy [[pleased]] in my mind due to what they had done to our people and what we did to them in reaction. I came home and my mind was full of joy." [C03-Cu][C08-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][E03-Cu][U08-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#602

E-7(m,J): "At that time things like weapons is a must. When going, you carry them along with you, because if you go empty handed, that shows you went to do nothing, because it is that weapon if that these people who are your enemies and you come and meet each other then you use it and fight. So if he overpowers you then. So when going there we should take it with us because of going to such conflicts." [C03-Cu][C04-Cu][C06-Cu][C09-Cu][C13-Cu][D13-Cu]

Ref-#603

E-7(m,J): "On the other side we can't tell because a massive number of them were killed, so I can't tell, but I (was all we predict) because at .. as of that time, it was only Muslim people that () reside there around that area. [M: yu'-yu'-°yu'°] So we believe that anybody that .. was killed that day was a Muslim."

M-1: "Yuh, °yuh°, em, ok this a, um, I'll soon have to close, a sensitive question which .. a .. I really don't feel you need to answer if you don't feel like it .. e .. Were you .. ahm .. directly participating in any of the .. killings directly?"

E-7: "°I participated°"

M-1: "°mm°[[shocked]]" [C03-CM][C04-CM][C09-CM][C13-CM]

Of Revenge:

Ref-#604

D-6(m,F): "A thought of a human being is that sometimes if you offended somebody, the person will want to retaliate to you like ... [X: ((coughs))] as already said here, then that as Christians have known that the Bible says that let us not repay evil for evil, but when this is brought to our human thought, (...) then there are some who are not Christians." [E02-Cu][T01-Cu][U11-Cu]

Ref-#605

A-6(f,F): "Because our Lord Almighty said that we should not revenge evil for evil, so you may forgive him and never retaliate on any of his relations." [U11-CM]

Ref-#606

D-6(m,F): "Yeah, .. ah .. sometimes, (ah ...). It is not good to lie, because sometimes you may say you have forgiven, but your mind is still not settled [[peace of mind]], so humanly speaking, you will sometimes want to do something, like maybe somebody pinches or stabs you, and maybe you just want to do it too [[retaliate]], so to prove that if somebody did it, would it be good? So you can pinch one of his relations. For example, as you are schooling, you will look for assistance from somebody, and the person does, and later on, one of his relations, or his child come to you for assistance and then you know humanly, if you do not think very well [[deeply]], then you will want to do something, so that you will tell the person, ever since somebody did something to you like this, you will turn to retaliate [[take revenge]], so that they will learn a lesson for that, and never do that habit to anybody again. That like one woman has already said it, maybe somebody may just forget on the ground that he has been forgiven." [D17-Cm][U05-Cm][U11-Cm]

Appendices

Ref-#607

D-6(m,F): “As Christians have known that the Bible says that let us not repay evil for evil, but when this is brought to our human thought, (...) then there are some who are not Christians. If ... that something happened at that instance, the level of his annoyance may be at high tension, so he may like to retaliate immediately and so urgently. But when the situation has calmed down, and his thoughts come back to normalcy, then he will say, 'oh-oh, this thing that I did was out of annoyance, so let ... leave that situation', but of a truth, it is not good to say that if somebody offended you, and you will want to retaliate to him or to any of his relations, so the Bible didn't tell us that one.” [E02-Cm][T01-Cm][U11-Cm]

Ref-#608

E-6(m,F): “So look at it that it is good to .. err .. to do something, then let's be punished so to make correction against tomorrow. .. [M: mmh] So that today this is my brother if I leave him free, then he will continue in that habit consistently. So it is better that I should touch one of his places too [[attack a location]], to enable them, to realise their own mistakes of yesterday as he has already said it.” [P05-Cu]

Ref-#609

D-6(m,F): “You know, crisis is war [(then you know that ...)] you know, if you did not burn his house, he will definitely beat you in the battle. He came and burnt your own, you know you can't just suddenly go and burn as a Christian. I believe that a Christian, even if a mad thought came into his mind, he can't just go and begin to burn somebody's house just like that. But as far as it is a war, a Muslim will burn your house and you will burn his own. That is to make him realise that as he did it without feeling the pain. And if not, if you allowed him, he would continue to follow doing the same in that habit. He has looked down upon you already, then it is good that [M: say ...] you should burn his house too.” [P05-Cm]

The respondents' evaluation of a Muslim seen entering a neighbour's house:

Ref-#610

E-6(m,F): “Yeah, like me then [(kill him right)]. In the first place then, I will be able to shout to people that here is a man, here is a man (caught), and I will be going so that those people, as he runs into then, you don't know how well prepared and the power he came with. If you shout loudly in Tarok(land), and people hear somebody shouting, then others may come to help that what happened. Then when they come, they will see me there, then it will be that 'let's just do away with him'.” [C03-Su][C10-Su][M01-Su][U03-Su]

Ref-#611

D-6(m,F): “I will be able to If that he entered my neighbour's house, .. if the neighbour is still at home, even I will go so that I will help him, we don't know, maybe he's having his working uniform or weapons that he came with, then I will move a little so that I'll help in shouting, “that's one”. Secondly, then we shall try to find out that why did he run into this place? If we find something, we shall collect it from his hand. He will say the reason, the reason why he runs all the way and he came and entered into my house, then he will tell me the reason. And if it is satisfactorily that I didn't understand,

Appendices

then I will also do away with him also, as he came to do away with me too.” [C03-Cm] [C10-Cm][M01-Cm][U03-Cm]

Ref-#612

E-6(m,F): “As of now, the time that we are going in now is showing us that with a Muslim, and if he came, we can see those facts that we are hearing outside, such things are things like bombs, which are available now they do go about with it in themselves, because when it is taken to a certain place and it happens to burst, then it may destroy lives, so sometimes maybe he is having this kind of thing. That is why I said, yeah, I will try so that, that my neighbour is a distance away to know and understand the reason that brought him into our house. [M: ok]” [C10-Cu][M01-Cu][U03-Cu]

Ref-#613

D-6(m,F): “Ahh .. who is a Muslim, that a Muslim ran and entered into my neighbour's house, then maybe he just ran into the house because of pressure somewhere, that is why he came in maybe. Then I, he has entered that person's house, you know you can't make any action right immediately it that [M: mmh] We'll investigate him, so that he may not run to escape and if, then ... until when the decision came to consensus. [M: mm, I ... I] I will make sure that a certain information is grabbed from his mouth then, sometimes they will even give him a message to deliver, but just to understand whether he has something with him, then he must be done away with [[killed]].” [C10-Cu][M01-Cu][U03-Cu]

On a less militant note:

Ref-#614

A-7(m,F): “Left to me, I will go to that house, I will go and enquire as to the reason why a Muslim ran into that house. Maybe something worried him, and that's why he came? Or by virtue of crisis that chased so he ran into that house, right? So I will go and find out from my neighbour in the first place, I will understand from him before I will know what to say upon that.” [M01-Cu]

Ref-#615

C-6(f,J): “I supposed to (run) and I supposed to pray.” [C13-Su] [M01-Su] [T06-Su] [U03-Su]

Respondents' analyses of causes and their solutions to the crises:

Ref-#616

B-6(m,F): “If between us and the outsiders, we shall even teach people that we and our relations should bear one another's burden, we should show them the Gospel of our Almighty God, because of the fact that we are in the Church. After that, we should organise teaching for our people, also that God said we should be alone. If to find out about the issue of independence, i.e. “yanci”, so “yanci” [[freedom]] is a situation that you must look for, and if found, you will live on your own [[to be independent]]. That is why Jesus showed us that we are supposed to live an independent life everywhere. He came and died because of us so that we should have freedom of being His children. Then aah

Appendices

... the Church will teach us living in freedom, we are trying to have our own freedom. So it is a must that they should teach us about the crisis to make us prepare ourselves, preparing ourselves against tomorrow. So that anything that will want to happen, we should know how to defend ourselves properly. (2.0) In the aspect of crisis, in summary, if we can pray for one another, we pray for our brothers so that God will send down His Holy Spirit upon those enemies of progress who will want to bite one another's eye, which brings problems. Then may God guide it and open ways that everybody will live in peace with everyone.” [C03-Cu][C12-Cu][E06-Cu][E07-Cu][E15-Cu][T03-Cu][T04-Cu][U02-Cu][U07-Cu]

Ref-#617

E-7(m,J): “Ah, what happened at that time was that, if not because life is something that one should not kill, but at that time what we did was as a result of us defending ourselves, because even if you don't they will come to kill you, but all the same we should keep praying that may God condole and show what they are doing is not good, because Tarok people did not go and launch an attack on them just life that. They were the ones who came causing troubles, that was why such things started happening. So the one we are doing is as a matter of somebody defending himself. That somebody will just attempt to kill you, and you defend yourself, that was what we did, so we were praying at that time, my God calm the situation.” [C02-Su][C03-Su][C04-Su][C08-Su][C12-Su][C13-Su][E12-Su]P05-Su][T02-Su][T05-Su]

Ref-#618

E-7(m,J): “Because of that time, I didn't thing we .. we don't even want to .. involve ourselves in anything that is impure. Because we believe that when you are not pure, by the time you are .. in the fronts of that (group) you will not come back. That is our belief. So as of that time .. once we have set our mind to launch any attack, .. we just .. prepare ourselves very well.” [C03-Su][C04-Su][E12-Su][M01-Su]

Action by the Church towards a solution:

Ref-#619

A-6(f,F): “That which is good for the Church to do is that, it is good that the Church should pray. ... It is good that the Church should pray together with fasting, because a crisis. ... I think that is what can help the Church.” [C12-Sm][T06-Sm]

Ref-#620

D-6(m,F): “It will also be good for a church to organise a teaching [M: mmmh] as regards ... how to face conflicts, and also on how to approach conflicts when it comes, and how to be free from crisis. So it will be good that the church should organise a teaching towards that. And to bring so people to do something on conflict resolution or conflict management, [M: mmmh] the teaching will be conducted in churches. So I think it will be of great help to us. If conflicts approach, you face it, and if conflict does not approach, you stay away from it ... then I kept.” [C12-Su]

Ref-#621

E-6(m,F): “Yeah, it will be good that the church itself should take the time (3.0) since after these crisis that have been happening. Right now, all we can say is that peace is

Appendices

returning to normalcy. We are meeting with those kind of people, [M: mmh] then like .. among those people there are some that if to take the Gospel of Christ to them then, some may have time to listen to what is going on, despite the fact that some may totally .. will not want to hear. But among them, there are .. there are some that will want to find out among them and bring everyone that let there be no crisis. He who is of thought then or even family, will not want to see something like that. Mostly, when you look at things that usually cause conflicts, the more especially in the villages, are children of irresponsibility [[do not earn a living, are lazy adults]] that have no personal houses and have nothing to do. They are the most who usually cause problems in many villages and hamlets.” [C02-Su][C12-Su][E07-Su][T01-Su][T04-Su]

Ref-#622

E-6(m,F): “Those that have nothing doing and are the cause of conflicts should be giving teaching. They should look for things, like some of us who are in the village. Everything now is money. Right now, if I will carry a hoe and an axe and went into the bush, when I come back I’m sure I will get money.” [C12-Cu][E07-Cu][E11-Cu][T04-Cu]

Ref-#623

E-7(m,J): “It is the responsibility of the church .. to sow peace because by biblically it is stated that, .. anybody who is a Christians is one who is supposed to show the light .. on all the community. So anywhere you find yourself as a Christians, it is your responsibility either to be moving house to house .. talking to people (coming any suggestion) that you think will go in future, and after that, you now even pray over that issue, from time to time.” [C12-Cu][E06-Cu][T01-Cu][T06-Cu]

Ref-#624

E-7(m,J): “Maybe you now take something, anybody, most () the less privileged, if you are opportuned to have something in as a good Christians. For the members of the church. Like during this crisis various churches even outside, they put in their own assistance in terms of (building materials) and it was distributed to – to people, and even up to date, any time, any moment, if a Christians not talking to people they will not accord respect, because if we believe, they are the one that like peace and any time they happen to see somebody into any tribulation, they now come down and (hid) [M: °yuh°] .. and .. so if reasons may wish, if they are going our, following people house to house, they may get some (building) materials or something, a token amount of money that can be given to people. Talk to them and they will now respect them.” [C12-Cu][E06-Cu][E07-Cu][P04-Cu][U07-Cu]

And the role of those in authority in terms of solving the conflict:

Ref-#625

E-7(m,J): “One way one can best fight for peace is through intervention of the government .. [M: °mmh°] .. Federal government per se, .. it is they who will just come, try to get the two parties .. that are involved in the crisis .. [M: mm] .. sit with them, discuss with them in a neutral area [M: °uh-huh°] and they will discuss the issue. I think that was how .. the crisis was piped down as at that time because they trying to now address the two parties, trying to bring them together, settle them, and as a result of that, peace was restored at that time.” [C12-Su][P02-Su][P03-Su][U07-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#626

E-7(m,J): “Ah, actually, as I'm talking, I am a member of .. Emergency Prevention and Response Team [M: mmh], I'm a member [M: °mmh°], so, what they need to do is .. to be creating awareness to people [M: °mmh°], so, what they need to do is to be creating awareness to people [M: °mmh°] if you discover or you dictate any early warning signs, of something that will occur in future, it is the responsibility of you to now even create awareness with people, and if .. you feel like .. that is enough, you might even refer the case to the higher authority of quick intervention.” [C12-Su][P02-Su][P03-Su][U07-Su]

Ref-#627

E-7(m,J): “even the traditional rulers or the elders .. in a community .. they can restore peace. [M: °yuh°] If .. they .. receive alarm of anything there be happening, there is going to occur either in future. [M: yuh] They will now call all .. the eldest. That is the traditional ruler, they call all elders with the community, [M: mmh] and then talk to them. And when these people go back, they will now preach all this gospel to their people .. [M: yuh] and that will now bring peace.” [C12-Su][P02-Su][U07-Su][U13-Su]

Expectations upon the Muslims:

Ref-#628

E-7(m,J): “Aye, they have their own bodies just like the Christians .. [M: mmh] .. They have their own body even at the national level. As J.N.I., they have a body like that, Jimatu National Islam, >J.N.I<, of which .. they are also there, and by the time you discovered a massive killing of their people, they now call the attention of the federal government, that they should intervene in this problem. And they now started calming their people. Any time, any moment if they want to launch any attack, they try to see that they stop or they leak all the secrets to .. [M: °yuh°] the security agency that our people are preparing, :going: for an attack somewhere like this. [M: yuh] And as a result of that, the federal government use the security agency and .. in solve all these problems.“;;”I expect that .. any time they are in mosque as their leaders there, they're supposed to be telling them that during this () because peace is the one that will not bring any progress, because most of them lost their properties as the result of .. that crisis, houses, vehicles, so many things were burnt down during the crisis, [M: yu'] but most of them suffered this problem. [M: yu'] And even this Fulani people that .. do survive by rearing cattles [M: yuh], most of these cattles .. were killed during the crisis. Some of them become useless. They don't have anything to do. They become frustrated and as a result of this, the imam or the leaders will now tell them the implication – the negative implications of crisis [M: yuh], and as a result of that, (they must now) try and .. restore peace so that they now keep on with their life.“ [C12-Cu][M01-Cu][M09-Cu][P02-Cu][P03-Cu]

G.7.5 Kamwe cohort sources

Self-understanding

Self-understanding in relation to God:

Ref-#629

A-8(m,F): „I am a man created by God. .. He created me in His image. .. He says, He is saying, He created me in His image. He's not a being in the flesh as I am, but because I've His Spirit, as God is Spirit. Because He relates with me because of His Spirit in me, I want to be together with Him.“ [D53-Cu]

Ref-#630

A-8(m,F): „This my life, .. no one gave me, .. it's God alone who gave me. (2.0) As I live today, .. no-one gave what I live on but God. (2.0) Any being alive is God's gift. My walking around is from Him: because He puts me on the road, I walk. I can' do any by myself if but because of God.“ [D53-SM]

And pointing to a degree of dualism:

Ref-#631

D-8(m,F): „We are all people before God. Took over some people. .. Before Satan took over some people as his.“ [D53-Cu]

One's self-understanding as a Christian:

Ref-#632

B-8(m,F): „Who is a Christian? He who follows God from his heart, does God's work, he is the one. Not just because others see me, but doing it from your heart, and how you walk as others see you.“ [D53-Cu]

Ref-#633

D-8(f,F): „A Christian is the one who takes hold of God's Word and holds it tight in the right way.“ [D53-Cu]

Ref-#634

F-8(f,F): „If we say Christian, there are two types of Christian. One was referred to as one who heard the Word of God and later abandoned it. If he went to church and he comes out and still does his practices as he used to, is that what we call a Christian? Says people. A Christian is when you hold on to God with your strength, all the time, every day, it is God you are embracing. God is my only man, He is my protector, He is my Father and you hold Him all the time. Anything that affects you is God you are

Appendices

asking on yourself. Somebody will say this the Christian I know if you are together with your God.“ [D53-Cu]

Ref-#635

A-8(m,F): „Hearing His Word and being obedient with it, that is a Christian.“ [D53-Cu]

And with an ethnocentric slant (Christianity being our inherent religion now):

Ref-#636

D-9(m,F): „We were born, and from the time we were born we then grew and found ourselves in Christianity, and we also believe in it which is why we continue in it. It is true, even though in the case of my father before he died, he was not going to church, but as he said, our community had no other religion that could convince us, and my mother heard the Word of God. I met her going to church, so that is how we find ourselves going to the church up to the time we got born again. So that is it.“ [D53-Cu]

Of language:

Ref-#637

A-8(m,F): „The Muslims I used to know in Michika, are we not people of the same Michika? {{referring to his colleagues}} There are not many people whose daughters were married by Muslims. If he has not married your own, hasn't he many relatives? [C: em] [B: really] What really happened was that enjoying the living with these people, that is it. The land is our own, and brought them to our land and live with them. In these days there were no Muslims in Michika. We are the ones that went and called them from Kopa. [D: ehmm] [B: ehmm] Tyetya was the name of the man from [[clan name]] who went to Kopa and asked for a boy from Miani, and Miari had not released the boy to [M: ask for what?] did we know how to speak Hausa/Fulani language then? Our elder also, did they know how to speak the language? [D: em] If people come from Yola, nobody can be able to speak the Fulani language. There was nobody to speak the city language to them. Now how do we do thing thing asked of our people? Should we do this thing? Yes [D: let's go and-] Let's go and ask for somebody from Niari, because Niari was famous throughout Michika. We should go and ask for a boy from Niari to come and stay with us so that if people come from Yola, we call the boy and talk on our behalf, said Tyetya. So they went to Kopa and met Niari and said “Niari, our lives there at home is that if people come from Yola, we don't have anybody that could talk. Help us with one of you to go and stay with us.” he said. [B: em] Then Niari said, “If I give you someone to go and stay with, can you take care of him? So Niari did not give his son to Tyetya. He picked the child who was grown in the bush named Hamman and his monther was Chibuni, and Chibuni menas “name's sake“.

[...]

No one knew how to speak Fulani language before, not even our parents. If people come from Yola, no one can speak with them or speak with the Kanuri. So they had the idea to go to Kopa to see Niari for a boy that can speak Fulani to translate it to them. Tyetya went and met Niari and asked him to give him a boy to translate a message from Yola to them. Niari couldn't give him his own son, but a boy he had raised to come with him to

Appendices

interpret that to them. He gave them orders as a leader that they have to feed and do all things for the boy, together with his wife. That boy was Hamna Chiburii who came and wed at Dyazha together with Lala's grandparents. So if he sees a cock, a ram or anything in the people's house, he just asks for it and was given.

[...]

Later, people came from Yola, because before there was no ward or village heads. So, they came from Yola and said they will give them a leader. Our people say, "well, we don't have anyone to lead us. Then they ask of the men they used to send to Yola with messages. Fulanis came from Jiddel, Hausari and Sina to seek the head of Michika.

[...]

So those king makers ask "where is the man you always send to Yola?" "Here he is", they said. The people said today we have given the Kingship of this town. And that's how Haman Chimburi is his name. Chimburi is the mother that raised him. And he became the king, because he took the message to and fro Yola or interpreted messages given. That's how our people began to know the Fulani and Hausa languages which they didn't."

C-8(f,F): „Yes. ... So, when they came, the place was covered in thorns. Wampana met them and asked where they reside, and they said under the thorns. "Won't you go to your place?" he asks, and they said no. "We'll live with you as brothers of the same clan as Gappa, so that we won't go anywhere", they said. So they were given cornstalks with which they made the booths of leaves.

The following year they were given a land on which they built their houses, but war started and they supported the Gappa clan and were against the Leghwi clan. They continue to fight each other." [D55-CM]

Hausa and Fulani are identified with Muslim, and as separate from the Kamwe tradition.

Ref-#638

C-8(f,F): „You mix words with Hausa."

F-8(f,F): „It's my tongue." [D55-Su]

Here a certain degree of linguistic purity is required by one speaker from another.

Of ancestry:

Ref-#639

D-8(f,F): „Concerning the issue of ancestors."

B-8(m,F): „Mmh. ... ancestors ... ancestors."

A-8(m,F): „The issue of ancestors, .. the issue of ancestors, it is more than we have said?"

B-8: „On the sixth you stopped on it."

A-8: „What have you liked to do in living on earth? On the earth that you are living, what things do you want something you have agreed to it that this is what I would do." [D55-Su]

Ref-#640

D-9(m,F): „Ok ((laughing)) Historically, small that I was told, there was this man called Kwada Kwaka. He was the first man that came down from the mountain to live here, and the man was from, eh, a clan called 'Kambwege' from the mountains of N'Kaffa Miya [[dialect]]. He came when there was no single house here, in his staying, eh, I think, eh, he stayed and multiplied or some other people saw that maybe by roasting something or so. Some people saw the smoke from afar when they were on top of the mountain and they said “who is the person that lit this fire? Because fire or smoke cannot alight without any person making it. So they tried to come down to see the smoke and who was behind it. So they came, cika-cika, meaning, walking slowly. So that their food will not be heard. And when they saw it, “Ah, it's Kwada!” they exclaimed. So when they returned to the mountain and the people asked, where is Kwada? They would always answer that “Kwada is down on the plain”, which means “Kwada Kwaka”, so when, as he stayed down on the plain and some people saw him staying alone, some people came down to live with him. So along the line, er, the Fulani that were wanderers looking after their cattle were there also. That was how they met and lived. So as the village was growing, some people came to farm, some for trading, that was how different tribes came like the Marghi, people, er, from Borno and Kanuri and the-the Matakam.” [...]

„Michika is the name that was given to it, but according to what I heard, I see that going by history, every village has its origin which means 'mountain'. Now if you observe, the origin of all Michika men, either he tells you that he's from Nkaffa Miya or from Bokka [[name of a village]], he will also tell you from which of the mountains he left and came down, the Thuku's, the Sufuku's [[dialects]]. All the people came down to the town following the coming of one man “Kwada Kwaka” as I said earlier. So originally, no one inherited this place, because even before the coming of Kwada Kwaka, there was nobody, only bushes. According to what I heard from history. So that is why today you will see the Farm of Ka' Mbrazhiwe or Kwaghe or Kwabugi. So everybody that came, there was a large bush, people went on cultivating the land, and eventually it became an inheritance. So that's why you hardly find a Hausa man having an inherited land here or a Fulani man. Except maybe on the process of living together with our early people, one can be given land freely, then it can be his own property. Except in such cases, I have never heard of another tribe that first lived here before those that established this land [[pioneers]].“ [D55-CM]

Ref-#641

C-9(m,F): „[Exactly. In fact], it reached the extent that Michika can no longer accommodate the Kamwe. If you go to Gombi Gulatabah, part of Hong, err, there is another place that surprised me that I went to in Maiha. They call this place 'Njilang'. The whole of that place, because I entered every house there during the **demarcation exercise**. The whole of that place, only the leader of that village is not Kamwe.“ [D55-Cm]

Ref-#642

C-9: „Only the leader who is Kilba. .. So what I mean here, the rest of our brothers in the mountains, eh-eh, like the Sina and the rest, eh, even if they will come down here, there will be no space for them, because already the land has been possessed earlier on by the first people that came down. Because our people have no other business except farming, so to avoid causing problems, the rest of the people spread out to other places. [M: ok-]

Appendices

So now I can say, [M: mmh] almost 80%, where, present people in Michika [M: mmh] is Kamwe.“ [D55-Cm]

Ref-#643

C-9(m,F): „Michika local government at large, we have three major religions: Christianity, Islam and Traditional; .. of which Christianity in the majority. According to statistics of SSR 2009, Christianity is 72 %, .. then Muslim 18 %, then others, is it 4-4 %, huh? Ok, there are three religions, there are those practising traditional religion purely, this is Islam and Christianity.“ [D55-CM]

On the subject of Muslim tribesmen:

Ref-#644

T-7: „If you were like a Kamwe Muslim, how would you see it?“

F-9(f,J): „I am a Kamwe, a Muslim?“

T-7: „Yes. You are a Kamwe person, but follow Islam.“

F-9: „Ok. (83) I will wait. You know sometimes, .. if you are living with some people, it can teach you something. Also, if one who that believers in God, God can speak to him in something like dreams and he can change his religion as God leads the way.“ [D55-Sm]

Understanding of “The Other”

“The Other” is almost exclusively referred to as “the Muslim”, here understood on religious terms:

Ref-#645

A-8(m,F): „The Muslims, there's nothing the Muslims know. When they say Mohammed is a prophet, he hasn't done anything. He has married a widow. Before he says-he says he has God's Word, we walked with Jesus when He was preaching, and he heard what he was preaching and used that to form his own religion by twisting them. There's no life in their own. There is no life in their own.“ [D52-SM]

Ref-#646

D-8(f,F): „Muslims are those who take their hearts, thoughts and deed and dedicate their time to worship of the prophet Mohammed. That's it what the Muslims are doing.“ [D52-SM]

Ref-#647

A-8(m,F): „The message I want to tell this man, [[the Researcher]] if I had the chance is that before, we have taken the Muslims as our brother, we thought. They came with a religion, but we didn't have that. They have not shown us that religion, but instead used it as something to confiscate our animals and daughters. Any girl that is beautiful, they take it by force! If we had corn, that is taken by force by them together () see that are good with us. Now, they have hindered us to be Muslims and also hindered us following God, but the missionaries came and saved us, but they now say, why is that? It was missionaries that delivered and educated us.“ [D52-SM][C53-SM]

Appendices

Muslims can be referred to in terms of severe evil:

Ref-#648

B-8(m,F): „Ok, if there's no relationship, I know the person and he truly came to live, I will send him out, because living with such is like staying with the devil, for they can change at night and attack. If I have the power, I'll send them out.“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#649

E-8(m,J): „A Muslim is the devil among the human beings, to me.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#650

T-7: „Was it politics that caused the fighting, or religion?“

B-9(m,J): „Yes. .. Like .. em ..let us, before I will answer this question, let us look at this country from the previous days [[past years]]. When they are ruling as their president of the country [[when the president of the country was from their part]], these things were not happening. But when they heard that, because they had wanted Buhari to be the President of the country, but when they heard that it is Goodluck Jonathan that had been elected to the presidency [[won the president's seat]] of this country, they were grieved. Their hearts changed and began to fight people, burning places and killing people simply because of what? They wanted Goodluck Jonathan to say that he no longer wanted to be the President of the country so that they all take the President's seat to be their own.“

[...]

T-7: „Would you like Muslims to rule this nation so that we can live in peace?“

F-9(f,J): „Yeah ... as I like, if the person is godly. As we've earlier said, not all Muslims are fanatical. If there's a Muslim man with a Christian heart, I will like him to rule. But those with their fanaticism, I won't like it at all.“ [D52-Cm]

The origins of this behaviour is attributed to their pattern of faith:

Ref-#651

T-6: „According to how you see it, from where did they get these [[their own]] devilish things? Who is teaching them? Where does this evilness among Muslims come from?“

E-8(m,J): „From reading their own book.“

...

E-8: „Their writing that is from right to the left is where they got the evilness from and their evil habit.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#652

E-8: „The message has been differentiated from the Word of Jesus. That of Jesus is different, that of Mohammed is different. There are differences. Mohammed said things to people which are different from what Jesus said to people. It is here that the Word has been differentiated [[changed]].“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#653

B-9(m,J): „Eh-hm. Like we have known, em, they themselves, even the Qu'ran, Mohammed wrote the Qu'ran from the passages of the New Testament, because he himself knew .. he has seen it may be and has read it and understood what God has done

Appendices

in the life of the Israelites. Ahm .. What he did before he brought about the Qu'ran was that he read His [[God's]] Word and merged it with his own also so that he could establish their religion.“ [D52-Su]

But Muslims can also be thought of in positive terms:

Ref-#654

A-8(m,F): „What I see that is good in the Qu'ran, let me say something. The Qu'ran teaches Muslim children to respect their mother and father. And their children respect them because they are taught to do that. Our children also heard from the Bible to respect mother and father, but don't do that. But Muslims' children follow that rightly as I see because I live amongst them.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#655

B-8(m,F): „As for their own, before two or three years, they are indoctrinated. Our children, it may be due to peer group, as people say, we don't know. A Muslim boy, on getting N10, he will buy something with N5 to bring it home, [even small children.]“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#656

A-8(m,F): „[When you call or send] a Muslim child, he comes and kneels before his father, but our children don't do such.“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#657

D-8(f,F): „We don't tell our children now, everyday, morning, evening and at noon, they have this. Even very little children are taught to be obedient to parents if they can speak and hear a message. If they go wrong, they are beaten to correct them. I think the reason why we can't be obedient is due to, or come from our blood, not that we don't know.“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#658

A-8(m,F): „I've told you before that respect for parents, they do it more than us.“

D-8(f,F): „Yes, respect, it's true. Respect is the answer. [C: One hundred percent!] The thing Muslims do more than Christians is respect as baba says. They respect their parents and so are over us with respect for elders.“ [D52-Cu]

There is also fluidity between the two religious groups:

Ref-#659

B-8(m,F): „I say, Tamba, ours is only once in a week isn't it? But there is always by 2 pm, by 4 pm, isn't it? I was a Muslim when I was with Kwaja Belata and it was must for us to go for reciting of the Qu'ran all-all throughout the week. But ours is only on Sundays. Before the following week a child can't remember what he learnt last week, can he?“ [D52-Su]

Appendices

Muslims are seen as intrinsically violent:

Ref-#660

E-8(m,J): „Because they are people who don't agree [[say yes]] to what is right, what people used to love [[like, prefer]]. Here is something good, they don't want. Only what the devil has taught them is what they like. If shedding the blood of someone is what you like, are you wanting [[do you want]] peace with people? Ok, ... he who kills someone is the devil.“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#661

E-8(m,J): „The most unsafe place on the whole earth [[in the whole world]] is staying [[living]] amongst the Muslims. If you lived among these people, they begin to disturb you [[interfering with your life]]. Again, if you are not of their religion, even if you are their religion, they don't let you talk more or say you are not of their religion. Fighting is what is in their heads. They don't want peace with you. *Who burnt those our places in Michika, who burnt those places everywhere in Nigeria? Is there peace because of these people?*“ [D52-Su]

Ethnic angle on Muslim identity:

Ref-#662

B-8(m,F): „Muslims are, [D: who is a Muslim Baba is the question!] sons of, you know that even in the Bible a word is said about Islam before when Abraham married a second wife because of the like of children by his first wife. So he married his maid who gave birth to a child. When she conceived, she began to ridicule her mistress because she had no child. “Why is this so?” asks Sarah, and Abraham said, “Who did it? Was it not you?” And so they sent Hagar out and she delivered Ishmael in the bush and it was prophesied that he will be trouble because he is a second wife's child. Now the world suffers from Ishmael descendants as was foretold.“ [D52-Sm] [D55-Sm]

Muslim goals:

Ref-#663

B-9(m,J): „They wanted to change our land into Hausaland, so that we all become their brothers.“ [D57-SM]

Ref-#664

T-7: „*Why should they attack their fellow Kamwe again?*“

F-9(f,J): „*They want everybody to follow their own religion.*“

[...]

T-7: „*Do you think they burnt Christian shops to turn them to Islam then?*“

F-9: „*Well no! But because of political rivalry.*“ [D57-Cm]

Appendices

Several references are made to the activities of Boko Haram:

Ref-#665

E-8(m,J): „They will ask from him and hear what he is doing. And whatever it is, we will hear what brought him and whether he has carried that bomb that they used to carry.“
[D52-Su]

Ref-#666

E-8(m,J): „[They don't fear death.] They could tie a bomb on their body [and kill themselves.]“ [D52-Su]

Ref-#667

E-8(m,J): „One thing that makes me afraid of Muslims is that, have you ever heard a man say, I will die today and bomb on his body and go and kill himself and others? What is it that he ate?

One thing that made me to hate Islam is those suicide bombers. I can't find an answer to somebody wanting to kill himself and others for the sake of religion, it is a mystery.“
[D52-Su]

Ref-#668

T-7: „Do you have friends among the Muslims?“

B-9(m,J): „Em-hm, not at all.“

[...]

T-7: „Why don't you any? He asks“

B-9: „Yes, because of what is happening in the world today is something to be afraid of <those>. If you are a friend with them and want to know something about their religion, they won't like to show you. I also don't want to be harassed. If you want to offend me, I won't like it especially. Something that will touch my faith, I won't like it. I won't like to go about with you if you go against my religion. They are fanatical too. Their religion is also different from mine. I've the Bible as my religious book, and I believe in Jesus as my Lord, while they follow the Qu'ranic teachings of Mohammed, for this I won't like to move with them.“

[...]

T-7: „Why do you mean by this, they are fanatical and cause confusion?“

B-9: „What I mean by this when I say they are fanatical is that if you see what is happening today, anywhere is as a result of them. Everywhere is without peace, even in your country, Europe, we can see that they are doing, killing people because of their religion. They drop bombs as though it is as eating food [[their normal duty]]. Actually, this thing now is frightful [= threatening].“

[...]

T-7: „What is the difference between those with good thoughts and those without good thoughts?“

B-9: „The difference I, those who are good, they tell them the truth, like I saw yesterday. If they read the Qu'ran, they will tell what the Qu'ran says to people, as we preach from the Bible now. If they read from the Qu'ran, and don't fight, they give it plain to their people. If the Qu'ran says we are to live like the Christians peacefully, they will tell them. <But the wicked among them> do not have good thoughts, they tell people to fight, that's what the Qu'ran says. Saying that the one who fought will go to heaven. As Mohammed Yusufu, the leader of Boko Haram of Maiduguri told people, his followers, if

Appendices

you kill a human, you will be rewarded in heaven. The wicked Muslims have threatened people's minds and they have-, they have-, they have crushed, in fact they have .. they have completely changed the minds of their people, and preach these things to their fellow Muslims in mosques nowadays." [D52-Su]

Muslims keep themselves separate:

Ref-#669

E-8(m,J): „If someone did a bad thing for you, you must revenge, and again you don't eat on ... they are not in the same religion with someone, even their father, they don't eat together in the same thing [[the same dish]]. There is my brother, he doesn't eat food in the same thing with my father because he is doing the religion of Muhammed. But I, we people that are not doing the religion of Muhammed people that are all for Jesus, we have embraced our father and have accepted him. Nothing, nothing, if it is dirty, it is in the dirt that he has brought us up. If he is clean, it is the cleanliness that he has brought us up in. How can we run from him again because he has- .. [[is he trying to say he has become old?]]“ [D52-Cu]

Ref-#670

E-8(m,J): „I will report to the government [[security forces]], because I fear them [[the Muslims]].“ [D52-Cu]

Of Muslims from the same ethnic group:

Ref-#671

T-7: „Can you trust a Muslim from your clan?“

B-9(m,J): „Emm, .. if they tell me something that can help me in life or say what will benefit me, I will agree with it.“ [D52-Su]

Other others:

Ref-#672

E-8(m,J): „Because he who is doing bad-bad things, planning to kill someone, destroying someone's properties and doing unrightful things, you have destroyed something bad. We want now on earth that the White men are coming from there, Kamwe are coming and joining together as in the past. And also good-good things can be learned from the White men and the White men can also learn many things from the Kamwe. But now the White men are afraid of coming to this place. Ehm .. And we Kamwe, ..., if you are friends with White men, it's possible you can do to their country. But if you are bad with them, can you go there? Only one-one [[few]] like this man, they use to come. What could they ... is only God that can help them before they can come and help someone [[us]].“ [D55-CM]

Ref-#673

D-8(f,F): „The person I want to live with is missionary and none else. The Europeans that came and freed us from slavery of the Fulanis that have maltreated us all over the

Appendices

Michika LGA is the one I like to remain and stay with always. Missionaries are mine forever.“ [D52-Cu]

Understanding of God

God's nature:

Ref-#674

D-8(f,F): „He's the Way, the Life and the Truth.“ [T51-SM]

Ref-#675

A-8(m,F): „Jesus? He had pity on all people. If He had not had pity towards people, can you now agree and kill yourself because of me? [C: no, no] As for Jesus, he has agreed to shed His blood because of people. He took the flesh of our body and came to show us on earth [[He appeared in the flesh like ourselves]] and He was killed and spent three days in the grave and rose up. He showed this type of wisdom so that we know that He loved [[us]] so much. Is there anybody who loves people like Jesus? Who can? Can you kill yourself because of me? Jesus by whom those people in Ethiopia were called, how come these people are doing work like Christ? - people ask. Because of the wonderful things He did. When He just comes [[immediately He comes]], “rise up”, He will say to someone [D: someone who is sick], - yes, when he just “come out of his body”, He will say, and that thing will go out. [D: ehm] So when the people there saw what he used to do and some people like him. ”How come these people are doing things like Christ used to?” they ask. Christ is the Name, Jesus.“ [T51-Cu]

God's agency:

Ref-#676

A-8(m,F): „Because God loves us; if He had not loved us, we can't live as this.“ [T51-Sm]

Ref-#677

F-8(f,F): „Because God is the Great One over me, He gave to eat, He gave me beddings, he have me everything, including children, he gave me strength. If not for God, me, I cannot stay [[live]] on earth.“ [T51-Pm]

Ref-#678

A-8(m,F): „That's why he says, “I made man in my image”, it means not because of the flesh man has, but because man has spirit. All other things don't have spirit; that is why He says “I made man in my image”. It's because man has spirit.“ [T51-SM]

Ref-#679

A-8(m,F): „Others are human beings, because God created all people, but other people turn to Satan because they have an evil spirit. God knows them, as He has created them, but in the world, they've turned into Satans.“ [T51-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#680

F-8(f,F): „God is my only man, He is my Protector, He is my Father and you hold Him all the time. Anything that affects you is God you are asking on yourself. Somebody will say this the Christian I know if you are together with your God.“ [T51-Cu]

Ref-#681

A-9(f,F): „So sometimes, if someone is in the Lord, if the Spirit of God is inside you [[someone]], like if you submit yourself to the Lord, His Spirit can come and enter somebody's heart. As you move, anything you want to do, He will tell you, 'do this'. As you know, the voice that will tell you to do what is good is not the devil's voice. It is the devil that will bring the voice that will tell you to do something that is not good. Anything he tells you to do, if you really do it, he will remain in you. Satan can only bring temptation on what is bad. Any thing he tells you to do, if you do it faithfully, he will live inside you. But the day you disobey His voice, then He will leave you empty. If we obey the Holy Spirit of God, He will help our spiritual life to grow, so that we can glorify the name of the Lord.“ [T51-Cm][U51-Cm]

Ref-#682

A-9(f,F): „To, I can say that the most important person in my life is only Jesus Christ, because when I serve Him with love, with one heart, I know the result that I will get, the only person that is important in my life - only Jesus.“

C-9: „He is the one, because when you lay on God, there is nothing you will lack, so he is the most important person in life.“ [T51-Cm]

God as an incentive to a particular behaviour (but as an indirect agent of moral inspiration):

Ref-#683

M-6: „Ehm ... Why do you say that where God's Word is preached is the place you want to stay?“

All: „Because eternal life is there.“

F-8(f,F): „Because there is eternal life and your joy where God is will take you.“

A-8(m,F): „He made people in like Himself [His Image].“

B-8(m,F): „There is peace.“

C-8(f,F): „There's peace [here].“ [T53-Cm]

Ref-#684

E-9(f,F): „The reason why we have chosen Him as the most important is because He is Our Creator. Whatever things that we have on this earth is through Him.“ [T51-Cm]

Ref-#685

D-9(m,F): „Then there is another reason why we've chosen Him: we said we should believe in Him. It is that He said that He is the Way, the Truth and the Life. Nobody comes to the Father but through Him. None among the prophets ever gave us such an utterance. So it is a must, if one wants to enter heaven and want to live another life after this world, then he is supposed to choose the way of Jesus Christ.“ [T51-CM]

Appendices

Ref-#686

D-9(m,F): „So let's come to Him, because in every way we find ourselves, if we don't ask Him or come to Him, we will not be victorious, and there is no how [[way]] we can come to Him with sin, He will not answer us. So we must be encouraged, despite all the crises and all troubles that we have in this town, if we don't turn to the Lord, we will face problems so much.” [T51-Cm][T53-Cm]

Ref-#687

D-8(f,F): „Yes, that's what they do, many.“

M-6: „And how can we, can we return such things, or how can we get victory over them?“

F-8(f,F): „-[Only by God's help through prayer.]“

B-8(m,F): „-[Only by prayer. If not by prayer, what else?]“

A-8(m,F): „-[We've victory over them by prayer.]“ [T54-Cu]

All: ((Talking together)). [[cacophonous]]“

A-8: „Don't ever fail to pray. Even when you live singly in the bush, pray by the tree side. If you are in your room or coming out, pray. As you walk, pray. As you are in your farm, pray to God for help and protection from evil things.“ [T54-SM]

D-8: „Only by prayer and fasting, we can be free from these people.“ [T54-Cm]

Direct recourse to biblical imagery:

Ref-#688

Because the Israelites, if God will fight for His people, He doesn't need to come with swords or anything else. We remember that the children of Israel .. The wheel on Pharaoh's chariots, when they enter into the sea. There was no bomb or staff or anything, he only removed their wheels. That is how the Israelites were victorious. So God does His own way in the way in the human beings cannot image. But this can only work by faith or if we believe in Him.“ [T51-PM]

Eschatological thinking:

Ref-#689

T-7: „((laughs)) Have you not remembered the Bible's teaching at that time?“

B-9(m,J): „Yes. I remembered. Because Matthew 24 says that if we hear such thing happening, God's time is at hand. I remembered while I was going out, that may be what God says, come to Michika them, because since the time I was born, I haven't heard such things happening in Michika. No thing has ever happened between the Muslims and Christians and with it is that I see on TV and hear from radio happening in our town. Could it be God has visited our land today? I thought.“ [T55-Cu]

Understanding of the world

The world understood through biblical paradigms:

Ref-#690

A-9(f,F): „Em .. the big thing, in summary, to my knowledge, living a humble life to the Lord, because if I can remember the life of David. David sinned to God several times, but because he humbled himself before God, he was favoured. He progressed in whatever he did correctly. In anything we do, not only going to farm, fetching water no, but that thing you are doing, are you doing it for the Glory of God, or are you doing it with pride or selfishness? Or because of eye-seeing of people? But all activities you are doing, of course God's work are those kinds of activities which we do in our everyday life. But with which motive or heart are you doing it? So if we lead a humble life while glorifying God, I think those are the work.“ [T51-Cu]

Ref-#691

D-9(m,F): „There is a bit of unity, and because there is unity again, there is progress. Eh, next to this is prayer as our sister has mentioned, because I can remember, if not of the prayers of believers, because God said, 'If my people can humble themselves and turn unto me, I will hear their cry and heal their wounds'. So it is the greatest thing. Because it happened to the children of the Israelites, God doesn't change. So the important thing I see is that our leaders should come together, our churches should come together and become one in Christ today. Ah, then let there be preaching for the people's salvation, especially our youth.“ [T54-Cm]

Ref-#692

D-9(m,F): „The youth? There is, because, ah, like I said, if now I know the truth, I am full with the Word of God. Whatever you do me, I can only pray for you, tell you the truth, also, like how Daniel led his life in the land of Babylon at the time they were caught, because of that, if I as a youth should know the truth and the freedom I have in Christ, it is not common or just easy for me to get into a certain hard situation. Somebody will come to convince me saying “so-and-so person abused you so that you should be fighting, or so-and-so person should have talked about you religion; I should go and cause confusion. So, to my own understanding, if our youth should be taught, eh, since right from the beginning, they know the Word of God, they know that they know the Word of God and fear God, because they said, they are the strength of the nation.“ [T54-CM][E53-CM]

Ref-#693

A-9(f,F): „So, to me since there is no peace between Christians and Muslims and the majority of those that cause problems are the Muslims. Nothing surpasses God. God is the only person that can bring peace if there is no peace. At the time that the Israelites were under Pharaoh; if we remember, they were doing service to Pharaoh, it was Lord God who came and saved them from the hand of Pharaoh. Then, so the these Muslims that are causing lack of peace to us, they are like Pharaoh in our life. If there is nothing that can remove them or take them away, then let everybody pray. Let there be a calling with a strong voice, let every person depend on his or her God, let there be prayer and fasting. The Lord God will bring freedom, this is going on now, we are seeing the hand of

Appendices

the Lord on what is happening, for it is getting better through God's hand. Because sometimes if they do their plan before the could execute it, it has been revealed. This is a work of God, and also through prayer.“ [C51-CM][T51-CM][T54-SM]

Understanding of accidents and sickness:

Ref-#694

C-8(f,F): „An accident is, now as nothing has hurt or wounded you, before you know it, you said, let me do something like this. Even a wood [[stick, etc.]] just wounded you, is an accident in Kamwe language.“

M-6: „I say, what causes it, what brings it?“

B-8(m,F)/C-8: „Satan brings it.“

C-8: „Satan brings it. [M: ok] “You looked for it”, people will say to you, but Satan brings it.“ [T54-Su]

Ref-#695

E-8(m,J): „What you don't know about it, only God knows. An accident is something done by God, because it is only God who knows what causes accidents. “ [T54-Cu]

Traces of traditional religions:

Ref-#696

M-6: „It's ok, ok. Do evil people do witchcraft?“

A-8(m,F): „Yes. They do.“

D-8(f,F): „Indeed! [[Hausa]]“

B-8(m,F): „What is their work?“ [T54-Cu]

A-8: „What's the work? what spoilt the world? it it not the work of such people as you said?“

D-8: „((gasps))“ [T54-Su]

M-6: „Ok, why do they do it? And for what do they do it? Or what do they want before doing these things?“

B-8: „Some like money.“

D-8: „Ok.“

A-8: „The people we said before, what do they usually do? Is it not mysteries? Most of what they do is mysteries. [D: ()] If a Muslim boy wants your daughter to marry, he gets charms and robs her.“

D-8/F-8(f,F): „Yes, he will do something to marry your daughter?“

A-8: „They marry our daughters with charms.“

D-8: „Yes, that's what they do, many.“

M-6: „And how can we, can we return such things, or how can we get victory over them?“

F-8: „-[Only by God's help through prayer.]“

B-8: „-[Only by prayer. If not by prayer, what else?]“

A-8: „-[We've victory over them by prayer.]“ [T54-Cu]

[...]

A-8: „Don't ever fail to pray. Even when you live singly in the bush, pray by the tree side. If you are in your room or coming out, pray. As you walk, pray. As you are in your farm, pray to God for help and protection from evil things.“

D-8: „Only by prayer and fasting, we can be free from these people.“ [T56-SM]

Appendices

Ref-#697

A-9(f,F): „Ok, adding more to what he said, some of the girls do not want it in the first place. Because these Muslim boys, they used something like charms. They even make some enchantments on the money, immediately they said to a girl/lady they love her ((coughs)) if the girl agrees and comes out with them even once, if he succeeded in giving her the money, or buying something for her, that's all, she is trapped. So most of them use charms, even though some of the girls were trapped as a result of desire of worldly things. Again, some of the girls that easily turn to Muslims are not genuine Christ.“ [T56-Sm]

Ref-#698

E-8(m,J): „Yes, and the people who can actually inflict disaster or accident on people are, for example, if you have a wayward child that doesn't listen to you as his father, or even to people in the community, and the people decide to curse this child because of his waywardness, if you say white, he will point to a different place [[we are not on the same track, he is stubborn]], naturally something will happen to that child. Even if the child does not die, he may not live as a normal human being. And I agree that people can inflict accident.“ [T56-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Not all people do that. Only elders who have lived long and had experience of such things. If you do evil to them, from their experience, they can curse you, and because of that curse, they can inflict bad things or disease to happen to you. So, if they say my son, “this thing is not good, don't do it”, and he refuses to listen, then he'll get a bad thing. Even the parents, before they curse someone, that person is not well, but only if he disobeys. “ [T56-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Eh ... most of the people who predict things like that, are old people who fear God. He is God-fearing, he does not do bad things. But if he is doing bad-bad things, things that are not right, even if you are a king or big man, you are harassing [[disappointing]] people, you are doing bad-bad things to people, and even you yourself, you will not be well.“ [T56-Su]

[...]

E-8: „It is true, people like these, if they say something should be good and are good, it is God who gives to them and not a devil. A devil cannot give strength to anyone close to God. Magic is of the devil and anything of the devil is not permanent. It is not original. If God agrees with the way of life, he gives you that power. It is that which God gives that operates in such people, that is the reason why such people are not commonly found anywhere.“ [T56-Cu]

Salient values

The price of killing:

Ref-#699

A-8:(m,F) „If you kill your brother, if you kill your brother, it's like you are lost. God will not remember you in His Kingdom. He can't remember you in His Kingdom.“ [U52-CM]

[...]

Appendices

B-8(m,F): „Because the one who kills someone will not see His Kingdom, He says.“ [U52-CM]

[...]

C-8(f,F): „If you kill a brother, you've killed yourself. You have descended in the world and are humiliated.“ [U52-CM]

Ref-#700

D-8(f,F): „One has to die the [F: Yes.] second death if he kills someone.“

F-8(f,F): „You will die the second death if you kill a brother. ... Your brother doesn't have your child, what type of love did Jesus tell us to do? If you hate a brother or sister, how? .. Even your child today doesn't love you now?“ [U52-Cu]

The value of prayer:

Ref-#701

A-8(m,F): „Don't ever fail to pray. Even when you live singly in the bush, pray by the tree side. If you are in your room or coming out, pray. As you walk, pray. As you are in your farm, pray to God for help and protection from evil things.“ [U51-SM]

The value of peaceful living:

Ref-#702

E-8(m,J): „Living peacefully is to live with people without fighting or quarrelling. Nobody thinks of himself as more important than another person. Even those like those who came from abroad [[bature]], I am happy by their coming to stay here, s here peacefully. Go back peacefully. Even Roger Mohrlang who translated our New Testament in the 70s. When he came here, he was peaceful. So it is my heartfelt desire that whoever lives with me, [lives peacefully].“ [U51-SM]

Ref-#703

E-8(m,J): „The thing that could prevent fighting? If you admire someone in your heart and you are satisfied with his life pattern; if you live with someone [[love someone]], you will not despise that person, you will not despise whatever he is into, even if he eats whatever he wants, it will not bother you. So you do not despise his food, you do not despise him, you also do not show pride in your life on earth. Nothing can stop you living with that person. But if pride comes between you someone, you are despising people or telling someone that I am more than you. It is God who knows who is more than anyone other. Nobody knows who is more than another. () If you are living with someone, live in peace, causing each other should come among you, you enjoy your life. As for me, I can grow old with someone and the person cannot see any point I will offend him/her. This is my own life pattern right from our house ... no fighting .. fighting.“ [U51-SM][E53-SM]

The importance to remember one's mortality:

Ref-#704

A-9(f,F): „whatever one is doing on this earth, he should know that one day he will die. Isn't it? So it is not necessary that because I know, for there is no hour one will know that in short time he will die. Or like if I come out, I might die by the door now. I can't know, can I? You are supposed :at any moment, any time, any second: to ensure you are peaceful with everyone and prepare your heart, like-like you will die now. Always live as if your life will end now-now, so in order to make sure you inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Because death, although some say they-they know it. But whoever knows that he will die tomorrow, well I don't know. But it is good to be prepared at any time“ [U51-Pm]

The soteriological importance of maintaining purity of heart and proximity to God, which may indeed be connected to the stress of obtaining ablution from sins:

Ref-#705

D-9(m,F): „You asked the question you said, for instance, one is given one day, and one day will remain for you to die which means you know when you will die, isn't it? Secondly, you said, how can one know for sure that he will enter the Kingdom of Heaven? All true, no one can lie to himself. If I know I am a fornicator, you cannot know, but I cannot hide it from myself. The Holy Book said to me that if I am doing these things, I will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. If I have the Spirit of Love, and patience and respect as the Bible said, such action somebody else can know, and I will also know and be convinced within me. He also made mention that if he knows that he will die the next day, he will amend all the evil things he has done that will hinder him from going to heaven. He will repent to God and his fellow men, for I learned that there is sin between you and your fellow humans and there is also between you and God. Then you believe in Jesus that he is the one that came and died for you sin, He is the son of God. So if you have already settled these things to me, you have the assurance with one heart that you will inherit the Kingdom of God. So within that day ... even though there's something that is worrying me. If, for example, somebody I offended is far from me, [[English]] how do I contact him? [[/]] But this also I can say the answer is that, it is not by our strength or act of righteousness, but by love. Maybe if I seek and am sure, if I repented, God will forgive me, because I was given that day and God also knows that I have no time to see that person to get close to that person and reconcile myself.“ [U51-Pu]

Ref-#706

D-9(m,F): „Yes, they are activities, but again, the most important activities that one is supposed to do () is the most rewarding which is the work of God. Going to church is not. Now I can be coming to church today, tomorrow or ever after tomorrow, but my life is still unchanged. I'm still living a sinful life, but I go to church, only to please those that see me.“ [U51-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#707

C-9(m,F): „Again, the Bible teaches us, saying, 'seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness and all other things shall be added unto you.' If we take Jesus to be the most important thing in your life, any other thing we want, we will get it. Even through somebody, He can bless us.“ [U51-Cm]

Ref-#708

D-9(m,F): „Then there is another reason why we've chosen Him: we said we should believe in Him. It is that He said that He is the Way, the Truth and the Life. Nobody comes to the Father but through Him. None among the prophets ever gave us such an utterance. So it is a must, if one wants to enter heaven and wants to live another life after this world, then he is supposed to choose the way of Jesus Christ.“ [U51-CM]

Of role models:

Ref-#709

C-9(f,F): „I personally I took Job as my role model, because whenever I am reading the type of life he lived and all the suffering he did, I always become happy, that is why I took him as my role model. .. Job.“ [U51-Cu]

[...]

E-9(f,F): „Just like our brother said, the same thing with Joshua who said “be strong and courageous” [[/]]. So if we follow the details like that of Joshua was and his land, we will never be discouraged in our life. So it is good to be strong and courageous.“ [U51-Cu]

[...]

A-9(f,F): „And when we look at the story of Daniel in the book of Daniel, he suffered. And we should remember Daniel is a role model, because in our life, whatever suffering we may face [[enter suffering]], there are times the Lord will let us enter trouble in order to uplift us. But sometimes immediately, we find ourselves in trouble, we begin to ask 'why did God allow us in such problems?' Sometimes God lets us alone deliberately. If we look at the story of Daniel: The Lord has been letting him enter into problems so as to glorify His Name. And when he entered the trouble, the Lord did not leave him there. At that time that he entered into trouble he was enjoying, he came closer to God, and saw His Face. The Lord can leave us too so that His Name is glorified. Even in the story of Jesus in the Bible, anytime I read this, my body becomes cold. Jesus, by Himself came to this world and took the form of a man so that He could glorify God in heaven and man, He went to the Cross because of us. He suffered all kind of suffering. He is more than a president, he is more than all. There was none like Him, yet He humbled Himself and suffered at the hands of man, sinful man, because of us.“ [U51-Cu]

The issue of solidarity to one's kinsmen:

Ref-#710

F-9(f,J): „*That's as he came to church. If you have something again, he who doesn't have, should be given, your brother, if he doesn't have, you can give him.*“ [U51-Cu]

Drivers of peace

The essence and the fruits of peace:

Ref-#711

A-9(f,F): „In one's life there's no important thing like peace. If one has peace in his life, it can build one's spirituality. Without peace, one's spirit cannot grow. Without peace, even if you hear the message of God, you can't receive it and work with it, because there is no peace. If the devil takes away your peace, you cannot listen to God's message and work with it. Peace is very, very important. Peace can-can make somebody to be :free:, that is a person will live with :freedom:, meaning peace. If there is peace in the land, it can make the land to live in freedom, but if there is no peace, every day there will be trouble and there will be no freedom.“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#712

A-9(f,F): „Peace can bring peace of mind. Like living in the house, if there is peace in the house, you will see people loving themselves, interacting well within themselves in our small environment. If there is no peace, there is no staying together, so also in the land if there is home, there is, there is peace and love.“ [C51-Cm]

Ref-#713

C-9(m,F): „They said peace can be defined as absence of war, or freedom from disturbance, so it's only if you are free from disturbance, you have peace, and if your free from war, you have peace. – In a society where there is war, there is no freedom, you not free, you are already slave.“ [C51-CM]

The outcomes in the absence of peace:

Ref-#714

D-9(m,F): „People .. ok .. people will find themselves in a cold type of living. Living with fear, because of a lack of trust. If there is no peace between you and your brother, it means there is no trust and, em, you will not get progress in anything you are doing. It will not be something. Because I ever remember something, our people called “dza mta” [[meaning “going to die literally, but it actually means “going to farm”]]. In those days when our people are going to the farm, they did not know whether they will return alive or not, hence the name “dza mta” meaning “going to die”. In those days there were wars going on everywhere. So this man going to the farm would carry along his weapons.“ [C51-Cm]

Prayer as a major force for peace:

Ref-#715

T-7: „When we heard what happened in Michika and Plateau State, what should the church do so that peace is restored?“

Appendices

F-9(f,J): „What I think is that the church should .. :pray: and visit our people, and them to be patient and tell them of God's Word, that's what I see needs to be done.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#716

E-8(m,J): „They the White men who know the good-good things in their country, may God give them more strength. They put eyes on whatever bad-bad things and they should continue praying for us in Nigeria for Nigeria to receive peace. Because Nigeria has been destroyed be cause the terrible acts of these people. Therefore, since they are hearing on radios, newspapers and that thing which people use to see people inside [[TV]], they should help us with prayers from there [[abroad]] because we can also live peacefully in Nigeria. And if there is a way in which they can also help us from there. Ok, our desire is that God should give them more strength, because the White man has loved our people so much. We have always lived here with White men..“ [C51-Su]

The importance of unity and working together:

Ref-#717

D-9(m,F): „What in a summary that I see that can be done is, one, unity because since some times past, there is disunity or lack of full [[strong]] fellowship [[relationship]] among our leaders or among our church. But thanks be to God, because of what took place recently. There is a bit of unity, and because there is unity again, there is progress. Eh, next to this is prayer as our sister has mentioned, because I can remember, if not of the prayers of believers, because God said, 'If my people can humble themselves and turn unto me, I will hear their cry and heal their wounds'.“ [C51-Cm]

Ref-#718

C-9(m,F): „Em, living together can bring settlement of the conflict and can bring peace. For example, if I and somebody, let's say I am Muslim, he is Christian, and we are working at the same workshop, hardly can something come between us which we will do and cause us to fight. If there should be something, we can use ourselves to settle it together. So living together can bring peace so much in this town.“ [C51-Pm]

Ref-#719

E-9(f,F): „Living together can also help. For example, me now, if I'm working together with somebody, he may be in need, and then me, at the point he lacks, I have something that I can give him at the point he lacks, for him to help himself because he will get to have himself increased to the point I am.“ [C51-Cu]

Ref-#720

D-9(m,F): „Again, there is what people say in our language, '*pala matsaa yabaa pala dafa*', meaning “the left hand washes the right hand”, i.e. if we work together, you will see everything will work out easy. You cannot wash your hand very well if you only want to wash one hand, so if there is togetherness as he said, it makes every activity to be in shape, or anything.“ [C51-CM]

Appendices

The role of leadership (religious leaders and security forces) in quelling violence:

Ref-#721

B-9(m,J): „Ahm, when we (sat), when we went into the town, we nearly fought with ourselves. We were near to them, we were seeing each other. Before we see, our Pastor had already made a phone call to Yola and soldiers were sent and soldiers came <but the soldiers that were sent down> were their people [[the soldiers were Muslims]]. Another thing that happened again was that the police in the main town instead of them went and protected the shops of the brothers which were burnt. They [[police]] were throwing tear gas at us instead. Well, when we went into town, they were close to us, seeing each other. But Pastor had called [[phoned]] Yola for security [[soldiers]] who came and took over.“ [C51-Su]

The possibility that Muslim leadership might also be good for the country.

Ref-#722

T-7: „Would you like Muslims to rule this nation so that we can live in peace?“

F-9:(f,J) „Yeah ... as I like, if the person is godly. As we've earlier said, not all Muslims are fanatical. If there's a Muslim man with a Christian heart, I will like him to rule. But those with their fanaticism, I won't like it at all.“ [C51-Pm]

Drivers of conflict

Identity-based competition for resources, dominance by “The Other”, identified either as Muslim or Fulani:

Ref-#723

A-8(m,F): „In this our land before, when women or people brought their corn, if the Fulani says we will use this Mudu [[measure]], no objection. They were the people we brought to stay with us, but became hostile to us. The people that relieve the Kamwe people which gave them victory and he can answer a word to the Fulanis were the Missionaries.“ [C53-SM]

Reasons for Muslim aggression:

Ref-#724

E-8(m,J): „They are jealous. They don't want non-Muslims possessing anything. They want all things to be in their possession – the cars, the beautiful-beautiful things, the leadership [[royalty]], the beautiful-beautiful things all along. They want people as their slaves. ... Our children here are really hard-working. So when they now see that our children are strong [[possess wealth]] with big shops, that is why they began to be jealous, and when it was declared that Goodluck is a Christian man. So then they agreed together among themselves that if they do not win the election, they will burn places.

Appendices

And it is true that when they failed. And of course in Nigeria, they have failed, and they have really succeeded their plan.“ [C51-Cu]

Ref-#725

D-9(m,F): „Eh, like in the case of girls and all men in the case of politics, our youth are being used. They are being bought, given things which make them go out of their mind [[drugs]], so that they can disrespect anybody. So before you know it, there is confusion and trouble everywhere. Then they will arrest [put them forward]] them again, saying they are the one, causing the problems. And they will say “it is the Christians that bring these kind of troubles”. So if we can take our time or the churches can take their time, especially right from the Sunday School, let there be proper grooming of our children. Like in the case of the children of Israel. As it was said, “teach the children, you should teach them, write them even on your door these commandments, lest [[because]] they forget”. If our people can do the same then it will be difficult for anybody from outside to deceive us so that we will come out of our faith, we that had it already. And if we do not come out of our faith, and our minds reason the same way, there is nothing those people could do, because the Book [[Bible]] has already said it. Whether we like it or not, surely they will attack us, but what are the ways that we can avoid them? It is only through our faith, through emphasising on the teaching from our various churches and various Christian families and houses.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#726

B-9(m,J): „Ah, this thing that happened to Michika, like I will say it happened, perhaps it happened because of me. Because I just came from school around that time and it also happened the day I will be returning to school. Just that morning, we saw fire on at the market. They were burning the shops belonging to the Christian children [[Christians]]. And our children also, when they are grieved by what's happened to their brothers, they gathered themselves and went and burned their phone accessories shop and phones in it. So, [[what has happened]] as for me, when I came out, I saw my brothers with arms. Then I also went in and armed myself, then we went and gathered there at the church compound to wait for the what will happen. Because they said they will revenge, they go and burn our church. Then we went to the church. And when the day breaks, when people can see, we went up to the main town. What we have seen was, they had burnt <the whole market>, they had burnt our brothers' shops. Then they began shooting arrows at us. The distance between us is .. they are there in the main town and we are up there close to GSS Michika [[General Secondary School]].“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#727

T-7: „What kind of Muslims are encouraging [fighting?]“

B-9(m,J): „[Well,] what I see on TV and what I used to hear on NTA these people, they are politicians who also seek votes and they failed. They thought that if they use their people as they have said. They wanted to change our land into Hausaland, so that we all become their brothers. These people who do these things are politicians who seek votes and failed.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#728

T-7: „Was it politics that caused the fighting, or religion?“

B-9(m,J): „Yes. .. Like .. em ..let us, before I will answer this question, let us look at this country from the previous days [[past years]]. When they are ruling as their president of the country [[when the president of the country was from their part]], these things were

Appendices

not happening. But when they heard that, because they had wanted Buhari to be the President of the country, but when they heard that it is Goodluck Jonathan that had been elected to the presidency [[won the president's seat]] of this country, they were grieved. Their hearts changed and began to fight people, burning places and killing people simply because of what? They wanted Goodluck Jonathan to say that he no longer wanted to be the President of the country so that they all take the President's seat to be their own.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#729

T-7: „As you see, does that imply that Muslims should rule Nigeria for peace to exist?“

B-9(m,J): „That's their wish, but that shouldn't happen.“

F-9(f,J): „[He says, as you see.]“

B-9: „As we see, or as I see? While, as I see, they like it that way.“ [C51-Cu]

Ref-#730

T-7: „Ok. He wants to come to what you said earlier about what happened in Michika. Can we say that Kamwe Muslims have hands in it?“

F-9(f,J): „They are the first.“

Ref-#731

T-7: „Whose properties were burnt, those of Christian Kamwe only, or of all Christians?“

F-9(f,J): „Not only Kamwe Christians, but of any true Christian they burnt their properties. In the process of doing that, some Muslim shops were burnt.“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#732

T-7: „Do you think they burnt Christian shops to turn them to Islam then?“

F-9(f,J): „Well no! But because of political rivalry.“ [C51-Cm]

The essence of Islam as an agent of conflict and strife:

Ref-#733

E-9(f,F): „Like somebody a few days ago at-at Yola: A Muslim said it took about 3 weeks, they did not pray in the mosque, it's because of what the Christian showed them especially their king, i.e. the late king. For three weeks Muslims didn't pray. He said it was under a tree that he used to live, because he lived in unity with Christians that was why he was kept under a tree. So their religion which they practice is not a religion. So he is advising them to leave Islam, so that they can get peace in their heart because the Islam they are practising is encouraging them to do evil to Christian children. You will see quite a lot of Christian ladies in relationship with their Muslim children [[boys]].“ [C51-Sm]

Marriage and cross-religious relationships

Stories of Muslim conversions of family members:

Ref-#734

B-8(m,F): „Mine, [they did that by willingness.]“ [E55-Pu]

A-8(m,F): „[Mine also, it is their will.]“ [E55-Su]

F-8(f,F): „They entered willingly before.“ [E55-Cu]

D-8(f,F): „No, .. it was not their wish.“ [E55-Cu]

D-8: „=Really, greed led others to go into Islam.=“ [E55-Su]

F-8: „Greed of worldly things.“ [E55-Cu]

D-8: „=Poverty led others to that.=“ [E55-Su]

B-8: „Before my sister's son entered, there was nothing he was riding.“ [E55-Cu]

D-8: „=Before they entered, some were paid money. They have nothing, they were poor, really poor without anything. They were seeing a lot of money, there, [B: ((laughs))] in the hands of these people. How do we do? „Come, come, we will give these things.“ „What will you give us?“ „Money, we will give you money if you follow [[join]] us. Will you really follow us if we give you? Yes, ok, we will give you.“ Then they gather things and money is in bulk. You see all these things? They said it to the pagans. Yes, we have seen them. „Ok, all these things we will give you“, they said to them. „WOW! We will come“, they said. So is this not greediness? It is greed that has brought others in, nothing else.“ [E55-Su]

[...]

B-8: „While some entered willingly [by their own willingness, especially my relatives.]“

F-8: „[Some are given cars and materials to join.]“ [E55-Cu]

[...]

A-8: „I was rearing cattle before. So, my master called my and said, [[name]], 'I will give you my daughter to marry if you become a Muslim', he said.“ [E55-Su]

[...]

A-8: „When I was rearing cattle for Fulanis. ... 'You'll become a Muslim. I will give you my daughter because it's not right for you to live as infidel', he says. I said, I can't become a Muslim because I have not told my father. But he insisted that he will tell my father about it. Then, I said, even if you ask him, he won't allow it, because I am the only child at home with him. When I returned from following cattle to Michika town, a certain woman, a Kanuri, came and said [[name]], 'I won't give my daughter to someone else, but only you if you could only become a Muslim, because it's you only I like as an in-law'. ... But I told her that I can't because who will be with my father. My step brother, Umeru, is a Muslim, so I can't, I told her. They tried me with a wife to become a Muslim, so I refused.“ [E55-Su]

Ref-#735

E-8(m,J): „Who I have given birth to myself, I have nine children, but only one of my daughters ran into a Muslim. This was not my intention. My daughter, no matter how you talk to them, they cannot listen to you as if the devil has pushed them. So also my brother that I am talking about. He just went to Maiduguri. When he came back, he was already a Muslim, so I didn't know why and how.“ [E54-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#736

D-9(m,F): „Yes, so, praise the Lord, even though, ehm – eh akwai, I have plenty of talks. Thank God for the present life. I even befriended [[searching]] a Muslim girl, and there is even a female child between us. I was- I could have married her, but she told me I have to become a Muslim. I told her 'you know, I have a Muslim in our family, because in the past there was my step sister in Islam'. I told her that it would cause no problem, but I asked 'do you love me?' She said 'yes'. Then I said, 'Why must you not marry me except I become a Muslim?' She told me that her parent will not agree. So we have been staying like that until later they made her marry. So after she got married [s:c] for the past years, whenever she comes, she will look for me and ask me, are you still on to your faith? I said to her: I am the one to marry you and not you marrying me. So you are supposed to follow my religion. She said, 'truly, I told you I can't because my parents will not agree'." [E54-Cu]

Attitudes to interreligious marriage:

Ref-#737

C-8(f,F): „[Well, one hasn't the daughter now?]
B-8(m,F): „[Well, they sought for us before, but were rejected.]“
D-8(f,F): „“Yes” or “no” is the only answer.“
All: „((talking together)) [[+/- 10 seconds it is all rather scrambled!]]“
A-8(m,F): „[We don't have daughters now.]“
F-8(f,F): „I said no before-“
B-8: „We said no!“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#738

T-7: „Would you marry a Marghi boy who is a Christian.“
F-9(f,J): „Oh, yes. Would you marry a Muslim girl?“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#739

B-9(m,J): „If she agreed for me or she sees that she wants to live with me in my religion or would like to be a Christian, I will marry her.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#740

E-8(m,J): „Even if he or she is Marghi, but is not Muslim, he or she can marry wither my daughter or ... /kai!/, even a White man if he is a Christian, and I agreed [[like]] his life pattern. Whatever tribe he is, I have agreed with. Because if you read the Bible, not many people read the Bible and they will be doing bad-bad things. Because White men don't like [[admire]] bad-bad things as you see them. It is because they want peaceful living that they come [[from abroad]] to look for people's voice. That is why I have agreed with their life pattern.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „[Whoever they may be], if they are a Christian, I will agree. Whoever, maybe even a black or a white man. Whatever tribe, I will agree to him/her.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Either Arab, if he/she is a Christian, I will agree to him/her.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

Appendices

E-8: „Yes, Buddhist. Those who are not in ... even in this our town, there are some people who are not in Christianity, they are not Muslims. They don't fight, they don't despise people. Ok, even these people, if the the girl agrees with him, ah, since they don't fight, they don't look [[cause]] trouble with people, they don't do anything, then the girl determines it. It doesn't sound like a real anyway.“ [E54-Pu]

Ref-#741

T-7: „If you were a girl from a poor home and it happens that a Muslim comes with a lot of money, say one hundred thousand naira, and gave your parents, would you accept to marry him?“

F-9(f,F): „I won't listen to my parents, because God's word says, your mother or father can't save you. What is right, is that you will tell them not to marry a Muslim, and if they won't listen to you, you will call an elder or pastor to mediate between you. I as a person won't marry him because of his riches.“ [E54-SM]

Muslim attitudes to marrying non-Muslim and Christian girls:

Ref-#742

F-8(f,F): „If I had lived in those days, I would not have been married to a Kamwe. If your daughter is beautiful, she would be taken and be given to a Muslim.“ [E54-Cu]

Invoke marriage by deploying charms:

Ref-#743

A-8(m,F): „The people we said before, what do they usually do? Is it not mysteries? Most of what they do is mysteries. [D: ()] If a Muslim boy wants your daughter to marry, he gets charms and robs her.“

D-8(f,F)/F-8(f,F): „Yes, he will do something to marry your daughter?“

A-8: „They marry our daughters with charms.“

D-8: „Yes, that's what they do, many.“

M-6: „And how can we, can we return such things, or how can we get victory over them?“

F-8: „-[Only by God's help through prayer.]“

B-8(m,F): „-[Only by prayer. If not by prayer, what else?]“

A-8: „-[We've victory over them by prayer.]“ [E54-Cu] RR

Ref-#744

A-9(f,F): „Ok, adding more to what he said, some of the girls do not want it in the first place. Because these Muslim boys, they used something like charms. They even make some enchantments on the money, immediately they said to a girl/lady they love her ((coughs)) if the girl agrees and comes out with them even once, if he succeeded in giving her the money, or buying something for her, that's all, she is trapped. So most of them use charms, even though some of the girls were trapped as a result of desire of worldly things. Again, some of the girls that easily turn to Muslims are not genuine Christians.“ [E54-Sm]

T-7: „He says, do you have Muslims in your extended family?“

F-9(f,F): „Many of them.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

Appendices

M-1: „Many. Yuh. And yourself?“

B-9(m,J): „My mother's relative.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

F-9: „And my father's also have them.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

T-7: „Were they Christians before becoming Muslims, or how?“

F-9: „Yes. They were Christians.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

T-7: „They were Christians. Do they have the same mode of life as the other Muslims?“

F-9: „Yes, they give have drunk the water that leads crazy.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

T-7: „Now, if you were asked to marry a Muslim, will you be willing to marry one?“

F-9: „[[Awa]] ((laughing)) No.“ [E54-Pu]

[...]

T-7: „If you were like a Kamwe Muslim, how would you see it?“

F-9: „I am a Kamwe, a Muslim?“

T-7: „Yes. You are a Kamwe person, but follow Islam.“

F-9: „I will wait. You know sometimes, .. if you are living with some people, it can teach you something. Also, if one who that believers in God, God can speak to him in something like dreams and he can change his religion as God leads the way.“ [E54-Su]

Invoke conversion and marriage with money:

Ref-#745

E-8(m,J): „After a few days when they gave them money and become a Muslim. If it is a wife they have married, they are ready to pay no matter the cost if the woman becomes a Muslim. If she has born one or two children, then they will say the game is over and they will divorce her, and if the girl decides to go back to her former religion from there, they will kill her if she has not returned to them within three days because she has gone against Islamic law of which she was once a member.“ [E54-Cu][E55-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „My daughter, she is still in it.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „Just recently. She came and visited me [T: from where?] from Maiduguri and gave me N1,000, and even slept [[a night]] in my house.“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

E-8: „*I did not show any difference among them. [[my children]]*“ [E54-Cu]

[...]

T-6: „She has a husband, right?“

E-8: „Yes.“ [E54-Pu]

[...]

T-6: „This her husband, was he an indigenous Muslim before he married you daughter, or ... ?“

E-8: „They are all Muslim.“

T-6: „Is he a Bornu man? [[Kanuri]]“

E-8: „No, he is a Hausa Muslim.“ [E54-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#746

M-8: „But they can. [D: indeed] In fact, like I heard in the news about twenty ladies, two of them from this church [mmm], they became Muslims. What brought about these happenings?“

E-9(f,F): „What brought about these is worldliness. If you look at the life of our Christian ladies, we desire worldly things too much. What a Muslim boy can offer to a Christian girl, a Christian boy doesn't have the heart to offer it to a Christian girl. Also, even in their mosque they are paid. They give the boys money to go and convince the Christian ladies!“ [E54-CM]

Ref-#747

D-9(m,F): „To add more as she said, there is desire for money, but let's look a little back and see the fault of parents in this matter: What is their fault? One, as we said, there is a lack of proper training of our children right from the beginning. Two, here, there is negligence toward caring for a female child, because if a girl is growing, eh, the things she will need will be more than that of a boy. One, she will need clothes to wear, soap to bathe with pomade and the rest. When she asks her mother or father one, two or three times in the house, and the father refuses to give her her demand, and she can see her mates going out in good appearance [[complete]], err, the next thing she will think of is who will help her? So if such ladies, eh, come in contact [[clash]] with Muslim boys, ok here, whatever they ask, they will be given whatever they want – it will be done for them, even food, even clothes. As was said earlier, because as I can recall: There was a time I lived in one street there, and there was a small Muslim settlement there with us at [[name of place]]. The boys from that settlement didn't befriend Muslim girls, but only the Christian girls. Before they come to you, they have to make sure that you're from poor parents. When they come, they will convince you with worldly materials [[kind of things]] as we said. If a Christian boy should try to approach this lady, the Muslims will even try to contribute money to their friend who is a Muslim so that he can lavish it on the Christian girl, and we know that with women, such things can always convince them unless the girl is strong in the Lord.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#748

C-8(f,F): „Now there in our ward, four on the same day. [D: straight forward] One of them said 'they presented wrappers and gave me money'. Then I stayed a bit. When I take water and have stayed for a short time, I will go my way.“ [E55-Cu]

Ref-#749

E-8(m,J): „Here is a desire .. for money. [[they are giving them money, I think like this.]]“ [E55-Cu]

Ref-#750

F-9(f,F): „Some were led .. by the greed of the world. Things of the world took them over. Others were led by laziness from doing hard labour, as they were deceived that if I may marry you, you won't see the sun, let alone doing hard labour. This is how most people get into their religion [[Islam]].“ [E55-Cu]

Appendices

Attitudes to Kamwe Muslims:

Ref-#751

T-7: „*Can you trust a Muslim from your clan?*“

B-9(m,J): „Emm, .. if they tell me something that can help me in life or say what will benefit me, I will agree with it.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#752

F-8(f,F): „Even if there's a relationship with us, I won't agree, since I've sent out the child I gave birth to, let him stay in the same house with me.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#753

D-8(f,F): „You see, [[name]], my sister, God did not say we shouldn't live with Muslims. Because we are the same people and have to be together.“ [E53-Cu]

Ref-#754

F-8(f,F): „I've something to ask. A certain woman drove back her daughter, a Muslim, with her children when the crisis occurred last, because she came with them into her house to stay. She asked children to chase her away and she left. But some days later a Muslim came into that her house to stay with his children, and she accommodated them. I met her and told her she wasn't just to have driven away her own daughter, but brought a Muslim. She doesn't know to stay with her in the same with children. But she asked children to kill her daughter and she fled, what if the man kills them at night and left? She hasn't done right if she knows God's justice, but has sinned. ((Interjections))“ [E53-Cu]

[...]

F-8(f,F): „Some days later, she said “I've chased him, not even if he didn't pay me rent because you've taught me a lesson”, she says. So the person went to live in Hausari. Have I done wrong? Is it not I love her?“ [E53-Cu]

Attitudes to Muslims in general:

Ref-#755

T-7: „What will you do if a certain Muslim enters your neighbour's house?“

F-9(f,F): „Well, I will go to government and tell them first before I go and tell the pastor for advice to see what we can do.“ [E53-Su]

Ref-#756

B-8(m,F): „If he came because there's no relationship, I would chase him out.“

Ref-#757

B-8(m,F): „Ok, if there's no relationship, I know the person and he truly came to live, I will send him out, because living with such is like staying with the devil, for they can change at night and attack. If I have the power, I'll send them out.“ [E54-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#758

F-8(f,F): „Well, you will become an enemy if you go and tell the church leader. It's better you tell the person concerned and he'll chase him out.“ [E53-Cu]

Ref-#759

F-8(f,F): „Can't they see with a Christian in Yola that accommodated a Muslim that woke up and killed them at night. That is why I told that woman not to agree to accommodate a Muslim, since we are at loggerheads with Muslims.“ [E53-Cu]

Ref-#760

B-9(m,J): „What I've to ask is, yesterday, I saw once again TV at pastor's house where I see President of America, Obama, that he may allow the Muslims a chance to build a mosque there. But some Christians there gathered and went on strike, that is a group known as pressure group in English. They say, since American independence, there hasn't been a mosque in that place, why do they allow the people to build a mosque while Christians are saying we don't want it. Now what they allow, won't that cause a wicked thing to happen in America! “ [E53-Su]

Alleged relationships of Muslims to Christians:

Ref-#761

A-8(m,F): „As for me, if your brother is in Islam, [M: mmh] (1.5) you are not a relative to him. (4.0) I say this because someone told me this recently after the crisis. He's my friend from childhood.“

Ref-#762

A-8(m,F): „He said, 'Garba's son killed a Marghi boy there', they said. Then I said, well, they said he killed the boy because he saw him running away with his zinc. If you see someone stealing your property, do you want to shoot him? No! [B: ()] He began to name other and said if my brother isn't in Islam, I've no relationship with him. So I was really shocked because this is someone we grew and shared meals with him, and we've been intimately close. But he said we are not relatives. I know he is my blood brother, I know his parents, but he uttered that. From that day, I sensed that it's true that if some is a Muslim, your relationship is finished and over. I became so furious to fight him, but God brought Musa [[name]] who cooled me down, saying I know that a Muslims can't be our brother again. That day I know it's true.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#763

E-8: „If someone did a bad thing for you, you must revenge, and again you don't eat on ... ti they are not in the same religion with someone, even their father, they don't eat together in the same thing [[the same dish]]. There is my brother, he doesn't eat food in the same thing with my father because he is doing the religion of Muhammed. But I, we people that are not doing the religion of Muhammed people that are all for Jesus, we have embraced our father and have accepted him. Nothing, nothing, if it is dirty, it is in the dirt that he as brought us up. If he is clean, it is the cleanliness that he has brought us up in. How can we run from him again because he has- .. [[is he trying to say he has become old?]]“ [E54-Cu]

Appendices

Ref-#764

B-9(m,J): „Emm .. em. Really, if their daughter changed to Christianity and remained a Christian, she won't come to her father's house again. She has gone like that. She won't get anything, they will not fulfil her marriage rights for her, they won't give her anything. She has left her father's house for ever and ever. They won't answer her greetings, and will not do anything with her at all. She has left her father's for ever and ever.“ [E54-CM]

Conversion of a Muslim to Christianity:

Ref-#765

B-9(m,J): „The only thing that can change their hearts ... ahm ... there is one thing with them. <You>, if you are not ... if your are not ... if you are not sure of yourself, these people, you cannot come to them. Because they are people who know the Word of God, they read it, they have it also. Ahm, .. if you want to change them by telling them the Word of God from the Bible, they know it before you know it. Ahm .. Converting these people to the way of God, is only [[can be done only by]] God.“ [E55-Sm]

Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

Attitudes in which the implication is that it is presumably correct to defend oneself:

Ref-#766

B-8(m,F): „Just fight them without anything happening?“

M-6: „Mmmh“

All: „No, it's not right“ [E52-SM]

Ref-#767

F-8(f,F): „If something happens, we people can fight them, [but if nothings happens, it's not right.]“ [E52-SM]

B-8(m,F): „[If nothing happens, and they have done nothing and if people don't fight, it's not right.]“ [E52-CM]

D-8(f,F): „[That can't happen] because we're brothers with them, because we are together. [B: ehh] Because God says-“ [E52-Cu]

A-8(m,F): „The Muslims I used to know in Michika, are we not people of the same Michika? [[referring to his colleagues]] There are now many people whose daughters were married by Muslims. If he has not married your own, hasn't he many relatives? [C: em] [B: really] What really happened was that enjoying the living with these people, that is it. The land is our own, and brought them to our land and live with them. In these days there were no Muslims in Michika. We are the ones that went and called them from Kopa [D: ehmm] [B: ehmm] Tyetya was the name of the man from [[clan name]] who went to Kopa and and asked for a boy from Miani, and Miari had not released the boy to [M: ask for what?] did we know how to speak Hausa/Fulani language then? Our elder also, did they know how to speak the language? [D: em] If people come from Yola, nobody can be able to speak the Fulani language. There was nobody to speak

Appendices

the city language to them. Now how do we do thing thing asked of our people? Should we do this thing? Yes [D: let's go and-] Let's go and ask for somebody from Niari, because Niari was famous throughout Michika. We should go and ask for a boy from Niari to come and stay with us so that if people come from Yola, we call the boy and talk on our behalf, said Tyetya. So they went to Kopa and met Niari and said "Niari, our lives there at home is that if people come from Yola, we don't have anybody that could talk. Help us with one of you to go and stay with us." he said. [B: em] Then Niari said, "If I give you someone to go and stay with, can you take care of him? So Niari did not give his son to Tyetya. He picked the child who was grown in the bush named Hamman and his mother was Chibuni, and Chibuni means "name's sake". [E52-CM]

Here we see traces of a togetherness with Muslims and the mention of blood ties which temper their willingness to engage in war.

Ref-#768

T-7: „Now if they see the Philistines outside the city ready to fight them, what would Israel have done that time?“

F-9(f,F): „Some people are hot-tempered and not all people can endure and become patient. To wait and exercise patience and listen to God. Some people receive the fight and go into combat while others will wait on God.“ [E52-Cu]

Attitudes in which the moral stance is presumably rather more pacifist:

Ref-#769

T-6: „And if the Government [[Security]] does nothing, is there anything you would do?“

E-8(f,F): „No. What can anybody do apart from watching his type of life and his type of thinking, if it is better then one will move away from him?“ [E52-Su]

[...]

E-8: „[And to leave everything in God's hand.]“ [E52-Su]

Ref-#770

T-7: „Ah, when you heard, was it right to fight them or chase them because of what they did?“

F-9(f,F): „The Bible hasn't told us to do it like that.“

[...]

F-9: „I won't enter [[follow]] the crowd, I would only remain in my room and ask God.“ [E52-CM]

[...]

T-7: „What of you, how would you see you being at the front line as it appears?“

B-9(m,J): „Ahm .. I, as for me, I will not fight. Because of what? The Word of God [[Bible]] has not taught us like that. The Bible says do not revenge evil with evil, because the revenge, says God, it is His own only. So flesh and blood is not somebody's own, says God.“ [E52-Cu]

Reaction in an outspoken emergency situation:

Ref-#771

T-7: „What brought you out into the street with arms that time? He says.“

B-9(m,J): „What brought me out, I really don't know. What happened was that a brother came and knocked on the door at me, saying, if you sleep, people will come and burn you inside, so come out, so that we go into town, lest they come and burn you at home, for there's fighting in town.“ [E52-CM]

[...]

T-7: „As you already said earlier, the Bible has not taught us to fight. Where does it say that? Do you know off-hand the text?“

F-9(f,J): „No. I couldn't know.“ [E52-Pu]

Ref-#772

B-9(m,J): „I want to ask again. What happened in Michika, how does he see the faith of Christians?“ [E52-Su]

Here he exhibits real concern for whether Christians are doing the right thing or not at a moral level.

G.7.6 Fali cohort sources

Self-understanding

Self-understanding in relation to God:

Ref-#773

C-11(f,F): „If I am no more, well, the purpose for which God brought or sent me to this world, if I am no more, He knows that I am no more, He is the one that has called me. [((laughs))]/[D: ((laughs))]. The purpose He brought me, like now I have given birth to children, I now left them, even if I am no more, the children are here, that is the purpose of my being in the world. ((laughs)) [D: ((laughs))]" [D53-Sm]

Ref-#774

A-11(m,F): „Yes. With God, you know before God will bring a person to this world, there is a purpose for it, so that if you enter the world and if you repent, [M: mmh] like now, even if your parents are pagans, they don't go to church, ok, you who are fortunate to have repented, you are to keep the Word of God, worship God, and serve Him. Ok, you will see that He has sent you to worship and to serve Him.“ [D53-CM]

Ref-#775

F-11(f,J): „The way He enables me to have a freedom of myself. Because in other, mmh, if you go you will live like, mmh, (2.0) in other countries before you kneel down to pray,

Appendices

you must suffer, but us in the village, wherever, whether on the road you stand, you can pray on religious matter, no-one will bother about you, I thank God for keeping me in this part of the land where I am living my Christian life in freedom.“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#776

E-11(m,J): „What I mean is that, you accepted Christ, that is you forsake sin in your old way of life, and come into new way of life, you receive, you take on the character of Jesus Christ and walk with Him.“ [D53-CM]

Ref-#777

T-10: „Why are we here in this world? Why are we living on this earth?“

F-11(m,F): „Because God has a purpose for us.“ [D53-Sm]

Ref-#778

E-11(m,J): „Em .. my purpose is to .. serve the Word of God [M: mmh]. That's what (is).“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#779

E-11(m,J): „Well .. serving the Word of God is, er ... is to .. is ((coughs)) do what God .. tells you [M: mmh]. Because he .. he .. er he made me purposely to do that. [M: I see] That wh .. to do .. to serve Him. [M: mmh-mmh] That's what .. °()“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#780

E-11(m,J): „God kept us particularly to serve Him. To fulfil His mission as He sent us.“ [D53-Su]

The most important thing in life:

Ref-#781

F-11(m,F): „The most important thing in my life is the Christianity that I am, I am a Christian and I thank God, if you become a Christian, you have total freedom in your life.“ [D53-SM]

Ref-#782

E-11(m,J): „Ah, well .. for me the most important thing in my life is ... that I saw myself. I am a Christian .. I accepted Jesus Christ ... that is the most important thing in my life.“ [D53-Cm]

Understanding of “The Other”?

References to “The Other” are almost always directed at Muslims.

Appendices

Within the immediate vicinity, they are not regarded as any major threat in numbers:

Ref-#783

M-9: „Ok. ... *Are there Muslims in this town?*“

C-11(f,F): „*There are ..*“

B-11(m,J): „... *There are, but they are not many.*“

C-11: „*They are about three.*“

B-11: „*They are not more than say two or three.*“

D-11(f,F): „*They are three.*“

B-11: „*They are three.*“ [D53-Sm]

But positive features are also attributed to Muslims:

Ref-#784

B-11(m,F): „Ok, truly, the unity that the Muslims have in this town, like those that entered Islam, we Christians, we don't have that unity. Why? Because the way they love each other, the way they walk together, visit each other, the way they interact and relate together. If one of them comes and sees his brother among other people, he will call to him, „Mr So-And-So, come now, come, let us meet now“. They will just go and leave the other people. You see, this shows that they have unity and also love themselves.“ [D53-Su]

Yet the relationship between the two groups is acknowledged as being very poor, and Muslims are categorised as wayward and even dangerous:

Ref-#785

A-11(m,F): „In addition to that, [M: mmh] the relationship between Christians and Muslims in this town, truly, there is no relationship between us and them. Because even the way we are living together with them, anywhere you are as a Christian, if a Muslims sees you, he doesn't like to see you. A man, if he is a Muslim, nothing brings you together with him, no matter in what, if anything comes between you and him, even if it is just a small misunderstanding, he will just try and see that he makes life difficult for you. That is it. .. There is no good relationship between us and them.“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#786

C-11(f,F): „Yes. ((smiling)) If you are not quarrelling with somebody, you will not know his mind. Even though there is that relationship, but had it been that we are living together, I may be able to know, but we are not living together with them. But how I feel, I just feel I meet with a person, we greeted and we parted, not that I meet with a brother that we will walk together.“ [D53-Cu]

Ref-#787

F-11(f,J): „All they are trying to is convert Christians to Muslims or to be one of them.“ [D53-SM]

Appendices

Ref-#788

T-10: „Like now, let's say your neighbour has moved out of his house, which is next to yours. And you saw a Muslim with his load coming to enter that house [whether he is renting or ..] (ah)“

E-11(m,J): „Definitely, I would not feeling fine, because, er we are in different ... we are obeying different things ... with him [M: mm]. Er, I will not be feeling fine ... totally, [M: yea]. Yes. That's wha .. So that's what I will feel. I will not eel-feeling good.“ [D53-Cu] [E53-Cu]

Ref-#789

T-10: „What are they doing, that you think it will disturb us?“

E-11(m,J): „They are killing our brothers.“ [D53-Su]

The perceived bad behaviour of the Muslims is seen as coming from the Qu'ran...

Ref-#790

B-11(m,F): „/Khiih/ ... Concerning the Qu'ran, huh. .t .. Since there are things that they do, things, since they said all the troubles they are fomenting is from the Qu'ran, and all the hatred for non-Muslims that they have is from the Qu'ran, definitely, I don't see anything good about the Qu'ran. I have not read the Qu'ran, but the character [M: mmh] they are exhibiting outside it is from there, that I hate the Qu'ran.“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#791

D-11(f,F): „I have never read the Qu'ran.“

[...]

D-11: „I have heard discussions about it, .. but I have never read it.“

[...]

D-11: „Even though some are saying in the Qu'ran, there is, they say, Jesus, Son of God, but they will never agree like that, them that read the Qu'ran. But I will not know the details about it, since we don't use it.“ [D53-Su]

Ref-#792

E-11(m,J): „I don't know whether Muslim, or whether Jesus Christ is mentioned in the Quo-Qu'ran, because I'm not a-a . I have – I have never come across it. I did – I didn't, I don't know how to read the Qu'ran myself.“ [D53-Su]

...and jealousy:

Ref-#793

M-11: „So may – what makes them to kill people?“

F-11(f,J): „Jealousy (2.0) jealousy.“ [D53-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#794

E-11(m,J): „Like, ar, this Muslim people, they used to, ah, kinship us .. because, who, simply because >we are< a Christian, you are obeying God only. [M: mm] So, they don't want to see a person who-who is bel-, who is belong to God. [M: yea] that's what.“ [D53-Cu]

Ref-#795

F-11(f,J): „Some of the Muslims know Islam is not where they will go ... but they have already entered and to come out will be very difficult. If they see you that have achieved something in Christianity, they will not love you.“ [D53-Su]

Muslims are seen as being far away from God...

Ref-#796

E-11(m,J): „Muslims are the people [F: Muslim] – They are the people that .. de .. didn't da .. da-da, they are the people that, ar, are not obeying God, that er, what are not, ahr that the, they didn't agree with Jesus Christ – myself. They are the Muslim.“ [D53-Sm]

... and arrogant in their attitudes.

Ref-#797

F-11(f,J): „Muslims are people that think they are faithful in their religious or worship to God, they don't play with it, but in that worship they do, they are completely at fault, and they don't want to be corrected.“ [D53-CM]

In respondents' eyes, Islam appears to run contrary to freedom:

Ref-#798

E-11(m,J): „Ar, we're here in this co-, in this our country now, definitely, we are not feeling free, here, because .. ar, we are together with unbelievers in our, em, society.“ [D53-Cu]

Meanwhile, even pagans are perceived in more favourable terms:

Ref-#799

E-11(m,J): „No. :wrong:. Pagan are not .. er .. do anything with us, because .. they, even they themselves are .. they want to be a Christian like us .. [M: mmh] .. when Muslim, they don't want to see a person who is .. mentioned the name of Jesus Christ.“ [C51-Cu]

Appendices

Fali Muslims, despite being of same tribal group are definitely seen as outsiders:

Ref-#800

T-10: „How is – how is our people our-our Fali, how is their Islam?“

F-11(f,J): „Islam-Islam is“

E-11(m,J): „Ah, their Islam ((general laughter)) is like the pagan, like Muslim. Apart from that their Islam, there is in their Islam they showed practical hatred between us and them, because they have heard from their leaders preaching that this people [[Christians]], are pagans, so they regard the pagan as one who kills their brothers.“ [D57-Su]

F-11: „Muslims in this village have love. Because in our area here, Christians are in the majority. So they know that if they behave the way their brothers in the the town do, it will not go well with them, that is why they are calm here like that.“ [D57-Cu]

The senior respondent regards the term "Fulani" as essentially being synonymous with "Muslim", which is also used in context of an ethnic enumeration:

Ref-#801

C-10(f,J): „Fulani – They don't like us.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu]

[...]

T-10: „Muslims are Fulani [M: mmh] ... Her understanding of Muslims are .. Fulani. [M: yu].“ [C-10]

Ref-#802

C-10(f,J): „Au! The Muslim, .. the Muslim won't want to see Christianity exist. Right from the beginning, we were controlled by them. But when civilisation came, they can't manipulate us as before and so create tension.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu]

Ref-#803

C-10(f,J): „There is nothing we can do. Despite the awareness for peaceful living together, you still get conflicts here and there. Though we do not normally travel with arms like before, which is a sign of transformation, yet Muslims do not like Christians to exist. Especially the problem used to erupt in the cities where both Muslims and Christians die.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu]

Ref-#804

C-10(f,J): „The problem is not with the Christians. They are often the target of the Muslims during worship. See, for example, the way we live here, Marghi, Fali, Higi, and so on. There is no conflict. Most conflicts begin in the cities and Muslims are the ones who start the conflicts.“ [C51-Cu/D52-Cu] RR

Appendices

Understanding of God

God is described in terms of His agency rather than nature:

Ref-#805

A-11: „Yes, .. God loves Africa like other places.“ [T51-Pu]

Ref-#806

C-11(f,F): „God. .. God is the one I love most, because He is the One that gives me good health. He is the One that gave me life. He is the One that takes care of me all the time.“ [T51-Sm]

[T51-Sm]

Ref-#807

D-11(f,F): „He is our Creator, He gave us good health, food free, clothing. It is through Him we got. Because of that, He is the One I love most.“ [T51-Pm]

Ref-#808

F-11(f,J): „What gives me to pray is because I know it is God that created me, he gave me good health, He gave me clothing, he gave me food, it is a most that I sit and thank Him by way of prayers, because it is by way of prayers that we can communicate with God.“ [T51-Sm]

Understanding of the world

God is seen as the giver of earthly existence and of a life thereafter:

Ref-#809

T-10: „Why are we here in this world? Why are we living on this earth?“

F-11(f,J): „Because God has a purpose for us.“ [T54-Sm]

Ref-#810

B-11(m,F): „Why they established a church especially to do away with the worship of idols, and for people to know this truth that, if you die, there is a place you will go. Of which, everybody is to choose where he will go, and the church is established to enlighten people that after you die, there is a place you will go, so you should try to fight to see that you go to the right place, where you will go and rest at the end of your life before God.“ [T54-CM]

Ref-#811

F-11(f,J): „What will happen to those that have died according to ... the knowledge of the Bible we know now, [T: mmh] If you die [T: mmh], if you die, there is judgement. You will be judged according to the life you live while here on earth. If you live a righteous or

Appendices

good life, you will have eternal life. If you live an unrighteous life, [T: mmh] you will directly go to hell fire. That is what I know.“ [T56-SM]

Nevertheless, one senior respondent appears unconcerned about spiritual matters.

Ref-#812

C-10(f,J): „... there is nothing I can do when God's time comes (). Since I have stayed long in the world, I will just accept (). I don't have any medicine to remedy death (). Many people die and have not returned (). Since I have lived a life that I have not cheated, stolen, or borne false witness. I only borrowed from people and paid it back.“ [T51-Su/U51-Su]

Ref-#813

C-10(f,J): „Church is good. Though I was not baptised, and I don't participate in church activities.“ D56-Sm]

Ref-#814

C-10(f,J): „Auk! It is the life that disappeared and left the corpse to be buried.“ [T51-Cu]

Yet traditional modes of understanding the world do linger. Traditional religion is afforded some currency, especially as embedded in so-called secret societies:

Ref-#815

T-10: „There are things that we believe in ... we have some traditional beliefs, isn't it? If you follow this way you will meet with – does it cause disease? Do you understand the question?“

E-11(m,J): „Example, witchcraft.“ [T54-PM]

Ref-#816

E-11(m,J): „What they mean [T: yeah] or even secret cult [T: °yeah°], these are the ones that-that are among ... ah, ... these things as I know, as I heard brings problems and brings diseases.“ [T54-PM]

Ref-#817

E-11(m,J): „Ah, like I am understanding, based on how our old people are telling us, [T: yes!] they said if you become a witch and you go and kill someone [T: yes] that person that you went and killed, his brother will go to a witchcraft doctor who will make you to appear in a pot and he will also kill you there.“ [T54-CM/T56-CM]

Ref-#818

E-11(m,J): „Secret society. (4.0) Secret society. (4.0) What they call secret society those that, they work (2.0), they-they work in their group and also .. their deeds are similar to that of witchcraft.“ [T54-SM]

Appendices

Ref-#819

E-11(m,J): „What they mean [T: yeah] or even secret cult [T: °yeah°], these are the ones that-that are among ... ah, ... these things as I know, as I heard brings problems and brings diseases.“ [T56-CM]

Ref-#820

C-10(f,J): „For they say there is witchcraft, but may father didn't have it, nor my mother, so () I don't have it. And people say witchcraft kills. To me, I will only die at God's appointed time. There is nothing witchcraft [[evil spell]] can do to me.“ [T56-Su]

Salient values

Ref-#821

E-11(m,J): „Apart from that I do thing that I am not ... that are, not right, they are like ... that is ... sometimes when I used to drink beer [T: °mmh°] When I accepted Jesus Christ, I stop it.“ [U52-Su]

Pastors and their families are seen as role models:

Ref-#822

T-10: „Is there anybody in your village or community that you would like to copy?“

E-11(m,J): „Yes. Character of, the character I see in our pastors that we are together with them. Godly living that they are showing us, is something that we should learn from, and it is practised in them.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „Well, as I look at it, how they become a good example to me. Their behaviours in the community, if you have a problem with their neighbour.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

E-11: „Or how they live with their families.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

E-11(m,J): „It is an example for us Christians.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

E-11: „They live, well, they live in peace.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

E-11: „The knowledge and accepting of Jesus Christ that they have.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

T-10: „Whom would you imitate his character? Whom do you see that his character is good for you?“

F-11(f,J): „Like I have said, I cannot give any explanation that is better than what he has said.“ [U52-Cm]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „Even if you don't become a pastor, if you are able to picture what he is doing, and you do it, you don't have to be a pastor before you become a good Christian.“ [U52-CM]

Appendices

Similarly, working for the church would be a cherished goal:

Ref-#823

A-11(m,F): „Where I want to live, ... I prefer to live even in Nigeria, or in the headquarters, or like where the EYN Headquarters is, I would be rendering my service to God there, with a peaceful mind. I don't have any pressure, or my heart is disturbed. If I open the Bible, I do my research, I will have peace, and I will be happy.“ [E53-Su]

Drivers of peace

The belief in Jesus Christ is seen as a force which can help individuals work for peace:

Ref-#824

B-11(m,F): „Ah, ok. Christian, .. genuine Christian. If you are called a Christian, definitely it is a must that you will take the cross of Jesus and follow Him. [M: mm] All the sufferings that Jesus suffered, don't forget, it is on your neck: the joy and the sufferings, all is on your neck. If that happens, if even that can happen, you as a Christian, there is nothing retaliating that you can do. You will be patient, there is nothing, you will not get up and say you will go and burn a mosque or to go and kill a person. .. When they suffered Our Lord Jesus Christ, we saw it, we heard it. .. He did not take any measures, except prayers. Because of that as Christians, if something like that is happening, we will not take any measures to go. ... Our own is just prayers. .. That is how it is.“ [C52-Cu]

Ref-#825

E-11(m,J): „What I mean is that, you accepted Christ, that is you forsake sin in your old way of life, and come into new way of life, you receive, you take on the character of Jesus Christ and walk with Him.“ [C52-Cm]

Sharing is one of the most potent ways of instigating peace:

Ref-#826

C-10(f,J): „Nothing exceeds giving food to somebody. Living peace with people, no fighting, don't insult anyone. If you live like that in the world, people will be attracted to you.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#827

C(f,J): „Eh – stories are bad. They portray times of war. In these days people fight with sticks, knives, and so on. But those kinds of lives are forgotten. We are in a new era now. no need for fighting, we are not interested in this kind of live which was lived before, for it is no use to us.“[C51-Su/C52-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#828

C-10(f,J): „The ones I often tell children are those that have good lessons. For instance that tells a story of a lady that people looked for her hand in marriage.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#829

C-10(f,J): „Hmm! There is competition in this village – when they began to fight, you will see damage. I saw there such a conflict and in each conflict there were casualties, sometimes two or three. That's the reason we don't like any conflict now, because it leaves people behind with deep scars and regrets.“ [C52-Sm]

Ref-#830

C-10(f,J): „Nobody can talk about enemies now. In those days, this village and Kirya fought. But now, nobody cares about that, because we share the same market.“ [C51-SM/C52-SM]

Marriage and cross-religious relationships

Marriage to a Muslim is not regarded as a welcome option:

Ref-#831

E-11(m,J): „*Kai* .. this will never happen in my life!“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#832

T-10: „((laughing)) What would be so bad about marrying a Muslim?“

E-11(m,J): „Not at all .. because if you do that, even you brothers or relatives will not associate with you again, if they are Christians.“

F-11(f,J): „[There is a great thing, in fear, in this thing.]“

E-11(m,J): „For them unless you will be following that their teaching like that. They are also saying that it is the men that help or made the Muslim women to have salvation.“ [U52-Su]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „Truly. So she will not be allowed to practice her religion. Truly.“ [E54-Cu]

Ref-#833

C-10(f,J): „We women submit to the authority of our husbands.“ [E54-SM/U51-SM]

Ref-#834

C-10(f,J): „My younger daughter declined. They asked for her hand in marriage, but her father said, “how could I give my daughter to a Fulani? ... This my daughter is beautiful.“ [D57-SM/E54-Su]

In the case of the older generation, becoming a Fulani wife is regarded as impractical on the basis of one's work experience:

Ref-#835

C-10(f,J): „If I am used to farming, I will not marry a Fulani. ... I am already used to farming. What their women are I can't.“ [E54-Su]

[...]

Appendices

C-10(f,J): „What they do in their own culture is the way they cook. I will not be able to do it. For I got used to farming right from the beginning.“ [E54-Su]

Moral attitudes towards others in general

The pursuit of peace and obedience is seen as an ingredient to God's blessings:

Ref-#836

A-11(m,F): „Like there are children around, if one is doing what is not good, you can say to him, “Hey, you. That is not right. Stop it. Or he is looking for trouble from another, you punish him, tell him it is not right. If any beats his brother, you punish him, so that he will not repeat it another time.“ [E53-Su]

Ref-#837

C-11(f,F): „I am of church, where you will have fellowship. You will show love to one another. If something is happening, if now, there is fighting or a crisis, if you come to church, they preach to you, you will make your ways right. Then you will fellowship with one another, no fighting, no fear. You will be fellowshiping together, nothing will disturb you and God will bless you.“ [E53-Cm]

Ref-#838

A-11(m,F): „Yes, with my wife, we normally jest, we discuss or talk on peaceful living. “ [E53-Su]

Prayer and patience are of use when engaging with Muslims:

Ref-#839

F-11(f,J): „ A Muslim possibly becoming my neighbour, first of all, I will pray. And say may God do His will in His life. “ [E53-Su]

Ref-#840

T-10: „Is there anything you can do to him, now that he has moved in next to you? What will you do? Is there anything you can do? You as a person or together with other people? Because of this Muslim that moved next to you?“

E-11(m,J): „Next or near. Because of your neighbour. .. here is nothing I can do because the house is not mine. Secondly, prayers are the only thing I can do for this Muslim.“ [E53-Su]

Ref-#841

F-11(f,J): „First of all, if you are close to a Muslim, like us that live in rented houses, you will show them love, you pray for them.“ [E53-SM]

[...]

F-11(f,J): „From time to time you can talk to them, sometimes quoting verses from their Qu'ran and compare them with the Bible and explain it to them.“ [E53-SM]

Appendices

[...]

F-11(f,J): „If God has any plan for such a person, he can repent.“ [E53-SM]

Ref-#842

M-1: „He's passing in the street and he greets you, “salam aleikum”, he's your neighbour, what do you do?“

T-10: „Like him-“

E-11(m,J): „I will just answer him.“ [E53-Cu]

Ref-#843

T-10: „Will you visit him in his house?“

E-11(m,J): „Yes .. well, but not always.“

T-10: „Not very often.“

F-11(f,J): „But is it just like that you will go.“ [E53-Cu]

Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

Discussions often circle around invoking action by the security actions, moderated defence and self-defence:

Ref-#844

B-11(m,F): „Well, if truly something like that happened, [M: mm] and I am there, or I am at home, the thing happened, there is nothing I can do, than to call the security and tell what is happening. [M: mm] Let them come, take measures to see that justice is done. That is the measures I will take.“ [E52-Su]

[...]

C-11(f,F): „Like my brother has said, there is nothing I can do. I will pray that God will .. that God will expose those people that they will be caught and brought to face the law. I will take it to God first that God will speak to their hearts, that they will not run away, and even if they run, they will be caught anywhere. And they will be made to free the wrath of the law. But first, I will put them in prayers. ...“ [E52-Su]

[...]

D-11(f,F): „Mmm. I have a different view. [M: ok] If it is me, [B: ((coughs))], what I have in mind, is what I will say, [M, C: mmh]. If I, in my presence, Muslims came and entered my neighbour's house, and they did destruction like that, [M: mmh] in my heart, if I have a gun or weapon that I can kill them, I will get up and do that.“ [E52-Su]

[...]

A-11(m,F): „No, I will not do like that, because why, this Christianity is something that has so many rules. [M: mmh] They said if a person slaps you on this side, you turn the other side for him to slap you. Because if truly you are a mature Christian, if you take revenge, I that I will do my own will not be more than taking it to God in prayer first. /uuhh?/ Then I will call other neighbours around to try and catch them, like Madam has said before, hand them over to the security to face the law, whatever will be done to them, should be done to them. ...“ [E52-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#845

B-11(m,F): „Ah, ok. Christian, .. genuine Christian. If you are called a Christian, definitely it is a must that you will take the cross of Jesus and follow Him. [M: mm] All the sufferings that Jesus suffered, don't forget, it is on your neck: the joy and the sufferings, all is on your neck. If that happens, if even that can happen, you as a Christian, there is nothing retaliating that you can do. You will be patient, there is nothing, you will not get up and say you will go and burn a mosque or to go and kill a person. .. When they suffered Our Lord Jesus Christ, we saw it, we heard it. .. He did not take any measures, except prayers. Because of that as Christians, if something like that is happening, we will not take any measures to go. ... Our own is just prayers. .. That is how it is.“ [E52-Cm]

Ref-#846

T-10: „Is it right for us to kill a Muslim, sometimes?“

E-11(m,J): „Sometimes.“

F-11(f,J): „In war.“ [E52-Sm]

F-11(f,J): „Like when they come to attack us Christians.“

E-11(m,J): „Mm, not even like that, based on his statement, that is it is right for us to kill a Muslim, sometimes? You see things can happen, like this Boko Haram in Maiduguri. They are even coming here, and their coming here is not peace that they are coming here for, so we are supposed to kill them.“ [E52-Sm]

Yet one respondent also takes a very categorical stance against violence.

Ref-#847

C-10(f,J): „There is nothing as bad as fighting. ... It is of no use ... It hurts people's hearts.“ [D52-Cu]

G.7.7 Muslim cohort sources

Self-understanding

Islam as a religion of peace:

Ref-#848

C-12(m,F): „The truth is that in all Islam, no one will even agree to say, to touch someone's blood, no matter what, to say a Muslim came and cause the shedding of someone's blood. Now in this our country Nigeria, the way they are shedding people's blood, to be frank, had it been that they are going to follow the Islamic rule, nobody will go before someone and lose his life or someone's blood to drop. Or even to say, someone's life is out. But you see, just now there is something that Mr A explained, which to me I see how the Christian religion is, and also how the Islamic religion is, that has differences among them, which if they do anything in this town, that is showing that,

Appendices

truly, if not because the Islamic religion has a peaceful living, they would not have, this country would have been in crisis, total crisis.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#849

B-14(m,F): „So for that, those that go and put these things for them, are their brothers, a Muslim, his religion is a religion of peace, and their religion is a religion of pity, so there is no how it will happen that a follower of the religion of peace will go and attack. If anyone is arrested with a bomb, definitely you will see that it is a Christian, not a Muslim. So they should know this or understand this thing. Glory to God.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#850

A-16(m,F): „Well indeed, if we look at the situation [[issues/matters]] that's been *tabarbare* [[destabilised]] in Jos, is not from Muslims talk more of saying "what could Muslims do for them to bring an end of the *tashe-tashe na* [[sudden attacks]]". He Already the Muslim indeed! Indeed Islam entirely even is being friendly [[is all about being friendly]], and it also brought friendliness. Therefore, the Muslim, at anytime that he who is not a Muslim got ready to live in peace with him, then the Muslim also is waiting for him and he is happy with this peace that he is seeking °nan from Muslim°. This is it in summary. He Muslim already is he who love peace, and also his religion taught peace, therefore he is ready at anytime *da za yi zaman lafiyan* [[that the peace is needed]] he will give chance [[avail himself]]. This is it in summary.“ [D54-SM][C52-SM]

Sense of victimisation:

Ref-#851

D-13(m,F): „Ah, my opinion like he said it is like that, it is true because if our leaders in this country will be careful to reject what is happening to us Muslims, we in, we in Nigeria, we are the majority, but we are the ones being despised the most because we, those that sold us, I will say our leaders, have all sold us out. They have sold our rights. Our leaders in the old days tried and fought for our rights. But now all we meet are useless-useless-useless among us that followed. Their problem is not our rights. All of them, their problem is just thinking of what I will gather for myself, or some have gathered enough that even their great grand-children cannot finish eating the money they have pulled for themselves. So this is what is killing us in this country. That is, we desire the things of this world in our lives, especially our leaders. They don't care about their religion, them that studied Western education without religion, that is why they are not concerned about their religion. That is one of the reasons why we are facing all theses crises, and we are the majority, yet we are the most despised. So if they want to tackle these problems, they have to make sure our leaders sit up and start thinking towards their religion and stop. Everybody should go back and care for the less privileged in the situation that we are in. If God wills it, if they stand up and talk, everything will be quick if God wills it.“ [C51-SM][D54-SM]

Ref-#852

A-15(m,F): „All the prophets that God sent them, they are all preaching on one same thing. On holding one God and that to follow the things that these people that were sent, this prophet they follow all the thing (what) he brought it to them. But it happened that God in his own kind of setting, he formed the last prophet; he was not sent to

Appendices

Habashawa [[people of Habasha]] only or Arabs only, he was sent to all the world all over [M1: ehm]. Therefore, if or you have brothers/relatives or someone of the same land or whatever then he could also be wanted [[loved]] to have salvation to come into Muslim religion. Because by this even to God, this religion is the religion of God. All the rest (other) prophets sent were not familiar. But what is most or fearful to everyone in this world is the world of Muslim *a shiga uku* [[we are in trouble]]. But is not known why they were put forward [[were intimidated]]. Anything that a Muslim did that is concerning his religion, then people will say he is a violator. So we have known who is a violator and who is not a violator, is that democracy or constitution that allows everyone to follow his religion? No, they want to wipe Muslims from the surface of the land.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#853

E-13(m,F): „Those that give me most fear in my life are they, the people who- .. we are >NOT< in one religion with them. Because my religion has told me 'they will not love us unless I [[we]] love what they love'. So *matukar* [[all]] their effort what they want is; they will not love us.“ [D51-SM]

Differences between *Ahali Kitab*/"Christians" and Muslims:

Ref-#854

C-12(m,F): „The difference between the Christians and the Muslims. Had it been that time that we came out and see what they had been doing to us, they would have finished us all, thousands of people, Muslims with their children. They wanted to just wipe out the Muslims at this time. The government, the poor as a whole, they want to do this thing, but when we came out, we could not avenge on anyone. At the time this thing happened, no one went and told anyone (). They blocked the roads everywhere and were killing people. Because of that, you see, even only on this, one can understand that a Muslim, you can cheat on him many times and he will not take revenge on the part of him that is not a Muslim, because of what, we in Islam everyday, Islam itself is staying peacefully. So because of that, living in peace is Islam. because of that, the name itself Islam in English is living in peace. [M: mmh] Because of that, you see, these things that are happening in this town of Plateau, truly, these things the Christianity, those of the Christian religion, they are the ones that get their leaders who are in outside countries, they are the ones coming to instigate them to do all these things, which is the cause of the lack of peace in this town. Up until now, THEY HAVE TRIED, THEY HAVE TRIED to bring peace, and now again, it is a lie that they are calling their leaders, calling them to come and let us live in peace, which is not true. They are not pursuing peace, because if they were pursuing peace, all these things would have gone by now. There-there-there would have been no more problems by now. So because of that, all these problems are gotten from a religion that is not Islamic, but the Islamic religion, all you get are things of peaceful living and peace of mind.“ [D54-SM] [C52-SM]

Ref-#855

B-12(m,F): „A person should come out with good behaviour. Sincerely, Muslims, all these crises that have happened, they have never gathered, to things of harming the Christians. But those that are not Muslims, every day their thinking, as we see and other things, the attacks that are coming on us, they are just thinking, how are we going to harm the Muslims, and this is not what is before us (). Ever since creation, they

have sat down with that is our leader, had met with those that are not Muslims. He interacts with them very well. You see now that Islam shows your father or your mother, or () there is a responsibility on you to feed them, clothe them find them somewhere to live or sleep. [M-12: mmh] And religious work, the law does not permit for you to say, you must follow their religion, or for them to say, even if you father says you must follow his religion, and it is not of God, this you should not follow. Even if he curses you, he curses the wind because he too is a servant of God. If he thinks he gave birth to you, he himself, it is God that created him, both you and him, so anything that is against God, should not be followed. It is here that they will find pea- peace. If you are not obedient, the you will perish. All of you, you will enter that which is trouble, and it is only God that can deliver you. [A-12: ()] God forbid.“ [D54-SM]

Claims to rightful spatial occupancy:

Ref-#856

D-15(m,F): „In my own understanding, if it is here in Jos, it is a formulated objective that is being sought to achieve on the Muslim people. Muslims, especially the Hausa-Fulani that are here for years more than a hundred, and they have assurance [[evidence]] by which they are confirmed in this town and the years they took and it has been a peaceful living for long period of time.“ [D54-SM]

Ref-#857

E-15(m,J): „This town of Jos is a town which has a history, it is not a town which does not have a history. The truth is that this town Jos, hundred years and something [[hundred years and above/over a hundred years ago]] that passed it is not existing. And this building as we are sitting making these utterances here is the first place where the foundation of this town started. And those who have formed this town are people of Hausa-Fulani, that is to say [[I mean]] our far [[then]] parents and our grandparents [[forefathers]]. They are the ones who formed this town, they also made effort of extending it until it come up to this position [[stage]] that it is today. Therefore if there is anyone who is thinking that either this town is his after [[apart from]] these ones, then the truth is that he is deceiving himself because of seeing how the town has been extended and how our people have honoured it. This is why jealousy, and envy, and enmity has come into the hearts of those who are with [[close to]] these people of ours, that made it be a *fitina* [[annoying behaviour]] on this town. But the town the truth is that it is for Hausa Fulani. For don't yourself now see if am calling since from the beginning Jos Native town the real truth (), Jos of first that has started coming up to now, I that am making this speech, you will not see any ward [[community]] one that you will say these are communities belonging to other tribes not [[apart from]] Hausa-Fulani. You will not get/see houses two in series not for [[belonging to]] Hausa-Fulani, you will not get/see anything of economic or of ... or of whatever which are not (do not belongs to) our people. Therefore, if truly they are owners of the town? Have they gone out? And did they say we should come and settle? Or have we have chased them? Or how has it been that there is nobody in this town except us? This is what is supposed to be to looked at and seen. How has it been that this town has been all is Hausa Fulani in this town. [[How has it been that this town throughout is occupied by Hausa Fulani?]] How has it been? Where were they? So for this they supposed to give themselves answer. This is it °in my own°.“ [D54-CM][C51-Su]

Appendices

Two quotes with clear claim to primeval occupancy, both of which mix the identities of religion and ethnicity into a singularity. Each is uttered in a different mosque, but they have a startling morphological similarity, which points to the likelihood of a salient meta-narrative:

Ref-#858

A-13(m,F): „This town that we are inside, (2.0) the owners are the Muslims and the Hausawa, because in this town God Almighty blesses the Muslims since the time of their forefathers who lived here. They-they gave birth to their great parents in this town. Living in this own, they are farming, they are trading, even their grandchildren grew up and hold onto farming and trading, and the majority of the wealthy people in this town are the Muslims. [M: mmh] so because of that, anybody that is saying the Muslims are visitors in this town, he is lost and doesn't know the history of this town. [M: hmm] If he follows the history of this town carefully, he will see those who establish this town, it is Islam that established this town. And after they established it, they did not just stay like that, but started trading, farming, and the rest of them, and God Almighty made it possible at this time that everyone is wealthy among the Muslims, so that those that are not Muslims now see and say what are we supposed to do to those that are not us, since God has given them wealth of farming, rearing sheep. We will () we will be jealous to them and say, it is not their town. We will be bringing problems to them ((snaps fingers)), so this is the major thing I will say on this aspect, but this town, it is the Muslims' town.“ [D55/D57-PM][C53-PM]

Ref-#859

A-14(m,F): „In this town that we are inside Jos town is a town of our Muslims, and those that are not even Muslims, with different tribes that God made in it, anywhere that mankind finds himself, it is there that God has made, he will live, he will stay and live his life, because land belongs to God and no one else, so anywhere you are, it is there. So all, then God here throws us some tribes who are () who don't like other, in- in short, we have tribes above 50 different tribes, but all it is only one tribe that is disturbing others to go out and leave, and in life it is not possible to say only you will live in a place, even though this country, if they say they will go by who first came, you will see that it is the Hausa or Muslim tribes that first settle in Plateau, because if they go by history, we have chiefs, one-one-one-one up to ten, or even thirteen who are now, if they say, those that are making noise, that is their land, they cannot bring out a chief. Chiefs, three of them that have rule in their tribe that have rule in this land. Because of that, you see, if we come back to the opinion side, who first settle, I will tell you it is the Hausa or Muslim tribes, or tell you Hausa-Fulani or Fulani Muslims, they are the first to settle in this land.“ [D57-CM] [C53-CM]

Ethnic self-understanding:

Ref-#860

D-15(m,F): „°Ok°, am having collectedness of mind if am in amongst my people.“

M-14: „(2.0) Your people, which people?“

D-15: „The Hausa people, Hausa-Fulani.“ [D55-Su]

Understanding of “The Other”

The unrighteousness of Christians:

Ref-#861

B-12(m,F): „Anyone that who is not a Muslim, Christians, they don't have righteousness. Everything he will do to you, he will not be righteousness to you. Now if you join him, all that, all that caused us in this country, we found ourselves in problems, lack of righteousness. Today, if they come, the brother of this one committed an offence. he will come and defend him and hide the offence. If it is someone that is not his brother that committed an offence, he will try by all means to see that he is punished.“ [D51-SM] [C51-SM] RR

Ref-#862

E-13(m,J): „We, our religion, in my position as Mr. A, our religion has taught us justice. [M: ehm] I will not take only bad/indirect word [[all]] and tie/load on them and say *azzalumai* [[oppressors, extortioners]]. [M: em]. There cannot not be found good people among them. And despite the fightings-fightings, there are those who don't want these fightings-fightings. *Ya zamana dole ne an fi karfin su* [[it happens that they are just overpowered]]. There are good/upright people there are those who are not good/upright people as the same way among the Muslims too there are good/upright people there are those who are not good/upright people.“ [D51-Su]

The nihilism of non-Muslims:

Ref-#863

B-12(m,F): „If you notice, everywhere you go in Islamic countries, where Muslims are, you will see their way of life is different from the way of life or countries or places that are not Muslims, [M-12: mmh] because Muslims, Islam brought them to help their people, so if you notice them there, you will know that someone instead of helping his brother, is better he helps a dog, if it suits him most, or he helps a cat. Someone will save money, they compared it with Nigerian money, someone will keep it until reaches about five hundred million Naira, then he will say, give it to my dog or my cat. This kind of person doesn't care.“ [D51-SM]

Christians' lack of “religion”:

Ref-#864

D-13(m,F): „A Christian is a person that as, does not accept God, or he accepts God, but accepts two. It is said that Jesus is God, or the Son of God. God is also God, so they are the Christians in short.“ [D51-SM]

Ref-#865

C-13(m,F): „The Christians, their religion is said they worship God and after that, their religion, as it is their religion, is opinion and not religion. [M: mmh] Why, even now in

Appendices

their Bible, even if they read what is in their Bible, they don't work with it. So you see, their religion is just .. their religion, it is just opinion they are doing, it is not God that they are worshipping. The Christians, a Christian, everything he is involved in, he is an enemy of God, because all that God said, him, he is not there. Him, he is not, is not what he want. Him because all their religion, what will make them, to enjoy their lives, that is what they worship, but anything about God, they don't worship because their religion is all opinion and not religion.“ [D51-SM]

Ref-#866

E-14(m,J): „A Christian is (3.0) Christian is like someone that doesn't, one that doesn't have .. one that doesn't have a religion.“ [D51-SM]

...

E-14(m,J): „He has a religion, but (2.0) glory to God. [[So E never says what he wanted to say. Pity]]“ [D51-Pm]

Recognition of Christians' religion and status as Ahali Kitab:

Ref-#867

A-14(m,F): „Christian, anything that they say Christian, they mention the name, is like a person that also has a religion. That is a Christian. So a Christian. Since he has a religion, (2.0) a Christian since he has a religion, so it is expected that in his position as a person who has sense, since they did not say he is a pagan, that is, he has no religion, in his position as a person who has sense, it is expected that he should know where he is going. Did his religion not show him how life is? Or did his religion not teach him the () of life? If his religion taught him the () of life so it is expected that he should know or understand, life now has become somehow. Life is expensive, so he is supposed to understand, these Muslims, as they are called, they are the friends of the Christians, so it is expected that if they have sense, they should stay and live with the Muslims, have their peaceful stay. All-, all that is happening, all is about Christians and Muslims, so () Christians have a religion. So it is expected that he lives his religion and lives peacefully.“ [D51-Cu]

Ref-#868

C-14(m,F): „A Christian is a person that knows he has a religion, he knows he has a religion and he has a Bible of his religion. They made for him a Bible of his religion. In this, he knows how to go about his life. This, if he does it well. If he does this not well, isn't it? [M: hmm] So, if it is so, it is expected that he should be studying his Bible. If he says, he, like now, an exam- example as just now that there is a crisis, he is supposed to look to Christianity. Let him look if there is a place where the Bible says to him that if he sees a person fall or attack, he should tell them that he is a pagan, so that they will leave him. Or if it is a Mus- Muslim or a Muslim. If he goes to Chris- a Christian, or a Muslim goes to (2.0) Muslims, they did not recognise that he is a Muslim. If he tells them, he is a Muslim there, kill him. Say to him, we leave you or how, but it is expected that all these things are explained to them by their Bibles. [M: hmm] So isn't is? But now to say this tribe came, you are not. If it is not their tribe, this, ah -- Christians, there are some that their tribe doesn't agree with this tribe. This tribe doesn't agree with that tribe, and all their Bi- Bible is not the same. So it is expected that each of them, if they look at their Bibles, let them be looking, you will see that there are some

Appendices

things that hinder them. If it hinders or stops them let them stop. This things stops us, but they don't." [D51-Cm]

Ref-#869

D-14(m,F): „Likewise the Christians, like they gave us this Qu'ran, the same way they gave them the Bible, no fomenting trouble, no this things, only to live peacefully with everybody. There is no how they will say, it is- it is a lie to say that the Bible today came with-with-with saying today they said you should fight the Muslims or Islam, or the Qu'ran said you should fight the Christians. For us, this thing, living in peace with them, we live in peace with them and they are to live in peace with us.“ [D51-Cm]

Ref-#870

E-16(m,J): „A Christian to us we Muslims is he whom God himself called *Ahali Kitab* whom is given the book he is the one we are calling him Christian who did *Ahali Kitab* who *rike* [[hold]] his book and he is working with it [[he is using it]].“ [D51-SM]

Ref-#871

E-16(m,J): „If he is working with the book that it was sent, then he is here in his *Ahali Kitab* since we do not have the history that was said *za a zo* [[there will be]] {car horning interrupted transcription here}. If only he is working working with what his book said, then he is here in his *Ahali Kitab*.“ [D51-SM]

Christians as believers in the Trinity / poligamy:

Ref-#872

B-15(m,F): „A Christian is who is following the religion of Christianity and also the book he has; belief in it is the book, Bible ah ... also ... ah which ...ah ... the Prophet, he has belief with (in) him is *Isa* [[Jesus]] ... prophet *Isa* which we Muslims we call him prophet *Isa* but to him who is Christian? He is taking [[regarding]] him as Son of God and he has belief with (in) him *a haka sabani yadda mu musulumi muka yi*. [[the point of disagreement which we Muslims did]]. A Christian is he who is going to church, the place of his service on Sunday? He also believes in what he called God the Father, God the Son and also God the Holy Spirit, which we see as three God in one, *sabani yadda mu musulumi muka yi imani*. [[the point of disagreement which we Muslims did/believe]].“ [D51-SM]

Non-Muslims as holding power in Plateau State:

Ref-#873

D-16(m,F): „But if not because he is increasing [[encouraging]] the *rikicin* within, now even there could already have been *salaha* [[*salha* = peace]]. So But he who will [[should]] made effort [[for people]] to have that *salaha* [[peace]], also everyday he is fooling people, especially us Muslims. Everyday if you meet [[come in contact]] with him, front and front [[back and front]] he will show that he is together with you. But thereafter then something will follow behind, especially these two people we- if all they are alive if not only their time that is due, then it is difficult for this *rikicin* [[intrigue/deceitfulness]] to finish/end. He is governor of Plateau State and also king of

Appendices

Jos together. So these things, they are the one that hold [[kept]] the real root of this *rikicin* that has refus- conti- h- has refused to finish/ended [[if at all they are all alive their time is not due, then it is difficult for this crisis to end. They are; the governor of Plateau State and also the king of Jos, they are the ones that kept the real root of this crisis that has refused to end]].“ [D51-SM][C51-SM]

Non-Muslims as the source of Boko Haram:

Ref-#874

D-13(m,F): „Truly, Boko Haram has caused us a lot of trouble in this country because Boko Haram, in short, the Boko Haram, they just came, they are () that Boko Haram and in this Boko Haram like it is known with this name, Boko Haram, they came and put the name, then they captured their leader and killed him. From there, they are just using this Boko Haram, killing Muslims with this name Boko Haram, and they know who are the Boko Haram. They have arrested some several times. They have arrested Igbo and the rest of them like that with Boko Haram name, and they are not Muslims and they know it like that. Yet they did not take any action, that is why, and they know what it is that has made the whole country shake. they know those behind it. The have been arresting them, not once, not twice, and all of them are not Muslims. So the lack of taking action against them is what will make it difficult to stop. If they don't take action and punish those behind it in Boko Haram, then we don't (), that is if God helps and, - and they know those that have a hand in this Boko Haram, they will be able to bring all these attacks to an end. Only then, if God wills it, we will have healing concerning this Boko Haram.“ [D51-SM] [C51-SM]

Ref-#875

B-14(m,F): „So for that, those that go and put these things for them, are their brothers, a Muslim, his religion is a religion of peace, and their religion is a religion of pity, so there is no how it will happen that a follower of the religion of peace will go and attack. If anyone is arrested with a bomb, definitely you will see that it is a Christian, not a Muslim. So they should know this or understand this thing. Glory to God.“ [D54-SM] RR

Explicit mention of the Berom:

Ref-#876

C-14(m,F): „If there is anyone that is enjoying it, let him come out and say it, it is the Berom. But even they themselves, there is nothing he is doing for them, talk less of the Muslims that he doesn't even like us in the land, and the land is not his. This land, how it came, that is how it is. Those that even brought him up are the Fulani. They brought him up in Plateau, in the Plateau State. The Fulani brought him up. The Fulani put him in school he grew up and this thing, we are, we have talked about this, this our father has ever told us, he told us, he also before us, our father told us in Wase, he told me and said, what is it the Fulani did that put you in something, that time, your father had not this thing. The Fulani took you and put you in school, they what-what, they even what-what, things how-how, this thing our father told him, and was saying that our father came and joined heads with him. Wait-wait-wait, they will wait-wait sit down and wait-wait, but for him, that was not his problem, he doesn't want the Muslims. Had it been that he wanted them, how to stay peacefully would be easy in Plateau State, because

Appendices

everyday it is, with one tribe that they are fighting. The Hausa and the Berom, to say Hausa, Hausa don't like the Berom, so you see, that is all I can say on this thing.“ [D55/D57-SM]

Ref-#877

D-14(m,F): „Peace itself, truly, is a simple thing, but if they take or follow it in a way that (). A way that the Governor will, will call the leaders, call the Christian leaders, call the leaders of Muslims in Jos, sit down and discuss with the chiefs, the Muslims leaders, the pastors or other leaders in Jos, let us sit down and join heads together. Discuss, they eat with us, we eat with them, our business, we trade together, they will not be happy that today Muslims cannot enter Farin Gada. This thing, Gada Biyu, they too, the Berom, they are not happy, or these yam sellers that-that-that-that are, we and or this, or this machine that-that-that-that we are riding, we don't-don't, we don't sell there. Only our machines we just passed. This thing, or these yam sellers that bring them, it's good, it is good, since they eat with us and we-we-we also go and eat with them. Where you will go and pass with someone a visitor, and you will be telling him this is so, so strait, they have (). It is not good. We are telling Jang to look (.). The groups on the Plateau are calling to look that the leaders, we have our big leaders and we, they too the Christians have their pastors that they trust, we too have our leaders that we trust. Let us call them and discuss any one that love for other peoples' trouble. They are the ones that are not sincere. They should be given () and he, the Governor, should give everyone their right between us and them. He should give, give us, Muslims our right and give the Christians their right here in Jos and Jos town. If not so, there is no how there will be peace. So glory to God.“ [D55/D57-SM] [C52-SM]

Understanding of God

God as a Creator of friend and foe:

Ref-#878

B-12(m,F): „Even if he curses you, he curses the wind because he too is a servant of God. If he thinks he gave birth to you, he himself, it is God that created him, both you and him, so anything that is against God, should not be followed. It is here that they will find pea- peace. If you are not obedient, the you will perish. All of you, you will enter that which is trouble, and it is only God that can deliver you.“ [T51-SM] RR

Ref-#879

A-13(m,F): „Ah, glory to God. Ok. In my position as Mr A, this- this crisis that we are experiencing and the one that makes me feel so bad is that all the time innocent lives are lost without knowing the cause or reason for the killings, because he, the Muslim, or everyone that God Almighty created on this earth with his own ability and the purpose for which he was created, like God Almighty said in the Qu'ran, () 'I did not create () spirit and human being, except to worship me'. So you see every mankind on this earth has to worship God, so why should he be killed without any reason? This is what give me fear the most .. this thing the most () gives me fear upon this () that has been happening that has been happening in different places. [M: hmm] So, I think this is all that I have to say.“ [T51-SM][C52-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#880

D-14(m,F): „Ok. Glory to God. Even in Islam, Islam does not permit for you to catch a person because he is not following your religion and kill him. If it is not a war between you, and even in war there are rules that the law put in place before you take your hand and kill. And if you kill a person that is not a Muslim, God will ask you. He is the one that created, that God created, it is God that created the Muslims. It is He that created the Muslims, it is He that created the pagans and all of them He loved, except with a reason, that God permits that is in war, it is only then that you can touch anyone that is not practising your religion, and he also, except with a guide of the leader and the law has stipulated, but just like that, or a misunderstanding between you, and you kill him, this is not right, because there is, even in history, there is something that happened between Moses and Aaron. When he offended him, he did which land of () after that () he has to, when Moses went and spoke with God, he had to talk to him, but he showed pity or was jealous over his creation. He said, oh God's prophet, is it because you are not the one who created him (). At that time, if he had looked for my help, I could have helped him. At that time, prophet Moses was pleading that he had repented on what he had done to him (). So you see, God is jealous of all. That God has created is not in vain.“ [T51-SM][E52-SM]

Ref-#881

E-16(m,J): „Is what God has created me on it [[for it]] because God has said, [[Arabic terms are used here but are preceded with their meaning by the speaker]] 'I have not created man with creation for anything except for them to serve me'. So you have seen [[heard]] what God has said is because of it he brought me to the world, so is there anything again I will do which is more than this? The reason is that my coming to the world is for me to serve God he only [[he alone]] and not to *hada* [[join]] him with anyone.“ [T51-SM]

God wills the spread of the Islamic religion:

Ref-#882

B-16(m,F): „I in my position as a Muslim human being, what is most important assembled [[along]] with me is my religion. Because the God who created me, he brought me *ganiyan* [[visibly]] to earth for him to test me by what? By *bauta* [[service/worshipping]], this worship also as God sent his prophet, peace be upon his name, this prophet came to us with the religion of God, this religion of God is the Muslim religion. Because to God there is no any religion that is beyond Muslim religion. *Ainihi* [[the real]] religions, those that has passed and gone all, and religion of God like four. But this religion now which the Prophet, peace be upon him, came with it, is the real religion which also is- I in... the most- in ... in I in my life now I don't have anything which I put in front/forward except to see this religion to progress [[continue]] as the way Prophet, peace be upon him, commanded us after him for us to be *sa'abansa hau-* [[his followers all-]]. By the grace of God, we are here on-, we are asking God for God to make this religion progress=continue. Because (therefore) I now in my life, I need to see my religion is progressing=continuing without any *tashi-tashi na* [[sudden attacks =Crisis]] by the grace of God.“ [T51-SM]

Understanding of the world

Ref-#883

E-13(m,J): „And secondly, there are ugly assumptions [[very evil thinking]] about each other. These is among the things that bringing to a land [[country]] *bala'i* [[bad fortune of any kind, e.g. an epidemic, a sudden calamity etc]] () and that people are seeing that leaders are oppressors/extortioners. Indeed, God has said he is giving to people leaders who are equivalent to them. Because of people, then it happens- they happens that the people of God, they should rule on them, so God will give them upright leaders who will lead them with justice. But it happens- if it happens that the people, they themselves are doing things which *sa'bo* [[any heinous sin against God e.g. blasphemy, adultery, fornication, perjury, drinking of alcohol, etc.]], then there is no way they can expect God to give them upright leaders who will do them justice. Then first, unless we repair [[improve]] ourselves, we improve our heart before we do think we will improve- since God's messenger, *salalehuwasalama* [[peace be upon him]], indeed even though he came, he started preaching in his house [M: coughing] before he came outside. So since it happens that also he who has come in such form has done like this.“ [T54-SM] [T51-Su]

Ref-#884

B-16(m,F): „Ah ((coughing)) {lips opening sound}, this issue a matter of Jos that is said [[talked of]], who are those with Jos? [[who are those that own Jos?]] Who are those doing it? If you come and see/look at the nature of Jos, from there you will begin to see that who are those that own the town. ... Shin Jos, (4.0) administratively regarding the matters of ruling/leadership [[maliki]], also through election she has what is called ward-ward, election point-election point 14. This 14, the Muslim people of this local government are controlling [[ruling/leading]] with [[by]] winning the election of Chancellor for eight wards. He who have eight wards, you see everybody there is not how you will look at him and say he doesn't have stakes in that place or you say that place is not his town, the first one. Then the second one [[secondly]]; if it come to the election of house of representative, they are winning the election of member of house of representatives [[*majalisa*]]. In all the history of elections that has been done, of election, since it has been started since from the first republic up to date now that we are in [[currently]], there is no election that has been done and it is (was) done at/in local government- Jos North local government the people of this local government Muslims in court they are not the one that won this election. There was a time that we have this very local government we have four members state house of assemblies. This very four members state house of assemblies it di- we did it at that time all over, all those who won this very four seats also are Muslims. From there, government policy, they began to reduce our strengths, they cancelled the representatives instead of being four, they make it two. At same two, if conducted we are winning, we are winning Jos North-North, we are winning Jos North-West. (3.0) So as of then, we come [[have]] been winning the election for local government chairman and then we are winning election for members house of representatives representative at the national level. So YOU COME AND SAY that Muslim people generally do not have representation in this particular local government? Or no you look at them and say no, they are not belonging of that place? So you have not done them justice, if you come when we come back to history you say ok "this particular Jos North even, when was it creating [[created]]?" Because if you come back to history, the time that was talking of province [[province, i.e. when government was operated province by province]], the Plateau State, the Plateau State and the Benue State and also the Nasarawa State all they are under Bauchi province.

Appendices

{car horning} Also this Bauchi province that was how it has been reduced and has been reduced has been reduced until there was creating [[created]] North- and North- lo- local government inside. So if you look also as of then since this province that we are in [[when we were in province era]] people of Hausa Fulani Muslims in court, they are the ones constituting Jos native town. [[they are the ones that constituted Jos native town]] at that and calling the ey- ahm the town Jos native town [[at that time the town is being called Jos native town]] in English. So you see there is no how you will not do them justice, instead you come and look at them and say that- or no you are even asking them that "who here owns (this place)?" Since now if you enter their ward/community you will see the house which is a structure that was built more than hundred years, it is in this town, you will see a house that was built more than one hundred and twenty years, it is in this town. So, if you can have [[find]] a house as this/such, then you should see [[observe/think]] when was she herself Nigeria got independence (3.0) That you will say- .. We whom all in all now independence of Nigeria is [[we are]] talking of fifty years and there is found a house in Jos north belonging to BAHAUSHE Hausa Fulani Muslims that reached hundred years, then also [[and then]] you look at him and say he is not a belonging of that place? Then when did we have independence and even do creating state [[even created state]] and happens that he is not a belonging of that place? So you see this is a lack of justice that policies of government [[the government policies]] that they are applying on Hausa Fulani Muslims in court for them to suppress them their right. And as long as this policy government has not changed it, then as long as we will continuously be having problems. It is must for the federal government to intervene and then all the world [[the whole world]] to intervene. A time has come that everyone who have right to be given his right, is what will bring peace." [D57-CM]

Salient values

The truth and honesty:

Ref-#885

A-12(m,F): „I desire most and things that give me fear the most, and what I feel is right. Truly, what I desire most is to find an elder that has wisdom that will tell people the truth. I desire that. [M: hmm] Example, our great leader Sheikh Mohammed Yahaya Jingre, the way he is coming out to tell the truth to the people, what will benefit them here on earth and in heaven, and his effort to bring peace in this country, it gives me pleasure. [M: hmm] These are among the things I desire. And there is a professor. They refer to him as Professor Dalom or so. He too, I desire his dealings, because he comes out and tells the truth.“ [T51-Su]

Ref-#886

B-12(m,F): „Even though he is not a Muslim, Islam does not permit that, you give, you give a good example. Don't collaborate with others to cheat him or a Muslim, if he makes a promise. If you do like that, or a Muslim if he makes a promise, don't fail to fulfil that promise between you and anyone that is not a Muslim, except he is the first to fail that promise. If you do that, he will say of sure, 'this is a trustworthy person, a good person, if he talks, he doesn't fail'.“ [T51-Su]

Observation of moral values will invoke God to usher in the good life:

Ref-#887

E-13(m,F): „And secondly, there are ugly assumptions [[very evil thinking]] about each other. These are among the things that bringing to a land [[country]] *bala'i* [[bad fortune of any kind, e.g. an epidemic, a sudden calamity etc.]] () and that people are seeing that leaders are oppressors/extortioners. Indeed, God has said he is giving to people leaders who are equivalent to them. Because of people, then it happens- they happens that the people of God, they should rule on them, so God will give them upright leaders who will lead them with justice. But it happens- if it happens that the people, they themselves are doing things which *sa'bo* [[any heinous sin against God e.g. blasphemy, adultery, fornication, perjury, drinking of alcohol, etc]], then there is no way they can expect God to give them upright leaders who will do them justice. Then first, unless we repair [[improve]] ourselves, we improve our heart before we do think we will improve- since God's messenger, *salalehuwasalama* [[peace be upon him]], indeed even though he came, he started preaching in his house [M: coughing] before he came outside. So since it happens that also he who has come in such form has done like this.“ [T51-Su][T54-SM] RR

Drivers of peace

The peaceful and patient nature of Muslims:

Ref-#888

C-12(m,F): „Because of a lack of peace (2.0) because of a lack of peace (2.0) because of a lack of peace. so because of this, the importance of peace in Islam and even those that are not Muslims is given, that is peace is more than anything. So whatever you are looking for, in this world, whatever you accumulate in this world, if there is no peace, you will jump these things and leave them.“ [D54-Su]

Ref-#889

C-12(m,F): „They blocked the roads everywhere and were killing people. Because of that, you see, even only on this, one can understand that a Muslim, you can cheat on him many times and he will not take revenge on the part of him that is not a Muslim, because of what, we in Islam everyday, Islam itself is staying peacefully.“ [C52-SM] [D54-SM] RR

Ref-#890

D-13(m,F): „My addition is that truly peace is the ultimate in everything. That is why the Muslim man said, living in peace is better than being a king's son. And there will be no peace until there is righteousness. Responsibility should be given to him that is due. That is my addition.“ [C52-SM]

Ref-#891

E-16(m,J): „Eh.. *Musulumi dama shi aka sani da bada gudumawa*. [[already a Muslim is the one known for giving contribution]]. The contributions the Muslims are offering is

Appendices

or they will offer is what they are doing now. To deceive them they and give them [[ask them to be]] patience and they exercise patience, they agreed with what is being going, punish them on it. So you see, they are making a contribution – they could have said all this thing, that are being done to them they will revenge, so you see there will not be peace. BUT we are the ones being deceived and after deceiving us, then our leaders and our religion will give us patience [[will tell us to exercise patience]] and we exercise patience and we agreed because of agreeing with judgement of God. This is the contribution that Muslims will offer to peace.“ [C52-SM]

Ref-#892

E-16(m,J): „Peace is JUSTICE. To give everyone his right, and that is what Islam has held onto [[is all about]], that is why it brought peace. It will not possible even if he is not a Muslim, to happen in Islamic history, a Muslim to say he will deceive/cheat who is not a Muslim. then he will be stand in front of judgement and to follow for whom is the non-Muslim his right to be collected and give him. [[Then he will be presented before the judgement/authority and to stand for that non-Muslim, and then the non Muslim will be supported, and obtain his right for him]]. But once *a ce* there is no justice *a cuce ni*, I brought report and I will not obtain my right, and keep supporting whom I reported, then indeed the talk [[issue]] to stay peacefully even has not taken its way. But once there is no justice, even if I am deceived/cheated/blackmailed, I will report to the authorities and I will not be given my right. Instead they keep supporting whom I reported. Then the issue of staying peacefully has not taken its way.“ [C52-SM]

Understanding of what peace is:

Ref-#893

B-16(m,F): „Peace, what is meant by peace is; to do justice, and to have the justice between people, authority to be standstill [[government to be she is stable]]. What authority is stable? [[What does it mean by government is stable?]] People already there, how it can be for people to live without having problems between one and the other. So it is must to have an authority stabilised [[a stabilised government]] which/whom if we have these problems, she will take step/measure by the way of settling or by the way of judgement. Therefore it is must we know what (2.0) °what was the question sorry? [M: °peace°] peace, peace is how can it be in *natsu=natsuwa=nutsuwa* [[Collectedness of mind; being calm]] with my neighbour even if our religion is not the same, even if our tribe is not the same? How can it be even if our religion is the same, or even our tribe is the same? How can I have *natsu* [[Collectedness of mind; being calm]] with him? So peace is meaning that you give me my right, I give righ- I give you your right.“ [C52-Su]

The dividend that peace provides:

Ref-#894

C-12(m,F): „The blessings that are in living peacefully cannot be counted. Anything that you are doing in life on earth. That you will find progress in it, then unless you are living in peace, this living in peace is more that the peace. You know health in you body, health in you body, or if they say you are not well, then if peace entered a place, sincerely, it is better they say you are not well tat to say there is no peace, because peace itself, now you will see if there is no peace, you will see a person that is lying sick in the

Appendices

hospital, they will carry him () bring him out, which it is a lack of peace that is causing all these. You will see people being carried away.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#895

C-12(m,F): „Even religious matters, except there is peace, anything concerning this life, if there is no peace, then there will be nothing, nothing will work. Because of this, peace is more important than everything. Any country where there is not peace, there can be no progress or development in that place.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#896

C-12(m,F): „So because of this, anything that you are doing that is whatever you will do to people in you position as a leader, that is leading the people. Whatever you will give, give them peace, it is more important than anything else. That is why huge amounts of money are being spent on security, and the rest in order to restore peace. Any wealth that the government will spend on development, if there is no peace, then it is useless (), this thing will just go in vain, because if any- any this thing, development, this development, this development on time, if there is no peace, they will come and burn it down or kill thousands of people (2.0). Because of a lack of peace (2.0) because of a lack of peace (2.0) because of a lack of peace. so because of this, the importance of peace in Islam and even those that are not Muslims is given, that is peace is more than anything. So whatever you are looking for, in this world, whatever you accumulate in this world, if there is no peace, you will jump these things and leave them. Because of this, there is nothing more than peace, enjoyment or a country. No matter its poverty, if there is peace, you will see, there will be progress. But no matter how wealthy a country is, even if anywhere you touch or march, there is gold, if there is no peace, the wealth is in vain. There will be no () no. Because of this, peace is more important than anything.“ [C52-Su]

But the government also has a role in ensuring this peace dividend:

Ref-#897

D-14(m,F): „Please for God's Sake, let them look into this issue because of our pain together with the Christians as a whole, it is both of us that benefits, it is not only the Muslims that benefits from the machines, even the Christians too benefit from the machines. They should look and see, the government of Nigeria. And the Plateau State Government should look into it and see. They should look and see and have pity on the people in Plateau, not a pagan, not a- not a different person, not- not a- not a different person, not- not a- not a tribe, not a Yoruba, not a Fulani, not a Muslim, not-not a Yoruba, not a Fulani, not a Hausa, not- not any tribe that they say is Plateau State, is under ah-ah-ah, .. we are under the government. Our government () and like they said in explaining, and they stop, (2.0) but government should look and see how life is difficult, like seizing, seizing that they stop this going (machine). Truly, they are seizing-seizing-seizing. Why? There is no business to do, he should have- he should have found for us something to do, find for the Christians some work to do, and find for the Muslims some work to do. The poor, the poor youths, find them some work to do first. If he finds work for them work, then, somebody does not find work, there is nothing, so glory to God.“ [C52-SM][D57-SM] RR

Appendices

Ref-#898

B-15(m,F): „The first is that (2.0) Christians should (2.0) take care [[carry out]] the affairs of his religion in accordance with what the religion taught, and the teachers of Christians [[Christian teachers / leaders or pastors]] they should make sure that they teach their followers in accordance with the religion that is true [[teach their followers the truthfulness of the religion]] without following heart desire. They should make sure that they are doing to ((mobile phone rings)) their followers whispering/sermon and drawing mind against quarrellings and also remove their enmity to Muslims. Here in Plateau State it is important that the Christians in Plateau State do Muslims justice; they should agree that Muslims have rights in Plateau State. ((mobile phone rings again)) and should be given his right at his position of he who has rights in Plateau State whether is a right in politics or right in the section of education or right in the section of providing jobs or according to division/sharing of government jobs or government wealth. Ah ... what we have observed, is that [.t] in Plateau State there is a lack of justice in the sharing of affairs for progress (development) and government jobs [[sharing of government development affairs]] between people who are people belonging to Muslims and people that are people belonging to those that are not Muslims, especially Christians. I think this has shown actually/plainly from four years back of this government of first term to now, with one year that she [[the government]] in for the second term. Nearly ninety percent (90%) of work done by the government, she did it at the side of those that are non-Muslims. There is not even a complete ten percent of work for progress [[development]], whether repairing road, or provision of electricity, or repairing schools or anything that is called progress [[development]] none of it was amongst the people of the Muslims. Because of this, I am seeing that this is a kind of ah..... showing differences, of which can be good if the Christians of Plateau State give their contribution to drawing the mind of those holding the powers ((phone rings again)) of government that they should do justice to Muslims. Then it must be that Christians of Plateau State have contributions to offer/express for providing [[ensuring]] peaceful living that they rest their heart and see that *ah* [[no]] Muslim is their enemies, Muslim is a human being like them, like the way they need to get (have) good life, so also is a Muslim who needs to have a good life and they should remove this enmity and the bad thinking [[negative thought]] that they have on [[against]] Muslims.“ [C51-SM][C52-SM]

Ref-#899

D-14(m,F): „Peace itself, truly, is a simple thing, but if they take or follow it in a way that (). A way that the Governor will, will call the leaders, call the Christian leaders, call the leaders of Muslims in Jos, sit down and discuss with the chiefs, the Muslims leaders, the pastors or other leaders in Jos, let us sit down and join heads together. Discuss, they eat with us, we eat with them, our business, we trade together. They will not be happy that today Muslims cannot enter Farin Gada. This thing, Gada Biyu, they too, the Berom, they are not happy, or these yam settlers that-that-that-that are, we and or this, or this machine that-that-that-that we are riding, we don't-don't, we don't sell there. Only our machines we just passed. This thing, or these yam sellers that bring them, it's good, it is good, since they eat with us and we-we-we also go and eat with them. Where you will go and pass with someone a visitor, and you will be telling him this is so, so strait, they have (). It is not good. We are telling Jang to look (). The groups on the Plateau are calling to look that the leaders, we have our big leaders and we, they too the Christians have their pastors that they trust, we too have our leaders that we trust. Let us call them and discuss any one that love for other peoples' trouble. They are the ones that are not sincere. They should be given () and he, the Governor, should give everyone their right between us and them. He should give, give us, Muslims

Appendices

our right and give the Christians their right here in Jos and Jos town. If not so, there is no how there will be peace. So glory to God.“ [C52-SM][D55/D57-SM]

God's calling for peaceful behaviour:

It is not God's way that there is strife on earth:

Ref-#900

A-13(m,F): „Ah, glory to God. Ok. In my position as Mr A, this- this crisis that we are experiencing and the one that makes me feel so bad is that all the time innocent lives are lost without knowing the cause or reason for the killings, because he, the Muslim, or everyone that God Almighty created on this earth with his own ability and the purpose for which he was created, like God Almighty said in the Qu'ran, () “I did not create () spirit and human being, except to worship me”. So you see every mankind on this earth has to worship God, so why should he be killed without any reason? This is what give me fear the most .. this thing the most () gives me fear upon this () that has been happening that has been happening in different places. [M: hmm] So, I think this is all that I have to say.“ [C52-Su] [T51-SM] RR

To invoke peace, one must follow wholesome patterns of behaviour:

Ref-#901

B-13(m,F): „Yes. This crisis that is happening in this land. If the Muslims want God to help them on what, what is happening, even to pray and for God to answer and grant them what they want, unless if they make sure they unite themselves and such of them mends their ways and to stand firm that he is a Muslim, and not that we are just Islams. Because if you see Muslims, and even pagans are deceiving them, you should know that among them there are fake ones or there are among them those that it is not the religion that bothers them. What bothers them is life and you also see that if a man, it is his life that bothers him and not his religion, then it, it is difficult to say there will be peaceful living. With him also there is no how there will be peace in the land as a whole, but now if to say our leaders, our Islamic leaders care about our problems and make sure also that them, they are genuine Muslims, all these things would not have happened to us.“ [C52-Su][D54-Su][T51-Su]

Ref-#902

B-15(m,F): „Ah ... peace is justice to everybody in life such that everybody will get his right without someone holding someone's right either because of his religion or because of his tribe or also because of his colour or his language. Therefore peace to me is a situation in which there is justice and then the situation in which people are able to *sasanta* [[settle]] their disagreement without [[not]] using [[following]] disturbing ways [[aggressive ways]], people are able to <*sasanta*> [[settle]] their differences without wounding each other either in reality or deceit? And it happens they can discuss and get a way out without disturbance [[aggression]].“ [C52-Su]

Appendices

Proposals to promote peace actively:

Ref-#903

B-15(m,F): „First of all, a saying by the White man is saying that “it takes two to tango [[tangle]]”. Yes truly, there is a contribution that Muslim people of Jos and Plateau can be able to give/offer in [ensuring] that we see the end of this matter. First is for the Muslim people to open their hearts to ready at any time to discuss [[converse]] with their fellow friends of which this is in accordance with the teachings of Islamic religion which I believe also in this long time Mu- Muslims of Jos and Plateau have been making effort to seeing that ((phone rings)) they be given a chance for this discussion.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#904

B-15(m,F): „For we have youths a lots [[a lots of youths]] who are from the year 2001, or I can say from the year 1994 to date in [[it is between]] this range [period] of time they were born which a lots of them they don't know what is called neighbouring/neighbourhood with [[they don't know what is meant by neighbourhood with]] who is not a Muslim, and the likes. What only they have grown and know is Muslims and Christians are fighting. Therefore it is important that it is not someone from outside to come and do this, we are also there is [[we also have]] contribution that we will give to changing the thoughts of our youths for them to understand that there are different ways of resolving these matters without disturbance.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#905

B-15(m,F): „Therefore one contribution that Muslim people can give is to understand/identify those who are not Muslim that have this *sasaucin ra'ayi* [[opinion/view]] and also effort to join hands with them or work together with them for seeing [[ensuring]] that we provide solutions to this matters that are happening in this town and also this land [[country]]. Then, seeking the help of the Lord which is important to Muslims to progress and pray for peace of the town and also peace of the people.“ [C52-Su]

Ref-#906

A-16(m,F): „Well indeed, if we look at the situation [[issues/matters]] that's been *tabarbare* [[destabilised]] in Jos, is not from Muslims talk more of saying "what could Muslims do for them to bring an end of the *tashe-tashe na* [[sudden attacks]]". He Already the Muslim indeed! Indeed Islam entirely even is being friendly [[is all about being friendly]], and it also brought friendliness. Therefore, the Muslim; at anytime that he who is not a Muslim got ready to live in peace with him, then the Muslim also is waiting for him and he is happy with this peace that he is seeking °nan from Muslim°. This is it in summary. He Muslim already is he who love peace, and also his religion taught peace, therefore he is ready at anytime *da za yi zaman lafiyan* [[that the peace is needed]] he will give chance [[avail himself]]. This is it in summary.“ [C52-SM] [D54-SM]

And then, how Christians could actively work towards peace:

Ref-#907

E-16(m,J): „The contribution that they can bring out; is they should agreed that they will follow what their book [[Bible]] has told them. If only they will work with their book, then peace is already gotten. But if they will keep it and turn to love heart [[to selfish desire/interest]], and following their leaders, then [M: coughing along] we will not get peace. But if only they will work with what their book has told them, then they will live in peace with Muslims.“ [C52-SM]

Drivers of conflict

Recounts of violent situations:

Ref-#908

A-12(m,F): „Truly, like the speaker said, all these are among the big-big problems that are in this state, and the big one among them, that is so bad, it to meet Muslim people without guns or knives. There is nothing they have done. They gathered their children, and went for Sallah prayers. They came and surrounded them. Here are security men there, they burnt their wealth and wounded their people.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#909

C-12(m,F): „Because of what, even now, in these few days, they came, some people that they don't know then, they went to a Christian church and put bombs there, and this people, we think they are not Muslim, because nothing will take a Muslim to a church, it is even forbidden for a Muslim to enter the church, not to even talk of even going to harm someone, but you- Why, they went and put, those that have no regard, those that are pagan, it is them that went and entered the church and placed the bomb. But because we Muslims, we don't have that aim, then they went, the Christians, they went and blocked people and continued to kill people. No- no any reason, which just now the speaker number A, Mr, A who explained, said something, which we, they came and showed us, if we wouldn't have stopped here. Why? they came, we went for prayers together which our children. Our wealth, with our everything, a person, he cannot go anywhere and carry his small children of 3 years and those that are 5 years old and HIS WEALTH that he loves, and wear his best clothes, and go somewhere to worship. They will go and surround you, and that time that they surrounded us, and when they surrounded us, Government Security was there and Muslim Security, and even those that are not Muslims and policemen of the Government and the Muslims, and those that are not Muslims and ah, security of, SSS, they came and they were just looking. Christians were carrying stones in tipper trucks, coming to put them on the road, while we were sitting inside the mosque as we prayed or worshipped. (2.0) They came and were putting the stones, but these securities could not stop them. Those who were putting stones, BIG BIG STONES that cars could not pass over, even a person on foot cannot cross them easily, they came and put them- put them. These securities were just watching them. The end of this road blockage made it difficult that no one was able to remove his car or machine. They were all burnt, people. At the end it was only God that saved people. But when we came out, when we came back, you see, we did not do like

Appendices

those that they put bombs for them, and they went and blocked the road, and were killing people that don't know anything about what's happening.“ [C51-SM] [D51-SM] [E52-SM]

Violence is propagated by a non-Muslim religion:

Ref-#910

C-12(m,F): „Living in peace is Islam. because of that, the name itself Islam in English is living in peace. [M: mmh] Because of that, you see, these things that are happening in this town of Plateau, truly, these things the Christianity, those of the Christian religion, they are the ones that get their leaders who are in outside countries, they are the ones coming to instigate them to do all these things, which is the cause of the lack of peace in this town. Up until now, THEY HAVE TRIED, THEY HAVE TRIED to bring peace, and now again, it is a lie that they are calling their leaders, calling them to come and let us live in peace, which is not true. They are not pursuing peace, because if they were pursuing peace, all these things would have gone by now. There-there-there would have been no more problems by now. So because of that, all these problems are gotten from a religion that is not Islamic, but the Islamic religion, all you get are things of peaceful living and peace of mind.“ [C51-SM] [D51-SM]

Ref-#911

B-12(m,F): „Anyone that who is not a Muslim, Christians, they don't have righteousness. Everything he will do to you, he will not be righteousness to you. Now if you join him, all that, all that caused us in this country, we found ourselves in problems, lack of righteousness. Today, if they come, the brother of this one committed an offence. he will come and defend him and hide the offence. If it is someone that is not his brother that committed an offence, he will try by all means to see that he is punished.“ [C51-SM] [D51-SM]

The government is the primary initiator of conflict: Violence is tolerated and indeed promoted by Governor Jang:

Ref-#912

B-12(m,F): „In this town, is the crisis that occurred during the time of this, him, this Governor Jonah Jang, is the reason when they started trouble during the election and the one that started on a Sunday, they said around Rikkos area where they turned the whole thing. Even when they know the plain truth, but they said it was Muslim children that started the thing, while it was not like that. They said they went to a church and this thing, while they went, they are, they break down their house and they were decking the house. Then those that are not Muslims came and said they did not agree with what they are doing. It was because of this, but they refused then their right and the truth. [M: hmm] Since then, things have persisted, but they have remained adamant on the issue instead of taking action against it to correct it. They did not and for a wise and right thinking person, he knows there is negligence because there are ways that these problems can be solved, but they refused. Why? Here is a person arrested for a crime. They will allow him to go. If they go and investigate. If they find out that some big men in code are behind it, that is all you will go and find out what happened, what

Appendices

happened, you will look for them and will not see them. They have been set free and have left. So this, I look at it since this crisis started. There was none as bad as this time during the election in Kabang for Chairman. BY FORCE OPENLY, they came and started this thing, not knowing that it was a planned thing (2.0), but they tried those that knew, refused, saying it was a political something, while it is not so. Political activities are righteous activities, so this is one of the things that gives me fear, not only in this town, but in the country as a whole. They know the truth, but refuse to work with it.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#913

C-13(m,F): „That is peaceful living in this town is difficult. It is not difficult, peaceful living in this town, that is the big, the small thing, or big thing I will say. There is no how [[way]] they will say. They will take a Governor pagan and also, also take also his deputy a pagan. So you see, there is no how we will have peace or live in peace, but where () other states, if they take a Christian as the Governor, they should take his-his deputy, .. should be a Muslim. If they do so, I am seeing this time around, things will get a way and there will be peace, but if it is not done like that, there is no how [[way]] there will be peace. Tribalism will increase and peace will be very difficult. [M: emmhu] But if they take this measure now, it was a surprise when I came to this town and saw, the position of Chairman on the side of the Muslims. They did not give them, then they took someone who is not even from that side and gave him, who they are not even the majority there, but they gave him [M: mmh] they gave him to go and become their Chairman. So you see, there is no way for peace in this place. [M: mmh] They are supposed to be giving their rights, only then will there be peace. But if they don't do it like that, then peace will be very difficult in this town.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#914

D-16(m,F): „But if not because he is increasing [[encouraging]] the *rikicin* within, now even there could already have been *salaha* [[*salha* = peace]]. But he who will [[should]] made effort [[for people]] to have that *salaha* [[peace]], also everyday he is fooling people, especially us Muslims. Everyday if you meet [[come in contact]] with him, front and front [[back and front]] he will show that he is together with you. But thereafter then something will follow behind especially these two people we- if all they are alive if not only their time that is due, then it is difficult for this *rikicin* [[intrigue/deceitfulness]] to finish/end. He is governor of Plateau State and also king of Jos together. So these things, they are the one that hold [[kept]] the real root of this *rikicin* that has refus- conti- h- has refuse to finish/ended [[if at all they are all alive their time is not due, then it is difficult for this crisis to end.“ [C51-SM][D51-SM] RR

Ref-#915

B-16(m,F): „There is this issues that again that is said- I am ... talking of what thing Christians- what will/would they do in order to have peace? [M: °yes°] So here I I have () [[I can't hear what he said but what he said sounds like – little confusion]] because the issue issues of particularly here in Jos. <He> Mr. ... Mr. D has talked and said he tal- he cutting [[cut]] the governor, the governor of the state and also he is *Bogom* of Jos. So, problems of what Christians will do to have peace is; anything that is going on, particularly in Jos North in terms of peace, then is a deception – is a lie. Particularly also from the side that a Christian is, all other issues of crisis of-of-of-of here in Jos North not today was it started. (was not started today.) It has been done differently differently and it reaches up to also ten years and above *ana yi* [[doing]] this particular

Appendices

crisis and there had different committees differently. There had also different reconciliation- the last one is; there are <prominent elders> of this state which the leader of the country [[the President]] has constituted them [[inaugurated them]]. and he called them and said to them they should come and sit down to come out with what is the way forward that will have (bring) Muslims peace for this crisis *ya shi* [[to end?]]? And they did and they did submitted the report. But because there is interest, .. particularly from the governor of the state, and he the Bogom of Jos and other prominent Christian leaders in the state up to now the report wuw- nearly/almost one year now no it no its reason [[it's nowhere to be found and its aim is nowhere to be found]]. Therefore [[for this reason]], there is nothing that Christians will come and say in Jos North local on crisis of Jos North Local Government or Plateau State *don magana zala- man lafiya ya zamanto gaskiya ne yana son haka* [[because the issue of peace that is it true that he want that]]? Of recent, ... all in international media radio France, everybody has heard. The controller general of custom from Plateau State, also a tribe of the governor, ... he is supplying arms and he is bringing to Plateau State and he is giving (distributing) to their people, his brothers Christians *just* to yaki (fight) us we who are not- not their people. And then it was said also these kinds of people which is [[are]] their prominent, in controller general, Sergeant controller has said that he himself has contributed about four thousand arms, four thousand arms he brought his contribution into this state. So what peace wani [[a certain]] Christian will come and tell you and you, you agree with him? You see there is deceive. So in a nutshell, Muslim if- in Plateau State if they tell you there is a certain Christian that said that he wants to sit [[live]] with him for him to live peacefully, I see [[think]] he is deceiving [[has deceived]/ *him, don- kuma shi* [[for- again]] the Muslim even will not agree. This is the position of the Muslims.“ [C51-SM]

The conflict has been provoked for political reasons:

Ref-#916

A-12(m,F): „They () can or want to affect the character of the whole country, because any crisis that is happening, is almost that they are learning from the big people that caused the crisis in Plateau.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#917

E-13(m,J): „The first one, people have been hiding. The war was actually a first war of religion. The second, though first I will say is a war of tribalism [M: em] as it started [[it was started as a tribal war]]. [M: em] So those that have brought it about when they saw there is no success, they will not succeed? Then they turn it [M: ((coughs – interrupting hearing)) ... and turned it religious. The reason also that led it to come about is because of a certain selfish interest of theirs, they (to) protect/hide a certain area for a certain paying for their need [[solving their particular problem/meeting their particular demand]]. So .. But when they saw the war they took is more than [[beyond]] their strength, they saw [[found]] that there was nothing that is more proper than if they put religion inside. So the more they will gain support that if as before they are doing it – doing it themselves of their tribe? So if they put [[let]] religion come in, they saw [[discovered]] that they will have supporters. So this is why I said first, it is a war of tribalism, [M: emm] but later, it turned and then it become religious.“ [C51-SM] [D55/D56/D57-SM]

Ref-#918

E-13(m,J): „So these kinds of things, they are among the things that contribute to so much in *harzika mutane* [[cause of fear among people]]. What you have not heard, you have not seen, you go and *karar da shi* [[talk about it]]. So if only you will hear what you have seen and is truthfully said, then praise be to God, in this matter, we will have made a contribution in avoiding what you do not see or you have not seen, and you go and *sarar da mutane* [[put fear in people]]. ((Interruption due to a large noise)) And in this crisis there are no human beings that will want people to be doing a crisis. Any person that wants people to do a crisis, he is a person who is between a human and an animal. I think there is no difference. Any person who wants progress, a person that has a place of business, a person that has brothers, there is no how [[way]] it can be that he wants crisis in his life.“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#919

D-15(m,F): „In my own understanding, if it is here in Jos, it is a formulated objective that is being sought to achieve on the Muslim people. Muslims, especially the Hausa Fulani that are here for years more than a hundred, and they have assurance [[evidence]] by which they are confirmed in this town and the years they took and it has been a peaceful living for long period of time. But from some years like, it can be from the year 1984, they nearly start introducing one objective that want to see the back [[end]] of Hausa Fulani in the State of Plateau. It is a formulated work that is being sought to achieve. Example: preventing their children from study in all schools, preventing them from entering the work of government [[preventing them from take part or participate in government job]] despite the fact that they deserve to be given, not with this, all their rights [[benefit like social amenities or opportunities]] that must be in their houses things that are supposed to be brought [[made available]] to them for ensuring / conditions / circumstances of life like water, the issues of building roads all where they are not done to them and this are being implemented in orderly until they also thi- this is one from the *fitina* [[annoying behaviour]] that is happening in Jos. This is my understanding on the things.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#920

A-15(m,F): „Yes, very much. This *tashen-tashen ne* [[sudden attacks]] that's been going on in Plateau State, the first is lack of justice by the government itself (). Therefore, there are ways that can bring of this thing. One is, [[the first one is]] referring to what they told their brothers (brethren) especially to the youth, that they are doing this thing in order to divide the head of this land (country) that is to dissect Nigeria and they be will given the Middle Belt to be a country of its own, and that country they will call her New Jerusalem. We have seen these things a lot since 2008 at houses area those that they have destroyed in () all they wrote black and white with paint [[they wrote with black and white paint]] inside. Therefore they already are the ones that are blowing [[encouraging]] the continuity of showing enmity. Now if you take notice of [[observe]] our children, all *kurkaka* [[suffering or intimidation]], that's always done to us by burning us [[our]] markets, by preventing us doing businesses, and calling VIO all to block roads just like that. If they see you are a Muslim, they will be arresting you without *gyara* [[fault]], no reason and other things of deceitfulness/cheating and killing us that's been going on to- nearly [[almost]] people nearly [[almost]] half () they have left here Muslim state and *darma* [[migrate/transfer/left] to another state. And economically they burnt our market but in spite of that we took patience and we put back our shops. We did a distance, and they become our markets. In spite of what has

Appendices

happened a few days back preventing the achaba aiki [[motorcycle transport]] businesses working, we made an effort with this and said they should exercise patience. We then opened [[established]] centres for learning trade/business, and we discussed with all of us our people our traders especially those () and the other places of fabrication of those ones and the rest of them, and buildings, and repairing cars including the modern ones which is being done with computer for us to arrange others to start pulling [[riding]] them. We at the site of our area, we are staying fine [[peacefully]] any time they start attacking our people, we used to quickly tell our youth they should not take revenge, which this has been long without taking revenge. Not that they cannot take it, becau- therefore we showed we want peaceful living. Now if we want peace to be sure [[sustainable]], it is on the side of government, like the speech that ... my brother B made to come to do justice is that ((phone ringing)) there is no governor that is working like this governor in Plateau State all over; he constructed roads, he did container contract, he built stadium, he did a lot of things, he visited every place. He constructed an express road, this twin roads. But no [[there is no]] project that you will come into the town where Muslims are. You show one and say here is this that state government has done for us. So except for one solar traffic light that was placed [[fixed]] at Zonégila junction which after two months it stop working which was later said is some [[it was one]] NGO that placed [[fixed]] it. So if we want to have a total peace in Plateau State, they don't have objective reasons for dividing Nigeria. They set this goal of their own that they will be given the Middle Belt to establish land [[a country]] belonging to Christians, and made Jos the headquarters for a Christian country of Africa all over and also including this Middle Belt. If they withdraw this, peaceful living [[peace]], what-because Christians especially here in middle Jos, this *ungwa* [[ward/community]] is where Jos has started in. We have not left /it/ combine still (yet) they burnt- we have Bishara Street number one (No. 1) COCIN and its Bishoriya, it is here standing it was not ever ever burnt, we have first Baptist Church in the middle of Jos, it was not ever burnt, likewise Good News, likewise also that one at *Darben* Street market was not touched, because we are saying that [[because we know that]] this religion almost Christianity all over there are books [[chapters]] about seventy three in Qu'ran. So there is no way how it can be said that we criticise one prophet out of, man (one) also should remain [[one could also (then) stay/remain in his Islamic religion]]. Therefore, we our hands is (are) open, there are also our brothers. I who is speaking this, my neighbours left and right, east and west in middle Jos are Christians even now if you go there, you will find their houses. They have never left, no body ever- all of these crisis that is going on, they are here in their houses, nobody has ever been killed. At Adabayo Street here there is nobody that .. that burned any church or that done anything. This is what (how) we are ensuring/proving that we are people who love peaceful living [[peace]] [[that we are peace loving people]] and if they our living friends [[fellow friend/companions]] have embraced this like [[as]] we the way we have- not, what they are being told aside. This is it." [C51-Su]

Ref-#921

D-16(m,F): „Yes this land indeed its answer is short. History has shown that Jos is ours, and [[but for]] the apathetic attitude of our council-chamber [[members of house of representative]] and self interest/heart desire of our council-members is why we have been conti- we have been coming- coming to the same place/point. [[but due to the apathetic attitude of our members of house of representative and their selfish interests/heart desires, that is why we have been tangling in one place/point]]. we Muslims also the Hausawa. Because my reason is real, in this particular area the constitution became to us *babakere* [[a kind of set back]], it left itself and itself silent,

Appendices

because even to come out open and/to explain that this is the position we are in (that this is where about) it has not. Therefore it only came and talked on citizenship, but this citizenship issue is those ones that are not their town then they came and turned the thing/issue and became indigeneship, which should have supposed that our members of house of representative have more calling [[voice]] and also love for people. It should have supposed that our members of house of representative have [[thought]] of this thing. And this thing has affected Nigeria all over. Now if you go to Igboland, he will say it is not your land. Therefore instead the thing should go nationalis- national- nationally? So it happens that constitution remain silent at that point hid- they refused to come out plainly all over [[throughout]] for Nigeria people to know their position. So therefore, the situation we are in today, not tomorrow, coming from back [[starting from the beginning]] the strength/power of Jos is of Muslim man [[people]] also the *bahaushe*." [C51-SM]

Ref-#922

B-16(m,F): „Ah ((coughing)) {lips opening sound}, this issue a matter of Jos that is said [[talked of]], who are those with Jos? [[who are those that own Jos?]] Who are those doing it? If you come and see/look at the nature of Jos, from there you will begin to see that who are those that own the town. ... Shin Jos, (4.0) administratively regarding the matters of ruling/leadership [[maliki]], also through election she has what is called ward-ward, election point-election point 14. This 14, the Muslim people of this local government are controlling [[ruling/leading]] with [[by]] winning the election of Chancellor for eight wards. He who have eight wards, you see everybody there is not how you will look at him and say he doesn't have stakes in that place or you say that place is not his town, the first one. Then the second one [[secondly]]; if it come to the election of house of representative, they are winning the election of member of house of representatives [[majalisa]]. In all the history of elections that has been done, of election, since it has been started since from the first republic up to date now that we are in [[currently]], there is no election that has been done and it is (was) done at/in local government- Jos North local government the people of this local government Muslims in court they are not the one that won this election. There was a time that we have this very local government we have four members state house of assemblies. This very four members state house of assemblies it di- we did it at that time all over, all those who won this very four seats also are Muslims. From there, government policy, they began to reduce our strengths, they cancelled the representatives instead of being four, they make it two. At same two, if conducted we are winning, we are winning Jos North-North, we are winning Jos North-West. (3.0) So as of then, we come [[have]] been winning the election for local government chairman and then we are winning election for members house of representatives representative at the national level. So YOU COME AND SAY that Muslim people generally do not have representation in this particular local government? Or no you look at them and say no, they are not belonging of that place? So you have not done them justice, if you come when we come back to history you say ok "this particular Jos North even, when was it creating [[created]]?" Because if you come back to history, the time that was talking of province [[province, i.e. when government was operated province by province]], the Plateau State, the Plateau State and the Benue State and also the Nasarawa State all they are under Bauchi province. (car honing) Also this Bauchi province that was how it has been reduced and has been reduced has been reduced until there was creating [[created]] North- and North- lo- local government inside. So if you look also as of then since this province that we are in [[when we were in province era]] people of Hausa Fulani Muslims in court, they are the ones constituting Jos native town. [[they are the ones that constituted Jos native town]]

Appendices

at that and calling the ey- ahm the town Jos native town [[at that time the town is being called Jos native town]] in English. So you see there is no how you will not do them justice, instead you come and look at them and say that- or no you are even asking them that "who here owns (this place)?" Since now if you enter their ward/community you will see the house which is a structure that was built more than hundred years, it is in this town, you will see a house that was built more than one hundred and twenty years, it is in this town. So, if you can have [[find]] a house as this/such, then you should see [[observe/think]] when was she herself Nigeria got independence (3.0) That you will say- .. We whom all in all now independence of Nigeria is [[we are]] talking of fifty years and there is found a house in Jos north belonging to BAHAUSHE Hausa Fulani Muslims that reached hundred years, then also [[and then]] you look at him and say he is not a belonging of that place? Then when did we have independence and even do creating state [[even created state]] and happens that he is not a belonging of that place? So you see this is a lack of justice that policies of government [[the government policies]] that they are applying on Hausa Fulani Muslims in court for them to suppress them their right. And as long as this policy government has not change it, then as long as we will continuously be having problems. It is must for the federal government to intervene and then all the world [[the whole world]] to intervene. A time has come that everyone who have right to be given his right, is what will bring peace." [C53-SM]

Conflict may have been invoked by the international calculations of powerful countries in an effort to dominate Nigeria:

Ref-#923

A-15(m,F): „There is no doubt this question has importance. Ah... my fear is that because reading a number of different things (from the observations) that we are doing and also listening to the present world, there are many challenges for discussion that some big big countries want to dominate the small ones, especially the youth like Nigeria [[developing countries like Nigeria]].“ [C51-Su]

Explaining Boko Haram:

Muslims too fear the organisation:

Ref-#924

B-13: „Ah, the people that give me fear the most in my life, they are like the people that foment the trouble that we are experiencing now. Truly, this situation frightens me a lot, because they don't even know who is doing it, and they will come and be killing people [[the reference is to Boko Haram]]. .. [M: mmh] //billa adadi// The situation is so frightening to me, if the people are known, it would have been better. Maybe they would find out what their problem is, and look for a solution out of this situation, but it is so frightening.“ [C51-Su]

Ref-#925

E-14(m,J): „This Boko Haram that comes, because of them, people are being killed, the Muslims, the Christians and those they know and those that they do not know. A person

Appendices

is going his way. They will just kill him, or he is doing his work in his business place or in his worship place, or in his place of studies, or just anywhere.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#926

D-14(m,F): „I know that the situation is so bad (), is so, they will say today, espe- espe- especially these Boko Haram. We hear, we hear every now and then, they are telling us Boko Haram and we have never seen the Boko Haram. [M: mmh] But they keep telling us Boko Haram, and what happens, they say the government should intervene in the situation, and if it is not in the government, they should have since .. since within one month bring out this situation. (2.0) Our schools are no more because of this situation, or movement is no more, our businesses no more, our trade and markets have all stopped, because of this situation. They are killing for us our Muslims. Students who don't know anything, they will enter inside-inside schools to put bombs or other things, this has () government should look into this matter and pity us. Government should pity us. We have a righteous government, but there has been no righteousness up until now. Especially our people of the North, our leaders from the North, they are supposed to look. We have leaders of other countries that have, have stepped down. Our leaders are supposed to intervene for us in this situation. Our chiefs should intervene on this situation. What is frightening us, because it is a fearful thing, we don't know them. They are in our bodies, they are in (). They are in our clothes, they are inside our big robes. All the clothes we put on, there too, they are inside. So they are supposed to check for us these people that are giving us fear. If you enter the church, you are afraid. The Christians fear the Muslims. The Muslims too fear. Everybody is just afraid. How are they going to deal with these people? You are thinking if you enter this mosques, they will put a bomb. If you enter this meeting or a big gathering, even our leaders are afraid to go to mee- mee- a big meeting. [M: mmh] Because of this situation that is going on in Nigeria, they are supposed to look into it, to- to proffer a solution and pity the poor of the North, and look into it. Glory to God.“ [C51-Su]

Boko Haram however is not Muslim, but perhaps Christian:

Ref-#927

D-13(m,F): „Truly, Boko Haram has caused us a lot of trouble in this country because Boko Haram, in short, the Boko Haram, they just came, they are () that Boko Haram and in this Boko Haram like it is known with this name, Boko Haram, they came and put the name, then they captured their leader and killed him. From there, they are just using this Boko Haram, killing Muslims with this name Boko Haram, and they know who are the Boko Haram. They have arrested some several times. They have arrested Igbo and the rest of them like that with Boko Haram name, and they are not Muslims and they know it like that. Yet they did not take any action, that is why, and they know what it is that has made the whole country shake. they know those behind it. The have been arresting them, not once, not twice, and all of them are not Muslims. So the lack of taking action against them is what will make it difficult to stop. If they don't take action and punish those behind it in Boko Haram, then we don't (), that is if God helps and, - and they know those that have a hand in this Boko Haram, they will be able to bring all these attacks to an end. Only then, if God wills it, we will have healing concerning this Boko Haram.“ [C51-SM]
[...]

Appendices

B-13(m,F): „Truly, Boko Haram has caused a lot of problems that many have suffered untold hardship, and none has done any good to anyone. You see, they said, it is Boko Haram, then they turn and are killing Muslims. This you see, there is no righteousness. A person, a bomb exploit in Kano, that it is Boko Haram, the Muslims that died there are over 200. You see, this is not a small problem. [M: mmh] And it has hindered Nigeria to live in peace, and they have also hindered them the Muslims or Islam from practising their religion. So you see this is not a small problem. Now we that are living here, we are supposed to have started writing our exams for our Islamic studies, but since last Wednesday, we have not written, because of all this problems. So you see, it has prevented us from our religion. So I see this Boko Haram problems are so many and cannot be counted. But I hear even the Boko Haram itself is a problem.“ [C51-CM]

Ref-#928

B-14(m,F): „The reason why I said so, is because any time they caught a person, you will see that they are Christians, and if they don't catch them, the government will say it is the Muslims, but all that have been arrested, they have never said this is a Muslim that has been arrested with bombs. So because of this, they should sit down and rethink, and know that it is not the Muslims that attacked them. They are the ones amongst themselves doing this. A Muslim, if he attempts going to church, if he reaches the gates, he () before he even enters, if he, even if he did not carry a bomb, he went () if he say he will enter the church, he will not be able to enter, not to talk of taking something and say he will go and put, his conscience will judge him and they may know or understand that there is a Muslim among them.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#929

B-16(m,F): „Ok, the first one I in all I knew in Jos North Local Government, I don't know that with all the crisis that's been had in Jos about ten years and above, I don't know there is Boko Haram in Plateau State. But I know there has been talking about Boko Haram in Nigeria. So if you come and take the issue of Boko Haram in Nigeria, the thing will give you surprise to even understand/identify who are those Boko Haram. Because it has reach a level that everybody, if he make an offence, he will come out and say he is Boko Haram [[he is a member of Boko Haram]]. Because it reached to a certain level that everyone that make an offence will come out and say he is a member of Boko Haram. Today we are having/getting highway robbers, they are coming [[going]] to go and do a robbery and come out with the name [[under the name]] of Boko Haram. We are having/getting those that are even Christian, not Muslim, they are coming [[going]] to go and act damage [[evil/destruction]], and then they come out and said is members of Boko Haram. And then also we are having/getting politicians whom are used in the way of politics [[politically]] to go and do () and come and say is members of Boko Haram. {some are talking along with the speaker} So any ((coughs)), in general terms, if you take the issues of Boko Haram, then you see that no one has fault only [[except]] she the federal government of Nigeria, because indeed now if we Nigerians we will hold- we can hold the leader of the country [[the president]] of Nigeria and say he is responsible for all the affairs of *Boko Haram* because he came out and told the whole world that he he knows the members of Boko Haram, (2.0) and (while) we Nigerians we do not know who are the members of Boko Haram, but the leader of the country said he he knows the members of Boko Haram, the first one. Then at times, also *za a je a yi barna, sai a ce Boko Haram ce ta yi wannan barna* [[(an evil will be acted and we say it is *Boko Haram* that did this evil]] Example. ... The day before yesterday – Friday *an je sa* [[some people went and fixed/placed]] bomb in a Mosque at Fage at Kano state, .. *Boko Haram* today,

Appendices

she came out and she disclaiming [[disclaimed]] that she is not responsible for this particular bomb that was placed. So at this point, *me ake so* [[what do they want]] to tell to Nigerians? *Kuma za je a yi* [[and there will be]] attack a ce Boko Haram ne ta yi, (and we say is Boko Haram that did it,) now Boko Haram also [[in the other hand]] if a [[someone people]] went and did something she will come out she and say she, she is not responsible for that particular attack. So then-, in a nutshell, we are seeing that [[we could see that]] they the government, they are deceiving the people of Nigeria – there is a certain interest differently that want-st to be used on the issue of Boko Haram particularly also on us Muslims who are the majority in northern Nigeria. *Don haka aka* [[It is for this they]] creating [[created]] them this issues of Boko Haram, and we have *huja* [[defensive reason]] on that. There had been different attacks which Christians are the ones that went and attacked us, either at the church? Example here in Jos, COCIN Church Headquarters. They had an attack of bomb last, he who went and made this attack is Christian, their names are Joseph Ashaba ... and they're later claiming that is Boko Haram [[and later said that Boko Haram was the one responsible]]. There was an attack at- at- at- there was an attempt of suicide bombing at Bauchi, whom was a woman and she is a Christian. There was an attack ... at Benin and is Christian, he [[dressed]] like a Muslim and then also with you- the name of Boko Haram. So in a nutshell, we are seeing something z- is a plan for/of deceiving the Muslims of Northern Nigeria, with the name of Boko Haram. Therefore, entirely they now the Muslims, they are *ko- ku kwanto* [[even thinking/suspecting]] that this Boko Haram is not true [[real]] but it is the Government that set up [[planned]] a certain conspiracy of herself with the name of Boko Haram. This is the position of Muslims. The common Muslim on the road, if you go and meet him, then that is his view. But if you meet some illiterates, differently they will tell you something different. But Muslim ordinarily that is on the road, he knows that it is a certain conspiracy of government only with the name of Boko Haram. ... This is my contribution on ... [M: ((coughs))]" [C51-SM]

Boko Haram exists at the pleasure of the (Christian-run) government...:

Ref-#930

C-14(m,F): „Based on what he said, there is no doubt it is true. It is true what he said, because what he said about Boko Haram and also concerning the tribe and the fighting going on in Jos, it is caused- it is caused by all that is happening in Nigeria. You go here, and they are fighting. You there and they are fighting, and all is on tribal issues, on tribal issues. Then it came to issues of what, they say it is as Christian and Muslims they are fighting. They say of a particular tribe all sorts of things, and a lot of them are being brought to Jos. They say something and then Kaduna has taken something. The things and issues, truly, on Boko Haram the Musl- Muslims are not Boko Haram. They go and know where Boko Haram is. If the government were to bring out Boko Haram, say today like they killed Yusuf, Ahmed Yusuf, but why was it that when he said no, he wanted to go and talk with the Governor, why did they not allow him.“ [D57-Su][C51-Su]

Ref-#931

D-15(m,F): „Yes, it is exceedingly true. I am of the view similar to his own. Example according to how he started explaining, lack of doing justice since from the beginning to what has happened is what has changed this inward [[is what is encouraging/boosting this]]. Example: There are those (some) who first seized the leader of Muhammad Yusufu and what has been done to them and also the assurance [[evidence]] which has

Appendices

been shown that security agents did lack of justice according to how they carried out their responsibilities, of which this is one of the plights of the group [[the Boko Haram sect]] that they want to see *an yi* [[justice done]] which up to to today *ba a yi* [[are yet to do this justice]]. Then also what followed of planting of bombs? In the whole, we knew that has been announced those that has have been pointed out that they have caught many people accused of planting these bombs or met them with some weapons/animations. But up to today, we don't know one man (person) who is said today was introduced to court in order to judge him. So this shows that the government is not really serious and do not have zeal even to resolve this matter.“ [C51-SM]

Ref-#932

B-14(m,F): „Glory to God. The way that the Christians can bring the crisis to and end that is happening in Nigeria, is that they should think and know that it is not the Muslims that are attacking them, that when they attacked, they will say it is such-and-such a group, the Boko Haram. () What, they are no the ones, truly the situation, they should stand and () understand the government of Nigeria is the one causing all these things.“ [C51-SM]

...and is indeed a child of the government and the ruling party:

Ref-#933

B-14(m,F): „In my own thinking, there is no crisis that, nothing that caused the crises like the fight that took place in Plateau State. It is all the cause of the problems experienced all over the country of Nigeria now, because all those that were arrested in connection with the crisis were not punished, because of that, it happens everywhere that () in this country. Or the second issue that they are saying, is that Boko Haram is what has enveloped this country, so in my own opinion, the government is the Boko Haram, because there is no-one that is above the law. If there is anyone guilty in this country, the security can search for them within a short time, but it is unfortunate there seems to be no end to the crisis for nearly two years now. Everyday they are saying 'Boko Haram', and now nobody can show you this Boko Haram, even though the President once said he eats with them, he lives with them, he does what with them. So you see, this shows even they, they are. Days back there was somebody that was giving them advice, who came out openly and said, there is no one that is causing all the problems in this country, only the political party of the People's Democratic Party [[PDP]]. So you see, this shows clearly, that they are the Boko Haram, because there are no people like Boko Haram. Had it been there are, this people that they are saying () or how, can't they look for them, this is a true talk, and leaders from the northern part of Nigeria, are they afraid of the President of this country, or are they afraid of (2.0) that the little he gives them as a gift will stop, so that they cannot come out and tell the government the truth? Because one of these days the Governor of Niger State came out and said there is not any Boko Haram.“ [C51-SM]

An assessment of the effects of Boko Haram:

Ref-#934

B-15(m,F): „Yes very truly. I think the *rikicin* of Boko Haram has connection of far and also of close by with the *rikicin* we having in Plateau State. The first one we can say that

Appendices

the *rikicin* of Boko Haram got its origin from the shortcomings of the rulers (the government leaders, the law enforcement agents, the judges etc.) in judging those that have been with hands [[that are involved]] in the threatening affairs apart from its being connected with the short coming of the rulers to justice and ensuring development for people. Like the way the threatening affairs of Plateau State has connection with these things that I have said. Then if we come back to the things that are happening today, we will see that the bomb attacks we are having are nearly more frequent in meeting places [[worship centres]] where Christians do their service, which thus increases fire burning [[increases doubt or fear or suspicion]] that Christians have to Muslims, which led to having ... at ... several time Christians can call everyone who is a Muslim member of Boko Haram, they interpret (relate) Boko Haram with Islam and they can use the threatening affairs of Boko Haram when attacks are made on their meeting places [[church]] ((phone goes off)) they rebelled to Muslims in the town of Jos those who do not know up and do not know down. Because of this in all my understanding I see [[think]] that the threatening affairs of Boko Haram has contributed to some way to affect the threatening affairs that we have it in Plateau State.“ [C51-Su]

The fruits of conflict:

Ref-#935

D-13(m,F): „Ah, truly, what Mr B said is like that because, to God, the situation we find ourselves in, the situation we find ourselves in Nigeria, to God, it is an unfortunate thing, and it is a thing of great fear, because these problems, the short-cut, the are what is troubling Nigeria and is making- is making us not to have peace in Nigeria. Everything has not finished () whether studying it, like that it has caused problems, even in education, in whatever as a whole, because unless if you have peace of mind that you can read or study or do anything, so truly, if they don't look for ways of solving these problems, it can bring disaster. That is why the previous speaker said that the situation is giving him fear, and life he said, it is like that.“ [C51-Cm]

Ref-#936

D-14(m,F): „Today in this Jos, there is war, there is, there is nothing. The town is dry, no market, no schools, no nothing. Even these machines that are, the poor are getting something from it, both us and them, we are getting something from it, the Christians and the Muslims, we all benefit from this machine. Business, there is nobody that doesn't benefit from them, but today, that they have to stop them, the-the-the little that we get to eat, they have to fight. The town is dry, no markets, no people are entering this town, everyone that will enter Plateau town must be afraid to enter Plateau town, because of what- because of war or fighting (). Christians and Muslims are fighting, but those that understand, they don't fight in Christianity, they don't look for trouble. The same thing with the Muslims: There are some that don't do this thing, then I want to talk on this machine.“ [C51-Su]

Marriage and cross-religious relationships

God forbids marriage between Muslims and Christians:

Ref-#937

C-12(m,F): „Truly. For the Muslims, ah, I look at it, and I am not looking at it, the Islamic law, it is forbidden for a Muslim to marry a woman that is a Christian, because this marriage, it is God Himself that forbids this marriage, not any Islamic teacher or leader. It is God in the Holy Qu'ran that forbids this.“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#938

C-12(m,F): „No matter how beautiful she is, no matter how you love her, don't marry her, for you to marry

(), that is worshipping a different god, even if she says she, she agrees that God is Three, you see that it is a Christian, or those that worship the sun, all of them, it is not permitted for a Muslim to marry them.“ [E54-Su]

It is better to look for one's own divorcees first:

Ref-#939

D-12(m,F): „This thing (), because the Qu'ran verse (), isn't it, because of that you know that this Christian marriage is selfishness. There is no teacher or leader that will tell you () there is truth in it. It is all selfishness. Women, see our women, we have children, we have (), and they are looking for those that will marry them. We have divorcees, they are here, our very own, they are looking for those that will marry them.“ [E54-Cm]

The injunctions permitting it are from a time when Islam was weak:

Ref-#940

B-12(m,F): „I am a Muslim and Islam has a standard. There are verses at the back that () they can marry (), but in this time that we are talking, there are talks like (), because of what, at that time Islam was not strong, and Muslims were not many, but when Islam became strong, and there a lot of Muslims, there were some among them (), there are some that married this () were asked to divorce them. If you marry, then who will come and marry our own daughters or children now? () So this is not an issue. Islam, and if you look around, you will see that Muslims fill the world everywhere. Our children are here, we ourselves, we don't even know what to do with them. Because of that, marrying a woman who is religious, and if you say you will marry her, or she says she loves you, and you see that in your position as (), she will marry you, you as a Muslim, if you are not lucky, it will be two zeros or two to nothing. It is either as you are lost to Christianity, or your children will be lost to Christianity.“ [E54-Su]

Many women marrying Muslims may in their heart not wish to be Muslims, and this can raise many problems:

Ref-#941

B-12(m,F): „And if she says, it is you she loves, or even if she says she will turn to Islam, if it is because of you that she becomes a Muslim, the day that you are no more, she will go back to Christianity. If she wants to be a Muslims, may her soul rest in peace. Late Sheikh Ismaila Idris said, somebody brought a woman that he loved her and wanted to marry her (). He asked him, you want to marry her, do you love him, he asked the woman, and she said, yes. And he said to her, do you like Islam, and she said, yes. And he said, 'well, since you like Islam, turn to Islam and we will look for a husband for you to marry' =.“

D-12: „Not this one.“

B-12: „= Not this one, she said, no. It is this one. If not, no one. So you see, if he is not the one, she will go back. Here, who is she supporting? She is supporting the husband and not Islam. If he is no more, she will not continue in Islam, so let it not be that we are also like that, because there is a problem. There are so many others like Imam (). There are some that are saying in creation itself, anyone that bears the name *Ahali Kitab*, we should not marry them because of reasons that increase. [M: ok] So, because of that, you see there is a problem. Now, if you marry a woman with the name *Ahali Kitab*, she goes to church with your children on Sunday, and you, if you are a bit jealous, jealous, you go to the mosque with them on Friday, you see that will be all. One day, one of you will convince the other. She eats pigs, she eats dog, and you, you eat goat, you eat sheep, you eat cow. So know, how will you do, if she cooks her own, you will join her and eat or you? So you see, there is a problem in all these things. There is a lot, but now is not the time for us to start digging into all these things that these authors have written off, but other authors have said that these are not (), because God says (). So you see, they say there is no mistake that is greater than for a person to say that God is three in One, Trinity. [M-12: Yes] So there is no mistake that is greater than that. These authors and many others say they are pagans, even if they talk, what explanation in creation that the Qu'ran came and met them with the Bible, what about now, are they still there?“

[...]

B-12: „They are not. Even their Bible, that one too is not there. All they have done is spoilt them. (2.0) So because of that, you see there is a problem, and we have many people that got married to their children. Now all of them are gone. They don't practice religion, because of that. There is a problem, so this is my stand or position. In my position, I don't support, and there is a teacher that says they can marry this *Ahali Kitab*. He is a great teacher in this country. They said it is true. The verse said it is true. The verse said it () read this. He said it is true, and he said, but teacher, since you said they can marry her, you in your position as a leader, give us an example, give us an example. You marry her first. If you marry her, no one will doubt you or what you are saying and say “no, I will not marry her, but now, since you will not marry her, who do you want him to marry her?” So it is here that he understands that there is a problem. [B: ok] Because of this, that of now is different, but those that during the time of Apostle of God (), he came and met them with his Bible in their hands. They took it, studied it, they followed, they () they came and they do this thing. () they are in this situation (). Their own at this time, can they marry them. It is forbidden. The verse forbids this, so because of this. But what about now? Where are they? Who are the *Ahali Kitab*? This is what the teachers are asking now. These Christians are the true *Ahali Kitab*, or what? If

Appendices

they say they are the *Ahali Kitab*, where is their real Bible? They say the one that one, that is older than the Qu'ran, all these ones are in the hand of the Qu'ran. Because of this () there is something to observe on following () here that we will observe it. Because of this, for me, this is my stand and I understand some teachers among them like Hashiya. They speak and said, 'Now if she dies in pregnancy, in which grave will they take her?' It is a belief that the child in her womb will take after his father, a Muslim, and she, she is not a Muslim, in which grave will they take her? [M: ok] So all the teachers, they argue on this. If you take her to her people, what about the child in her womb that she died with it? Is it not their own there? If they bring her here, she is not a Muslim, and cannot be brought among the Muslims. They don't join the Muslims' grave with that of the pagans in the same place. Because of this, there are some talks where some teachers say marrying them is advantageous now, so this is the little I can say. *Salaam alaykum*." [E54-Sm]

Christians are no longer *Ahali Kitab*, but only Christian in name:

Ref-#942

B-13(m,F): „Ah, truly, a person to marry a non-Muslim, true to me, it is not right, in my own opinion it is not right at all, at all. [M: mmh] Especially the Christians of nowadays, they are just Christians by name, but they are not practising Christianity. A true Christian or true Christianity is following Jesus a hundred over a hundred percent, but that is not what they are doing now, and because of that, the opinion of marrying them is not there at all, at all.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#943

A-13(m,F): „Ah, my opinion on marrying a Christian, just like Mr B said, I am supporting what he said. They don't marry Christians because Christians, some referred to them as *Ahali Kitab* but now in our own time now, there is no *Ahali Kitab*. [M: mmh] There is a write-up that is called (Adawa'Ul bayan) of Sheikh Mohammed Aminu Sheddi. He made an explanation, saying there is no *Ahali Kitab* now. Even in time back during the Habai's generation when they married *Ahali Kitab*, there are some Habai that got married to *Ahali Kitab*, but later on divorced them and never married them again since then. And what more of now that the Christians and their religion that they are practising is just opinion. They don't follow anything in the religion of Jesus as they claim, as they claim they are following his religion. [M: mmh] So because of that, you see, anyone who marries a Christian, marries a pagan, or someone who does not have a religion. She is just a pagan and not this thing.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#944

A-15(m,F): „Yes, even though Muslim religion has given the right through the tongue of the messenger [[prophet, name of messenger/prophet here in Arabic]] peace be upon him [all: peace be upon him] that we can marry *Ahali Kitab* [[people of the book]] which means like Christian. But now, I cannot marry, because Christians that were known in those days are not the ones now, they have changed completely, because in those days during the time of refuge when people were tutored, he himself, the *Muhammed salalahuwassalam* [all: peace be upon him] [[the Prophet Muhammed, peace be upon him]] and his people said they should be refuted [[camped]] with King *Habasha*. A man of justice and if they go they will be free. Because of this they are different from the Christians that we see now (today). This is why I will not marry her.“ [E54-Su]

Marrying a Christian is permitted:

Ref-#945

E-13(m,J): „Our ... religion has agreed for us to marry, since they are the ones who are called *Ahali Kitab*. [M: em] So anything that you in your religion have agreed, if it is not good, it will not be agreeable for you to marry [her]. [M: em] Marrying them is good since our religion has agreed, except sometimes we have some problems, which will not be prevented [[which is normal]]. All in married home, if you marry her, there are problems. [M: em]. [[In all married homes, even if is she is a Muslim, if you marry her you will be having problem as well]] [M: em]. But since our religion has agreed to [[let us]] marry them?, we will stop [[conclude]] here that it is something good since if it is not agreed that it will let us, it would show also in our book.“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#946

B-14(m,F): „Ok. Even *Ahali Kitab*, the Islam religion does not forbid, but as long as the woman will not convince the husband to follow, she will not convince the husband to follow her, because the Islamic religion has a standard on how someone will live with them, a Muslim brother, and someone that is not a Muslim, because marrying a Christian is not a sin. But religion does not permit a Muslim woman to marry a Christian, but a Muslim man can marry a Christian woman.“ [E54-SM]

Ref-#947

D-14(m,F): „Everyone should live with () and there is this marriage. If these marry, if you will marry a Christian woman, but if she will not be able to draw you into Christianity, it is ok, because (). It has, it, but he did not marry her, Safiya. He only-she during the war () they got married.“ [E54-Sm]

It is permitted, but wrought with problems:

Ref-#948

B-16(m,F): „Marrying religion ... marrying a woman which is called *Ahali Kitab* in Islam is something which we know it we agreed with it. But I in my position as a Muslim now, I will not marry a Christian which is called *Ahali Kitab*. And my reason for saying that I will not marry? I, I did not also say [[I do not also mean]] it is forbidden at the same time, I am not saying it is forbidden because the Prophet, peace be upon him, he did to us we- [[he told us to]] marry them but even at that time- after the Prophet, peace be upon him, after his life shortly his followers even controvert/disputed on this, because that time even that was seen that it is supposed [[appropriate]] for a Muslim to marry *Ahali Kitab*, is like *campa* [[camping]] Muslim women. [[that seem like camping Muslim women]]. So but now since at that time- since at that time even Umar *kai* [[in fact]], Umar [[But since at that time Umar]] had disputed against this, he said that if we say Muslims should marry *Ahali Kitab*, then the Muslim children that we now have, who will marry them? Therefore, we are here and we will stand/stop on our children of Muslims since we have them. Now there are many Muslims that can be married to. Besides this even, where even is the *Ahali Kitab* that you can marry? *Ahali Kitab*, that will come to your house he is seeking to kill you, you can marry them? [[How can you marry them?]] Therefore, I in my position as a Muslim, I will not marry *Ahali Kitab* [[non Muslim]]. This is it.“ [E54-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#949

A-16(m,F): „But if we have looked, then we see that in all that Muslims will do, he look at what he will do to have that is to say its importance not its lack of importance. If we look at this present time as in the past that *ake* [[people are]] living like yam and palm oil. [[“like yam and palm oil” describes the absence of intimacy; hypocritical life where the outside relationship is not meant from the inside/has no base in the heart]] If a person said he is a Muslim and he will marry, that is to say Christian, then he should see that this marriage, what will it result to him? Will it result him an agreement from those particular Christian if he marry their daughter? As it has happened at the back, [[in the past]], the Prophet Solomon, peace be upon him, married that is to say children of tribes a lot [[from many tribes]] for him to *dane bakar gaba* [[avoid/stop the enmity]] that is between him and them. So but now if we have come back [[but now if we look back]], we will see that if a person does like that, he will avoid this enmity that is between him and who is not a Muslim, Christian or no there is nothing it will change? This is the question point that we should ask ourselves. In accordance with undoubted truth, [[based on the real truth/the real truth is that]] a marriage that a person will do at this time in his position as Muslim, said to marry Christian for him/in order to have peace and friendliness, there is no longer such now – it has already passed. Therefore also you see it is of no importance for a person to say he will do that. Therefore, I in my own view/opinion truly/actually [[though]] God has not forbid it but I don't have a view [[desire]] on it [[for it]].“ [E54-Su]

Ref-#950

E-16(m,J): „Islamic religion has already given the right, our Qu'ran has given right that Muslims can marry Christians. This there is in our religion. So since it is God himself that brought this, and we also what is in Qu'ran hundred percent there is nothing we are rejecting. Therefore, what God has said, we should do we will do it. (2.0) Except if you- if you are seeing [[thinking]] that weather, there is reason? A that will not allowed marrying them then we remove it. Now in this crisis, that has been done, we have women whose husbands were killed. They are here plenty on ground who do not have husbands, they do not have anyone to take care of them – they are only [[just]] suffering. So you see, if there are them [[such]], they are the ones that most deserve that I marry instead of a Christian.“ [E54-Su]

Reasons for conversion

The Prophet sets an example of moral living:

Ref-#951

B-12(m,F): „The Prophet (peace be upon him), he in his generation, he lived with those that were not Muslims and this did not make him cheat on them, and he gave a very big example that is in the world as a whole. If she takes this example, then it is enough for her to become an example to our, our neighbours. They will understand that Islam religion is all about seeking peaceful living and it loves everybody, is not driving away, its ways are easy. A Muslim that gives a good example if he interacts with someone that is not a Muslim, let him interact with him sincerely.“ [E55-Su]

Appendices

Ref-#952

B-12(m,F): „With this good example, he will desire Islam and come to agree with Islamic religion. [M-12: yes] You see, they say of the Prophet (peace be upon his name), there was a woman that always threw her waste by his door. On day he noticed that she had not done it, and he asked and was told that she is sick, and he said, why did you not tell me. [M-12: mmh] Dirty things that are irritating that she always throws by his door to cause him sickness, and the rest if she sweeps and packs them, she goes straight to his house and throws them. But when he heard that she was sick, he went and greeted her. He sympathised with her for what had happened to her because of the sickness, and prayed to God to heal her. He said, “the work you normally do, I don't see you doing it, and when I found out I was told you were sick, so I came to see you”. On seeing this, the woman became a Muslim So you see, this is a big example. Because of that, good relationships, good relationships between those that are not Muslims, this draws their attention to desire the Islamic religion.“ [E55-SM]

People will be enticed to convert if Muslims demonstrate respect for their own religion:

Ref-#953

A-13(m,F): „The first, the worship that he does. If he realises that it is not religion that he is practising, the second what will make a Christian to leave his religion and turn to Islam, if he see that the Muslims in all that they do, they are sincere and they also see that the Muslims do not play with their religion, but hold in high esteem their religion, not like them the Christians' religion where you see people say they are Christians, but you see what he is doing is not good. [M: mmh] Because in Islam as it is, even if it is a pagan, even if he does not become a Muslim, if it is a Muslim that they hold in high esteem, the Islamic religion and they know what is true, it is only opinion that will make them not to become Muslims. [M: mmh] Even their pastors as they read their Bibles, they read and see that their religion is not a religion, the true is the Islamic religion.“ [E55-SM]

Establish good relationships with non-Muslims:

Ref-#954

D-13(m,F): „The Muslims themselves should make sure they create a cordial relationship with the Christians, because this cordial relationship between you can make someone who is not one of you to desire to be one of you. If it happens, what you don't relate well, with them, then it will be the same if he becomes one of you and he will not stay, but if you will take care of him, treating him as he wants, doing to him those things that he would want in life, not the religious aspect of it, then he will desire to become one of you. And like Mr explained, Mr C, explained more that the Christian, if it happens that you relate well with him, and in your relationship it happens that he notices you are sincere in what you do and don't like, and you don't play when it comes to matters of your religion, he too will be tempted or desire to be a Muslim, join you and be one of you.“ [E55-CM]

A good example goes before preaching:

Ref-#955

E-13(m,J): „The first one is good behaviour. If it happens that there is good a good relationship between us and them, they will be Islamised. ((some are talking behind and along with the speaker, inaudible)) If there is truth and holding of friendliness [[a good understanding]] between us, they will be Islamised. if there is compassion, .. they will be Islamised. But it will not be possible to be sure of the conversion of someone that you are making effort to draw into your religion, you have may oppressed or what has affected promise you break. So the only thing he will conclude at this point is that he will not agree that the religion you are in is true, since in hundred percent of people who have do- .. have *imani* [[Belief in God and Muhammad]] with the word of messenger of God, *salalehuwasalama*, of hundred percent, ninety-five percent they were Islamised not because of the preaching that he had been doing to them. They were Islamised because of the behaviour that was good between him and them.“ [E55-SM][T51-SM]

Ref-#956

B-14(m,F): „If they showed him the right way, through pity and how the religion is not difficult, Islam is easy. Show him the way of Islam is not faith, is seeking faithfulness, pity. This is how life is supposed to be, this is how you are supposed to go, or carry your life.“ [E55-SM]

Ref-#957

D-14(m,F): „There are different reasons () that he will come into Islam. During Sallah prayers when you go to pray, you are together with him. In the morning you go and do it and come back, in the evening you go out with him. Sallah prayers sometimes, Sallah time you do your prayers, sometimes you () you do your prayers and other things (). Different things you will be showing him, until it will make him to say, this your religion is it. From there he will develop an interest to join. All the things you don't have to open up to him, so us to draw him into Islam (), you don't want to take him to some place because you (). Among us, there are those that you will see, they are praying, but they will stand. But to see you get up, you go and pray, that is Islam, get up and go and your things, different- different clothes you wear, he sees you doing things, you continue showing this type of Islam, it is not any type of Islam, they are showing you in your religion, or any fighting or anything, our Islam is easy and is righteous, is of righteousness, and do not try to () his religion. If you () his religion, gradually, gradually you are here, you are here with him, you he is watching your () until he himself will start desiring, since he is, since he is, since he is waiting for you, he himself will say, let me go and sit near the mosque. Since he is sitting near the mosque, he will be thinking how is this your religion. If you tell him how this your religion is, our own Islam religion, it is like this, you will bathe, it a bath, the Islamic religion is a bath, is cleanliness. Like now a person, if you give him an example, if he sleeps with a woman, he will take a bath, and so on. If a woman, so, so, she will do so. So it is certain he- he will desire your Islam. That is what they don't do. If he urinates, let him clean himself (). Cleanliness. If he sees you using this water, this water, you continue, he continues seeing you doing things carefully, carefully, carefully he himself will care to desire to enter into Islam.“ [E55-CM]

Evil prevents Christians from converting:

Ref-#958

C-15(m,F): „Our own and their own, you yourself that is in Muslim religion you know that which is right and that which is not right, which almost (nearly) at present many of them, they (which nearly many of them presently) know is that Islamic religion is true. If there is someone with little doubt of something or little fearing of something of his or something that can prevent him coming into this religion. As regarding them, for example, to those days there was one lady I can know [[remember]] now/presently whom we were schooling together who is not a Muslim. But there was a day that she was telling that even among us [[the Muslims]] to have who can be able to marry her she will return/turn to Islamic religion. So you see regarding this, they know that our religion is the true religion. Those things, one, two to three which are being told [[spoken]] to them and also the enmity that keep entering their heart against the Islamic religion [M-1: ehm] is what will prevent them coming to Islamic religion.“ [E55-CM]

Christians can find the way to Islam in their own scriptures:

Ref-#959

A-16(m,F): „Yes there is, (2.0) because the reason that will make [[why]] a Christian should leave his religion of Christianity and come to Islam is *dama* [[plenty]]; he himself his prophet, prophet Isa [[Jesus]] he told him that 'there is someone to come, there is my master he will come [C: laughing] and this my master if he comes, I am also together with him, therefore you also you should stay together with him'. Therefore a Christian if is a *asali* [[real/reasonable]] Christian he already knows about our prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, he know about his coming, he also knows that he will come. So also a Muslim, if its *asali* [[real/reasonable]] Muslim who knows what he's doing, he knows better the history of prophet Isa [[Jesus]]. So I do not see the reason why a Christian will stand and *jayayya* [[controversing, wrangling, disputing]] on the truth, after all he whom he is *kirari* [[confessing]] that he is following him he told him that if *Ahamadu* [[Prophet Muhammad]] comes, you should turn back to Ahamadu [[Prophet Muhammad]], he is the master.“ [E55-SM]

Ref-#960

E-16(m,J): „What will make a Christian to turn back into Islamic religion; is if he agreed with his book [[Bible]] that any {someone talking} all that it gives [[taught]] him, he will work with it, then at that time he will turn back, we- Islamic religion, because his book has told him this.“

Sometimes unnecessary obstacles are put in the way of converts:

Ref-#961

B-12(m,F): „For back during the time of Sardauna they went. then we find some with the name of Mallamai. If a person says he wants to become a Muslim, they will say, if he has a family of ten children, they will tell him to bring a ram of each child, because they

Appendices

themselves don't know religion. The Maguzawa, if they come to be turned to Islam, they mostly bring a ram for their change of name and the rest. So is this taking them into Islam or driving them away?" [E55-SM]

Moral attitudes towards others in general

Ref-#962

C-15(m,F): „We are not the ones that created ourselves and likewise the Christians not. We- they are not the ones that created themselves, all is God that created us. *Kuma shi ya yi iko shi ya yi Musulumi kuma ya yi da iko shi ya yi wadda ba Musulumi ba* [[And he showed power he made Muslim again he made with His power He made who is not a Muslim]]. For that in the Qu'ran there is certain place in my own understanding has shown that if a person whom your religion is not one (the same with him) if you see him you arrest him and kill him.“ [E53-SM]

Ref-#963

A-15(m,F): „No time, we see because the Qu'ran is from God and he sent [[sent from above]] his messenger *salahulauwasalama* it is said that if it is here on this earth they will gather and kill life, it said either the life is for whosoever either of Christian or of Muslim or of pagan (2.0). *Aukuba = Ak'iba* (the last day) that will be done for God to destroy the whole world even, this life is not paid/restored.“ [E53-SM]

Moral attitudes towards others in dealing with conflicts

Moral guidelines for perpetrating or abstaining from violence:

Ref-#964

A-12(m,F): „The Islamic religion protects the right of everybody, not concerning life. The right of everybody, the Muslims and those that are not Muslims, it is forbidden to abuse them. Because of that, the Islamic religion did not () to kill anybody, and the Islamic religion did not permit war. The only thing Islam permits is defence. [M: mmh] Islam did not allow for anyone to fight anybody, or to kill anyone, or take advantage of him, or take his wealth, or cheat him, because he is a Muslim or because he is not a Muslim. [M: mmh] But Islam did not permit that you lie down for somebody to come and kill you, because Islam, your religion, said “do not kill”. Because of that, the Islamic religion does not welcome anyone to be killed and it does not () kill anyone. This is what I have to say about it.“ [E52-SM] [E53-SM]

Ref-#965

D-14(m,F): „Ok. Glory to God. Even in Islam, Islam does not permit for you to catch a person because he is not following your religion and kill him. If it is not a war between you, and even in war there are rules that the law put in place before you take your hand and kill. And if you kill a person that is not a Muslim, God will ask you, he is the one that created, that God created, it is God that created the Muslims. It is He that created the Muslims, it is He that created the pagans and all of them He loved, except with a reason, that God permits that is in war, it is only then that you can touch anyone that is

Appendices

not practising your religion, and he also, except with a guide of the leader and the law has stipulated, but just like that, or a misunderstanding between you, and you kill him, this is not right, because there is, even in history, there is something that happened between Moses and Aaron, when he offended him, he did which land of () after that () he has to, when Moses went and spoke with God, he had to talk to him, but he showed pity or was jealous over his creation. He said, oh God's prophet, is it because you are not the one who created him (). At that time, if he had looked for my help, I could have helped him. At that time, prophet Moses was pleading that he had repented on what he had done to him (). So you see, God is jealous of all. That God has created is not in vain.“ [T51-SM][E52-SM] RR

Ref-#966

C-14(m,F): „The mistake they are making is how can you just catch a person like that, who doesn't know anything or is innocent, even though he-he is not a Muslim. The Islam, just like that you cannot hold somebody who is not a Muslim unless there is war. If they are fighting war, you can kill him [M: mmh] to protect your religion, and then just like that, just like that and he will kill him, [M: mmh] there is nothing like this in our Islam. We know there is pity and faith also. Glory to God.“ [E52-SM] [E53-SM]

Ref-#967

E-16(m,J): „A Muslim, he himself is not killing someone just like that unless with reason. *Ach-* in Islamic religion it is said [[Arabic terms but are proceeded with explanation in the speech of the speaker]] "if someone killed someone, he will be killed, if he removed him his eye, his also will be removed". Whatever he did to him the law will do to him.“ [E52-SM]

Ref-#968

E-16(m,J): „Just like that? There is no any reason that just like that Muslim will kill someone JUST LIKE THAT there is none unless with reason. There are reasons that will lead to kill someone but not just like that.“ [E52-CM]

Ref-#969

A-13(m,F): „It is not right to kill a non-Muslim, unless there is a reason like this: If the non-Muslim kills another person, he too will be killed, But If he did not kill anyone and you kill him, his blood will be upon your head, and if there is nothing between you like war and the rest of them, it is forbidden for you to kill a non-Muslim. So because of this, to kill a non-Muslim is a big offence, and its consequences follow a lot of people because they are just killing innocent people without any reason. They don't follow the laid down rules that the Islamic laws obtain, and as promised in the Islamic religion to follow. Because of this killing, a non-Muslim is not a part of the Islamic religion.“ [E52-Su][E53-Su]

Ref-#970

B-13(m,F): „If you look at Islam, there is nowhere it says you should kill someone, and unless if they come to kill you, you should not lie down and let them kill you, you should defend yourself. So there is nowhere they will tell you to kill someone, whether a Muslim or a non-Muslim.“ [E52-SM][E53-SM]

Appendices

Ref-#971

E-13(m,J): „Praise be to God, in my position as Mr. A, this is oppression, since our religion has shown us that any one that is killed without a reason, God will not leave [[let go of it]], because there is also the Messenger of God *salalehuwasalama* [[peace be upon his name]] who has said “you should leave a man who is not a Muslim, you are neighbouring with him”, for if kindness [[blessing]] has found you, he will come and do to you- he- ((coughs)) he will come and help you rejoice with this thing of kindness [[blessing]]. If jan- if an business deal has found you, he will come and assist you. So if something arises like *rikici* [[intrigue/deceitfulness) = crisis]], if YOU kill them, the messenger of God has said “with him you will do shari'a [[stand before judgement]] on the judgement day. So you see it has shown that if you kill who is not said to be a Muslim >°ba°< this is oppression. Except, if finally, if he- h-, you know, he will kill you, if he will fight you, you see you can kill him. But [M: ((coughs))] finally, if not like this, this is oppression in our position of the Muslims,as it has blasphemed against the teachings of our religion.“ [E52-SM][E53-SM]

Ref-#972

B-14(m,F): „Killing someone like that is not a Muslim, like just like that Muslims caught him and kill him, this is not good. Someone is not possible to say somebody, so someone that () that travelled, they come to pass. They have left their town, they are not in their town, but he left his town and came and met this thing, he came (). It is not proper to stop their car to kill him. This is not good.“ [E52-CM]

Ref-#973

M-14: „Do you see (think) there is suni that should say a Muslim should kill someone who is not doing [[practicing]] Islamic religion?“

C-16(m,F): „°Well° this particular question, do it directly to the teachers [[Islamic teachers / Imams]].“ [E52-Su][E53-Su]

Appendices

Chapter G.8 Comprehensive word frequency analysis

G.8.1 Berom seniors (August 2011)

Keyword	BeUS1-J			BeUS1-F			BeUS2-J			BeUS2-F			Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	11	16		8	34	7	21	28	7	19	42	13	59	120	27	206	125.75
02 land	8	11	2	3	7		1			2	1		14	19	2	35	24
03 [own place of worship]	4	4					1	11	5	1	5		6	20	5	31	17.25
04 [own scripture]	1			2			1			8	6		12	6	0	18	15
05 [other scripture]				2									2	0	0	2	2
06 Boko Haram													0	0	0	0	0
07 [own religion]	2	11	2	2	7	4	6	12	4	2	1		12	31	10	53	30
08 [own tribe]	7	16	3	3						2	2		12	18	3	33	21.75
09 [other religion]	11	28	4	3	3		2	15					16	46	4	66	40
10 [other tribe]	1												1	0	0	1	1
11 [own scriptural tribe]	2	1								2	1		4	2	0	6	5
12 [own rel. Figure]	2	1		4		1	1	1		9	9	4	16	11	5	32	22.75
13 [other rel. Figure]				1			1	1	1				2	1	1	4	2.75
14 tribe\$	3	2											3	2	0	5	4
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler		6	2										0	6	2	8	3.5
17 pray\$	1	2		4	1		8	24	5	4	5		17	32	5	54	34.25
18 Justice/righteous\$													0	0	0	0	0
19 peace	7	18	7	6	3		4	2		2			19	23	7	49	32.25
20 fear	2	4					3	1		2			9	5	0	14	11.5
21 fight\$	5	1		3	1		4	3		3	5	1	15	10	1	26	20.25
Total words	9385			4205			8135			6045			27770			27770	27770
Evaluated words	5329			3202			3358			4793			16682			16682	16682

G.8.2 Berom youths (August 2011)

Keyword	BeU2Y-J1			BeU2Y-J2			BeU2Y-F1			BeU2Y-F2			Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	16	8	3	10	9		25	27	6	5	49	12	56	93	21	170	107.75
02 land				1	2		2	3					3	5	0	8	5.5
03 [own place of worship]	6	12	4	3	8	11				2	1		11	21	15	47	25.25
04 [own scripture]	2	2		4	1		5	4	1	4			15	7	1	23	18.75
05 [other scripture]	2	2		1		2							3	2	2	7	4.5
06 Boko Haram													0	0	0	0	0
07 [own religion]	12	9	3	16	15		11	12	1	8	9	1	47	45	5	97	70.75
08 [own tribe]	1	1	1	1	7	3	1	1		1			4	9	4	17	9.5
09 [other religion]	4	12	1	16	30	6	9	26	7	3	18	1	32	86	15	133	78.75
10 [other tribe]	2	2	2				3	1		2	2		7	5	2	14	10
11 [own scriptural tribe]													0	0	0	0	0
12 [own rel. Figure]				5	5		5	9	2	5	7		15	21	5	41	26.75
13 [other rel. Figure]				1	1		1						2	1	0	3	2.5
14 tribe\$		1	1										0	1	1	2	0.75
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler													0	0	0	0	0
17 pray\$	2	2		4	3		4	1		3	5	3	13	11	3	27	19.25
18 Justice/righteous\$													0	0	0	0	0
19 peace				5	3	1	3	5		4		7	12	8	8	28	18
20 fear							2	2	1	3	2	4	5	4	5	14	8.25
21 fight\$	3	3		3		1	4	5		5			15	8	1	24	19.25
Total words	7950			9017			7008			6753			30728			30728	30728
Evaluated words	6339			7513			4821			6673			25346			25346	25346

Appendices

G.8.3 Tarok seniors (September 2011)

Keyword	TaR1S-J			TaR1S-F			TaR2S-J						Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	4	7	11	11	35	10	5	9					20	51	21	92	50.75
02 land	3			3	3		3						9	3	0	12	10.5
03 [own place of worship]	1	1	1	1			1	2					3	3	1	7	4.75
04 [own scripture]	1			5	2		5	2					11	4	0	15	13
05 [other scripture]													0	0	0	0	0
06 Boko Haram													0	0	0	0	0
07 [own religion]	6	1		9	19	5	4	3	1				19	23	6	48	32
08 [own tribe]	2	12	1	8	11	1	4	2					14	25	2	41	27
09 [other religion]	3	17		6	10		9	10					18	37	0	55	36.5
10 [other tribe]	1	5		1			1						3	5	0	8	5.5
11 [own scriptural tribe]				3	1								3	1	0	4	3.5
12 [own rel. Figure]	2			5	10		3	1					10	11	0	21	15.5
13 [other rel. Figure]													0	0	0	0	0
14 tribe\$				1	1	1	1	3	1				2	4	2	8	4.5
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler													0	0	0	0	0
17 pray\$				1			4	4	1				5	4	1	10	7.25
18 Justice/righteous\$													0	0	0	0	0
19 peace	2	3		3	5	4	2	3	1				7	11	5	23	13.75
20 fear				2	27	21	1						3	27	21	51	21.75
21 fight\$	2			3	2		3	2	1				8	4	1	13	10.25
Total words	6876			6291			6338						19505			19505	19505
Evaluated words	2440			5806			2897						11143			11143	11143

G.8.4 Tarok seniors (September 2012)

Keyword	TaR1Y-J			TaR1Y-F			TaR2Y-J			TaR2Y-F			Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	8	12	5	8	15	5				7	16	2	23	43	12	78	47.5
02 land	1						1				1		2	1	0	3	2.5
03 [own place of worship]	1			4	9		7	8	1	1			13	17	1	31	21.75
04 [own scripture]				2	1		1			2			5	1	0	6	5.5
05 [other scripture]													0	0	0	0	0
06 Boko Haram													0	0	0	0	0
07 [own religion]	1	1		3	1	1	6	5		4	17	2	14	24	3	41	26.75
08 [own tribe]	2	8	3	1			2	2		7	17	3	12	27	6	45	27
09 [other religion]	4	4	1	6	5		6	8	1	1	6	1	17	23	3	43	29.25
10 [other tribe]		4	2				3			1	5	3	4	9	5	18	9.75
11 [own scriptural tribe]													0	0	0	0	0
12 [own rel. Figure]	2	1		2						5	8		9	9	0	18	13.5
13 [other rel. Figure]	1												1	0	0	1	1
14 tribe\$	1						1						2	0	0	2	2
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler													0	0	0	0	0
17 pray\$	4	3	2	4	5		2	1			3	1	10	12	3	25	16.75
18 Justice/righteous\$				1									1	0	0	1	1
19 peace				3	5		6	18	1	4	9	2	13	32	3	48	29.75
20 fear		2	2		9	7	1		1	1	2		2	13	10	25	11
21 fight\$				1	1		3		1	1			5	1	1	7	5.75
Total words	5771			5786			6860			4267			22684			22684	22684
Evaluated words	1717			5040			3575			3748			14080			14080	14080

Appendices

G.8.5 Berom youths (June 2012)

Keyword	BeU2Yplus-F			BeU2Yplus-J1			BeU2Yplus-J2			Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	16	22	8	7	9	2	4	7	7	27	38	17	82	50.25
02 land							2	2		2	2	0	4	3
03 [own place of worship]	10	23	13	1	4	2				11	27	15	53	28.25
04 [own scripture]	3	4	1	2						5	4	1	10	7.25
05 [other scripture]	1	3	3							1	3	3	7	3.25
06 Boko Haram	6	21	1	1						7	21	1	29	17.75
07 [own religion]	25	26	6	8	9	1	4	5		37	40	7	84	58.75
08 [own tribe]					1	2	1			1	1	2	4	2
09 [other religion]	14	54	16	8	8	1	4	1	1	26	63	18	107	62
10 [other tribe]	1	2	4				1	1		2	3	4	9	4.5
11 [own scriptural tribe]	1	2		1	1					2	3	0	5	3.5
12 [own rel. Figure]	5	3		7	1		3	2		15	6	0	21	18
13 [other rel. Figure]				1	3	2				1	3	2	6	3
14 tribe\$				1						1	0	0	1	1
15 indigene										0	0	0	0	0
16 settler	1									1	0	0	1	1
17 pray\$	2	8	3	5	3	3	1			8	11	6	25	15
18 Justice/righteous\$	2									2	0	0	2	2
19 peace	9	14	24	1	9		1	4	7	11	27	31	69	32.25
20 fear	11			1			1			13	0	0	13	13
21 fight\$	8	16	3	3	5		2	5		13	26	3	42	26.75
Total words	5092			2087			10991			18170			18170	18170
Evaluated words	2868			1332			8549			12749			12749	12749

G.8.6 Kamwe (September 2011)

Keyword	KaUS-J			KaUS-F			KaUY-J			KaUY-F			Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	6	10	3	8	62	4	14	23	3	12	37	5	40	132	15	187	109.75
02 land				3	2		3	2		8	4	2	14	8	2	24	18.5
03 [own place of worship]	1	1		6	2		3	4	1	4	7	2	14	14	3	31	21.75
04 [own scripture]	1	1		4		4				6	3	1	11	4	5	20	14.25
05 [other scripture]				2	1					2	7	2	4	8	2	14	8.5
06 Boko Haram							1						1	0	0	1	1
07 [own religion]	1	3	1	4	17	6	9	13		10	14	2	24	47	9	80	49.75
08 [own tribe]				4	1		1	3		4	7		9	11	0	20	14.5
09 [other religion]	4	11	2	5	37	4	4	8	1	9	22	3	22	78	10	110	63.5
10 [other tribe]	2			6	5	2	1			3			12	5	2	19	15
11 [own scriptural tribe]							1			3			4	0	0	4	4
12 [own rel. Figure]	2	1	1	3	18	6	2	3	1	5	6	1	12	28	9	49	28.25
13 [other rel. Figure]	1		1	2			3	1					6	1	1	8	6.75
14 tribe\$		2								3	1		3	3	0	6	4.5
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler													0	0	0	0	0
17 pray\$	2	4	2	4	5	3	4	4		6	7	3	16	20	8	44	28
18 Justice/righteous\$				1						3			4	0	0	4	4
19 peace	5	7	1	2	4		6	28	18	3	2		16	41	19	76	41.25
20 fear	2	1	1	1			2	1		1			6	2	1	9	7.25
21 fight\$	3	4	1	6	4		4			2	5		15	13	1	29	21.75
Total words	7376			7770			8693			8821			32660			32660	32660
Evaluated words	2821			6726			3223			7289			20059			20059	20059

Appendices

G.8.7 Fali-Kirya (September 2011)

Keyword	FaRS-J			FaRY-J			FaRY-F						Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	2	1		12	8	1	7	12	6				21	21	7	49	33.25
02 land				2			1						3	0	0	3	3
03 [own place of worship]	1	1					2	7					3	8	0	11	7
04 [own scripture]				2			1						3	0	0	3	3
05 [other scripture]				1	1	1	1	7	2				2	8	3	13	6.75
06 Boko Haram				2									2	0	0	2	2
07 [own religion]	1	3		5	12	1	3	7	2				9	22	3	34	20.75
08 [own tribe]	2	2		1									3	2	0	5	4
09 [other religion]	3	4		12	8	5	3	9					18	21	5	44	29.75
10 [other tribe]	2	3											2	3	0	5	3.5
11 [own scriptural tribe]													0	0	0	0	0
12 [own rel. Figure]				6	6		3	2					9	8	0	17	13
13 [other rel. Figure]							1						1	0	0	1	1
14 tribe\$													0	0	0	0	0
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler													0	0	0	0	0
17 pray\$				5	4	1	4	2					9	6	1	16	12.25
18 Justice/righteous\$				1			1						2	0	0	2	2
19 peace	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	2					5	6	2	13	8.5
20 fear	1			1			1	1					3	1	0	4	3.5
21 fight\$	3	6		1			2	2					6	8	0	14	10
Total words	4490			5944			3128						13562			13562	13562
Evaluated words	1558			2300			2345						6203			6203	6203

G.8.8 Muslims locations 1 & 2 (June 2012)

Keyword	HaU1S-F			HaU1Y-J			HaU1Y-F			HaU2Y-F			Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	10	34	9	1	19	7	14	14	9	13	12	6	38	79	31	148	85.25
02 land				1				1	1	4	3	1	5	4	2	11	7.5
03 [own place of worship]	3				1					2	1		5	2	0	7	6
04 [own scripture]	3	7	2				1			1	2		5	9	2	16	10
05 [other scripture]	1	3					1	2		1	9	1	3	14	1	18	10.25
06 Boko Haram							3	12	7	2	8	7	5	20	14	39	18.5
07 [own religion]	3	83	34	8	9	3	8	41	12	8	53	17	27	186	66	279	136.5
08 [own tribe]							1			7	3	4	8	3	4	15	10.5
09 [other religion]	11	7	3		3		2	13	9	7	26	9	20	49	21	90	49.75
10 [other tribe]										2	1	1	2	1	1	4	2.75
11 [own scriptural tribe]							1						1	0	0	1	1
12 [own rel. Figure]	3	1								1			4	1	0	5	4.5
13 [other rel. Figure]							3						3	0	0	3	3
14 tribe\$				1						4	9	6	5	9	6	20	11
15 indigene													0	0	0	0	0
16 settler										1			1	0	0	1	1
17 pray\$	4	2						1		3	3	2	7	6	2	15	10.5
18 Justice/righteous\$	2	1			3		3			2	2	1	7	6	1	14	10.25
19 peace	5	12	40		1	4	3	7	5	1	12	8	9	32	57	98	39.25
20 fear		3	13			7		7			2		0	12	22	34	11.5
21 fight\$	1				1	3				5	8	4	6	9	7	22	12.25
Total words	8056			3103			4446			6544			22149			22149	22149
Evaluated words	7389			2717			3766			5880			19752			19752	19752

Appendices

G.8.9 Muslims locations 3 & 4 (June 2012)

Keyword	HaU3SY-FJ			HaU4SY-FJ									Total			Total	Total weighted
	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P	S	C	P		
01 God	9	9	1	13	13	6							22	22	7	35	64
02 land	5	2			1	1							5	3	1	5	9
03 [own place of worship]				1									1	0	0	2	2
04 [own scripture]	2	1		1	1								3	2	0	4	6
05 [other scripture]	1			2									3	0	0	5	5
06 Boko Haram		4	3		17	14							0	21	17	0	38
07 [own religion]	13	39	20	19	61	31							32	100	51	51	202
08 [own tribe]	5	7	2	2	2								7	9	2	9	20
09 [other religion]	6	18	12	9	24	6							15	42	18	24	84
10 [other tribe]													0	0	0	0	0
11 [own scriptural tribe]	1												1	0	0	1	1
12 [own rel. Figure]	3	1		5	5								8	6	0	13	19
13 [other rel. Figure]				3									3	0	0	6	6
14 tribe\$	3	1		1	2	1							4	3	1	5	9
15 indigene					1								0	1	0	0	1
16 settler													0	0	0	0	0
17 pray\$	1			1									2	0	0	3	3
18 Justice/righteous\$	9	10	4	3	4	1							12	14	5	15	34
19 peace	2	15	8	5	20	10							7	35	18	12	65
20 fear	2	4		3	8								5	12	0	8	20
21 fight\$	1	1		2									3	1	0	5	6
Total words	8302			9104									17406			17406	17406
Evaluated words	6764			8030									14794			14794	14794

Appendices

G.8.10 Unweighted summative analysis

	BeS	BeY	TaS	TaY	BeY+	Ka	Fa	Ha12	Ha34	Be	Ta	Ka	Fa	Ha	P-X	K-X	S X	Y X	F X	J X	U X	R X
01 God	1235	671	826	554	643	932	790	749	237	895	674	932	790	530	812	899	1012	969	1009	634	1059	697
02 land	210	32	108	21	31	120	48	56	34	102	59	120	48	46	86	103	134	131	89	93	126	57
03 [own place of worship]	186	185	63	220	416	155	177	35	14	186	151	155	177	26	172	160	128	157	107	241	205	156
04 [own scripture]	108	91	135	43	78	100	48	81	27	98	83	100	48	58	92	88	110	98	121	56	115	76
05 [other scripture]	12	28			55	70	210	91	34	21		70	210	67	13	103	13	11	52	23	43	41
06 Boko Haram					227	5	32	197				5	32	113		11		2		7	2	6
07 [own religion]	318	383	431	291	659	399	548	1413	345	357	353	399	548	955	355	434	352	408	365	392	433	391
08 [own tribe]	198	67	368	320	31	100	81	76	61	119	341	100	81	69	202	95	213	253	147	202	132	290
09 [other religion]	396	525	494	305	839	548	709	456	162	473	389	548	709	330	442	586	491	450	391	590	581	452
10 [other tribe]	6	55	72	128	71	95	81	20		36	103	95	81	12	61	91	74	78	67	72	64	99
11 [own scriptural tribe]	36		36		39	20		5	7	14	16	20		6	15	15	26	24	20	9	19	13
12 [own rel. Figure]	192	162	188	128	165	244	274	25	88	174	155	244	274	52	167	251	216	220	256	114	229	178
13 [other rel. Figure]	24	12		7	47	40	16	15	41	17	4	40	16	26	12	34	21	22	10	28	28	6
14 tribe\$	30	8	72	14	8	30		101	34	17	40	30		72	25	23	39	31	14	37	24	32
15 indigene																						
16 settler	48				8			5		19				3	12		21	18		19	15	
17 pray\$	324	107	90	178	196	219	258	76	20	193	139	219	258	52	172	228	216	202	155	228	235	162
18 Justice/righteous\$				7	16	20	32	71	101		4	20	32	84	1	23	3	2	12	2	8	10
19 peace	294	110	206	341	541	379	210	496	81	183	281	379	210	318	220	339	249	377	159	365	288	267
20 fear	84	55	458	178	102	45	64	172	54	67	301	45	64	122	155	50	182	164	180	60	70	255
21 fight\$	156	95	117	50	329	145	226	111	34	119	79	145	226	78	104	164	170	129	111	132	149	108

Appendices

G.8.11 Weighted summative analysis

	BeS	BeY	TaS	TaY	BeY+	Ka	Fa	Ha12	Ha34	Be	Ta	Ka	Fa	Ha	P-X	K-X	S X	Y X	F X	J X	U X	R X
01 God	754	425	455	337	394	547	536	432	433	556	390	547	536	432	493	545	593	447	579	435	646	418
02 land	144	22	94	18	24	92	48	38	61	70	52	92	48	48	63	82	99	47	65	72	90	51
03 [own place of worship]	103	100	43	154	222	108	113	30	14	101	105	108	113	23	103	109	82	120	73	141	121	107
04 [own scripture]	90	74	117	39	57	71	48	51	41	80	73	71	48	46	78	66	89	64	96	49	90	68
05 [other scripture]	12	18			25	42	109	52	34	15		42	109	44	10	58	12	32	31	17	28	21
06 Boko Haram					139	5	32	94	257			5	32	164		11		5		7	2	6
07 [own religion]	180	279	287	190	461	248	335	691	1365	240	233	248	335	980	237	268	209	273	226	285	283	253
08 [own tribe]	130	37	242	192	16	72	64	53	135	74	214	72	64	88	127	70	144	87	102	121	86	185
09 [other religion]	240	311	328	208	486	317	480	252	568	283	261	317	480	387	274	355	298	296	232	391	343	304
10 [other tribe]	6	39	49	69	35	75	56	14		26	60	75	56	8	39	70	54	44	47	49	49	60
11 [own scriptural tribe]	30		31		27	20		5	7	12	14	20		6	13	15	22	7	18	8	17	11
12 [own rel. Figure]	136	106	139	96	141	141	210	23	128	118	115	141	210	68	117	157	140	120	167	90	146	134
13 [other rel. Figure]	16	10		7	24	34	16	15	41	12	4	34	16	26	9	30	15	15	10	21	23	6
14 tribe\$	24	3	40	14	8	22		56	61	11	26	22		58	17	17	24	11	10	24	17	21
15 indigene									7					3								
16 settler	21				8			5		8				3	5		9			8	7	
17 pray\$	205	76	65	119	118	140	197	53	20	127	95	140	197	39	115	153	137	118	106	156	153	115
18 Justice/righteous\$				7	16	20	32	52	230		4	20	32	128	1	23	3	11	12	2	8	10
19 peace	193	71	123	211	253	206	137	199	439	120	172	206	137	302	139	189	161	148	105	214	172	165
20 fear	69	33	195	78	102	36	56	58	135	47	130	36	56	91	78	41	98	46	89	43	51	115
21 fight\$	121	76	92	41	210	108	161	62	41	94	63	108	161	53	83	121	128	69	85	103	115	83